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THE

METHODIST MAGAZINE

AND

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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1833.

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THE

METHODIST MAGAZINE,

AND

Quarterly Review.

Vol. XV, No. 1. JANUARY, 1833. New Series—Vol. IV, No. 1.

REVIEW OF WATSON'S BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY.

A Biblical and Theological Dictionary: Explanatory of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Jews, and neighboring Nations. With an Account of the remarkable Places and Persons mentioned in sacred Scripture; an Exposition of the principal Doctrines of Christianity; and Notices of Jewish and Christian Sects and Heresies. By Richard Watson. Illustrated by Maps engraved expressly for the Work.

As the work placed at the head of this article has just issued from our press, we present to our readers the following review of it from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine. In this first American edition, there are a few notes added, and the quotations from the original languages left untranslated by the author, are rendered into English, and included in brackets.

Mr. Watson has evidently supplied what had long been a desideratum in the department of Biblical and theological literature, in furnishing to the Christian community this valuable Dictionary; and we hope its circulation among us will be as extensive as its high character deserves.

'The books which constitute the sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are well known to have been written by persons existing in ages very remote from each other, and placed under different and peculiar circumstances. They were composed in languages which have long ceased to be vernacular; they contain allusions to manners and customs greatly differing from those with which the western nations of Europe are familiar; and relate to cities and nations, some of which have ceased to exist, and to facts which occurred in times of the remotest antiquity. The doctrines which they disclose are of the utmost importance, and of universal interest and concern. These books were all written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and supply the only satisfactory answer ever given to that most momentous of all inquiries, "What must I do to be saved?" That they contain things which are "hard to be understood," every reflecting person must admit; and effectually to elucidate their peculiar phraseology, the customs to which they refer, their chronology, geography, the facts which they record, and the truths which they reveal, requires

the application of universal learning, and is sufficient to occupy the deepest attention of the most accomplished scholars from age to age. To have a thorough knowledge of the Bible is one of the most valuable of all acquirements; and the assistance to be derived from the pious labors of learned men, in order to this end, will be highly appreciated by every intelligent Christian.

In the latter ages of the Jewish commonwealth, not only were the writings of Moses and the prophets ill understood; but their meaning was so far perverted as to "make the word of God of none effect." Divine truth was deprived of all its efficacy by the corrupt glosses of the men who "sat in Moses' seat;" and these incompetent guides, who caused the people to err, were censured with terrible severity by the Son of God, who not unfrequently exposed and confounded them in the presence of their disciples and admirers. One of the principal objects to which his attention was directed after his resurrection from the dead, was that of inculcating upon his apostles right views as to the import of the Old Testament; and the light which he cast upon those sacred books, and the holy influence which attended his instructions, were such, that the "hearts" of the men who were thus favored, according to their own acknowledgment, actually "burned" within them while he spoke. The substance of the expositions which he then delivered are doubtless embodied in the discourses which were addressed to Jewish congregations by the apostolic band, and which are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles.

With the principles of Biblical criticism the Christian fathers, the immediate successors of the apostles, were very imperfectly acquainted. As interpreters of the word of God, though excelling in spirituality of mind, in active piety, and patient zeal, they were vastly inferior to many divines of modern times. Their works will ever be highly prized for the views which they give of primitive piety, of the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Church, and of the opposition with which the cause of Christ had in those times to contend, from outward persecution, and the perverse speculations of its friends; nor will they be less prized for the specimens of sacred eloquence which several of them contain;—but the student resorts in vain to the writings of those venerable men, even the most eminent of them, for full and correct interpretations of Holy Writ. That Jerom, Origen, Augustine, and Chrysostom devoted much time to the study of the Scriptures, is well known; and that, in many respects, they rendered valuable service to the cause of Biblical literature, is freely conceded; but their general ignorance of the original languages of the Old Testament, and their allegorical method of applying Scripture, render their comments upon particular passages far less satisfactory than many persons, unacquainted with the peculiar circumstances in which those holy men were placed, would have anticipated.

During what are emphatically denominated "the dark ages," the Holy Scriptures were in a great measure neglected. The common people were generally ignorant of their contents; and a large proportion of the priesthood were as little read in the Bible as the besotted populace by whom they were surrounded. The attention of the few intelligent and well instructed men of those times was diverted from

the tracks of really useful knowledge, to metaphysical subtilties on the one hand, and to "old wives' fables" on the other. Yet the materials of useful information were still extant in the manuscripts, both of sacred and profane antiquity, which were carefully preserved in ecclesiastical libraries; and of these hidden treasures, some few choice spirits, happily brought into contact with them from age to age, would be found to avail themselves, for their own benefit, and that of the immediate circle in which they moved. Beyond the few illuminated circles thus formed, a cloud of darkness, thick and palpable as that of Egypt, rested both upon priest and people. The important truth which obtained currency in those times of superstition and ignorance, rather came out by accident, during the eager discussion of the trifling questions of the schoolmen, than was proposed distinctly and independently as valuable on its own account.

The Protestant Reformation, which speedily followed the providential discovery of the art of printing, formed a new era in the Church, scarcely less striking than that which took place when Judaism was superseded by Christianity. A mighty mass of intellect which had slumbered for ages was awakened into activity and vigor. Almost every system and opinion was subjected to the strictest scrutiny. The liberty of private judgment was claimed; and abundant outpourings of thought, through the medium of the press, were, as might be expected, among the first manifestations of the newly recovered mental freedom. The principal subject of attention was the inspired word. Protestants appealed to that word as the only unerring standard of truth; and the learned among them were anxious to give the common people an opportunity of judging concerning the points at issue between them and their Romish antagonists. Translations of the Scriptures, therefore, were published in the principal European languages; every man was invited to study the records of his own salvation; and most laudable exertions were made to enable Christians in general to ascertain the meaning of the sacred books. Luther, Melancthon, Tindal, Calvin, Bucer, Castellio, Martyr, Cranmer, Hooper, Bale, Latimer, and many others, labored diligently in this holy vocation. Summaries of evangelical doctrine and duty, under the name of *Loci Communes*, were multiplied; commentators, critics, theologues followed in the train of translators; and every attempt was made to enlighten the public mind on the all-important subject of revealed religion. A desire to illustrate the peculiar phraseology of Scripture led to the study of various oriental languages and dialects; and the Buxtorfs, and our own Lightfoot and Pococke, have, by their profound rabbinical learning, placed in a just and striking light many important texts which had never before been adequately understood.

It is remarkable, that during the civil troubles which agitated this country, such princely efforts were made to promote the cause of Biblical literature, as have scarcely been equalled in any other age of our history; and made by men who were publicly discountenanced, and many of whom had suffered the loss of all their earthly property. It was during the commonwealth that a few of the Episcopal clergy, with Dr. Brian Walton at their head, produced the London Polyglott Bible, in six folio volumes. This truly national work was followed

by the *Critici Sacri*, in nine volumes of the same size; by Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon, in two volumes; and the *Synopsis Criticorum* of the learned nonconformist Pool, in five volumes more. These immense works display a zeal and a diligence for the promotion of sacred learning which cannot be too greatly admired and commended.

Protestant Germany has produced a large number of Biblical critics and commentators, of extraordinary erudition and research; but many of these, especially within the last half century, have treated the Holy Scriptures with a levity and profaneness, in comparison of which the unhallowed lucubrations of Priestley and Belsham might almost be denominated orthodox Christianity. Infidelity never appeared in more revolting forms than in some of the works which have been published by German *divines*.

With much that is exceptionable, the Biblical and theological literature of England, for sound learning and sentiment, is unequalled by that of any other nation whatever. No excuse, therefore, can be offered for those ministers among us whose knowledge of theology is superficial, surrounded as they are by volumes "the very dust of which is gold." Independent of professed commentaries upon the whole or part of the sacred books, many works exist among us which greatly facilitate the study of these holy records. About two hundred years ago, Godwin published his excellent tract on Jewish antiquities, under the quaint title of "Moses and Aaron;" which has been adopted as a text book both by Carpzov and Dr. Jennings. Lewis' treatise on the same subject is still more comprehensive than any of the works of the three eminent men just specified; and Bundy's translation of Père Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus* treats not only of Jewish antiquities, but also of the natural history of Scripture, and of various versions and editions. Dr. Wells wrote, with great ability, on the geography of Scripture; and Mr. Mansford and Dr. Paxton have embodied what is valuable in him, and in other writers on that subject, in their respective publications: the former in his "Scripture Gazetteer;" and the latter, in his "Illustrations of the Holy Scriptures." On the chronology of the Bible, Archbishop Usher, Messrs. Bedford, Jackson, Blair, and Dr. Hales, have written with great judgment and learning. The work of Dr. Hales displays immense research, throws great light upon many obscure passages of the Bible, and may justly be considered a standard work on sacred chronology. Maundrell's "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," published considerably more than a hundred years ago, suggests the identity of many modern customs in the east with those of ancient times referred to by the inspired writers; and the beautiful and interesting light in which he placed many texts of Scripture seems to have led Doctors Shaw and Pococke to pursue the subject in their erudite and valuable Travels; which are among the most elaborate and excellent books of the kind ever written. More recent travellers have followed the example of these eminent men, and have afforded important assistance to the Biblical student. Among these, Doctors Chandler and E. D. Clarke have been the most distinguished. Somewhat more than half a century ago, the ingenious Mr. Harmer began to collect all the passages contained in the narratives of oriental travellers, whether relating to manners and customs,

or to natural objects, that could be applied to the successful elucidation of the Bible; and the result was, the publication of his incomparable "Observations on divers Passages of Scripture," in four volumes. Mr. Burder and the editor of Calmet have successfully followed his example. Works of this kind supply an unanswerable argument in favor of the general truth of Scripture, in addition to the light which they reflect upon difficult and obscure texts. Mr. Horne's "Introduction to the critical Study of the Holy Scriptures" is an elaborate and incomparable digest of various publications, foreign and domestic, bearing upon this subject.

On the natural history of the Bible many books have been written. The most learned and elaborate are those of Bochart and Scheuchzer, neither of which has ever appeared in an English dress. Those of Dr. Harris and Mr. Carpenter are well known and justly esteemed, especially the former, which is a work of great research.

To what extent Biblical literature is cultivated in Scotland, we know not; but it is a remarkable fact, that the Scottish Church has never produced an entire commentary on the sacred books: for the work of Brown cannot lay claim to that title. It is pious and edifying; but is destitute of all pretensions to learning and criticism; and was never designed to give satisfaction to the student on points of difficulty. Doctors Campbell and Macknight are the only divines belonging to the Church of Scotland that have been distinguished as Biblical critics and commentators. The merit of each was of a high order; although Macknight is not entitled to unqualified commendation. As a critic he has seldom been equalled; but on some doctrinal subjects he is an unsafe guide.

It is pleasing to witness the assiduity with which sacred literature is cultivated by a few excellent men in America. Within the last few years they have published several elementary works adapted to the use of the Biblical and theological student. Few of these, indeed, are original compositions; but they are translated and abridged with great judgment from European writers, especially those of Germany. The principal of these works which have come under our notice are, "The Elements of Biblical Theology," from Flatt and Storr; Winer's "Greek Grammar of the New Testament;" Stuart's "Hebrew Grammar;" Robinson's translation of Wahl's "Greek Lexicon;" Upham's translation of Jahn's "Biblical Archæology;" Stuart's translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with valuable prolegomena and notes; and Harris' "Natural History of the Bible." Some of these works have been reprinted in England; and all of them are justly entitled to that distinction.

No elementary works are of greater utility to the student than dictionaries. They are applied equally to the elucidation of words and things; and have been extensively in requisition ever since the revival of learning in Europe. One of the earliest works of this kind that have fallen in our way is, "*Etymologicum Latinum, opus ex probatissimis Philologis, Philosophis, Historiographis, Poetis, et aliis Scriptoribus diversis in unum corpus collectum, antiqui datibus et animadversionibus passim respersum, vocabulis insuper eis quæ transierunt ex linguis sacris in jus Latinitatis locupletatum. Francforti,* 1605:"

"Latin Etymology: a Compilation selected from the most approved Philologists, Philosophers, Historians, Poets, and other writers, in which will be found various criticisms and quotations from ancient writers, and which is moreover enriched with all the terms that have been transferred from the languages of Holy Writ into the Latin language. By John Funger, a Friezelander. Published at Francfort, in the Palthenian College, at the expense of John Rhodius. 1605." This is a book replete with important matter, philological, geographical, classical, and theological, capable itself of forming the nucleus of valuable works on all those subjects; and works of this description have doubtless furnished the idea, and much of the matter, for the classical and theological dictionaries which have subsequently seen the light, and attained in each succeeding age of the literary world to greater accuracy in design and perfection in execution. Leigh's "*Critica Sacra*," published in the times of the Commonwealth, has also much of this general character. Wilson's "Christian Dictionary," published early in the seventeenth century, and often reprinted, is a very copious and useful compilation; especially as enlarged by Simson. It was superseded by the more ample and learned work of Dom Augustine Calmet, a French Benedictine monk, and abbot of Lemones, published about the commencement of the eighteenth century, and entitled "A Dictionary of the Holy Bible." It appeared at first in two volumes folio, with which two more volumes were subsequently incorporated, having been published first under the title of a supplement. It will not be questioned, that this excellent publication, especially as enlarged and improved by the late Mr. Taylor, and which has been translated into Latin, Dutch, English, and several other languages, has been a principal source, to which all subsequent works of this description have been mainly indebted for the valuable matter which they have been instrumental in diffusing among theological students and the religious community at large.

Several things in Calmet's Dictionary have become obsolete; and, considering the geographical and other discoveries which have been made since the time of the author, many of its articles are very defective. Of the dictionaries of Brown, Buck, Jones, Robinson, and others of less note, it is not necessary particularly to speak. They all have their excellencies, and have been extensively useful. Some of them treat exclusively of Biblical subjects; others, only of theology; and those which unite both are too limited in their plan to admit of that discussion which many of the topics require; or they contain matter which many persons, with ourselves, deem objectionable. Dr. Robinson's work is copious in its details, and respectable in its execution; but what must be thought of the author's professions of fairness and candor after reading the following extract? "Assurance of reconciliation to God," says he, "is a doctrine held by the Methodists, by whom it is frequently termed the new birth. Without doubt a good man may be filled with hope, even a well founded hope, which will comfort and refresh his soul. But what shall we say, when we are told that a condemned criminal could rise from his knees, and eagerly exclaim, 'I am now ready to die; I know that Christ has taken away my sins, and that there is no more condemnation for me!' Such per-

sons, we are told, were originally either very wicked sinners or merely formal Christians, but that at some period, on a sudden, and generally in accidentally hearing some Methodist preacher, they were, in the language of the Methodist, 'convinced of sin,' or for sin; then, and not till then, they became sensible that Christ died for them. Upon this follow such influxes of Divine grace, called by them 'experiences,' that the man continúes from thenceforth fully assured of his salvation: occasionally indeed certain doubtings and backslidings occur; but, upon the whole, there is a perseverance to the end in this blessed state." This mass of confusion and absurdity is given as a fair statement of the Methodist doctrine of assurance! It would be inconsistent with our present purpose to expose the ridiculous misrepresentations, arising either from ignorance or design, or most probably from a mixture of both, with which this one passage is replete. We shall content ourselves with observing, that its commencement and close are worthy of each other, and truly characteristic of the whole! That the Methodists identify *assurance* with the *new birth*, and that they conceive a certain perseverance in a state of grace to be a necessary consequent upon it, are monstrous mistakes; and one cannot divest one's self of surprise that so respectable a compiler should have fallen into them.

On the whole, it is evident that a Theological and Biblical Dictionary, fair in its statements, judicious in its selections, properly comprehensive in its scope, and emanating from a mind, rich in its acquaintance with the vast and ever-accumulating stores of knowledge, which criticism, history, and natural philosophy enclose in their wide domains, was still a desideratum in the religious world. And we feel much confidence in expressing our opinion, that the result of Mr. Watson's efforts for its supply, in the extensive, but compact, and not too unwieldy or diffuse compilation, now presented to the public, will be found possessed in an eminent degree of the qualities which we have specified, as justly called for by the enlightened spirit of the times in which we live. In this work, indeed, the theological inquirer will at once possess himself of a valuable mine of information on a vast variety of subjects intimately connected with the all-important object of his studies, and be materially assisted to acquire that quick and accurate perception, which will be his best guide in selecting a library for himself in future life. It is, indeed, a more complete body of divinity than are many works which have been published under that name.

In a work of this kind no one will expect to find the different articles to be strictly original; though in this a considerable number of them are so in whole, and a still greater in part. The preparation of such a manual consists principally in selection; and to accomplish this in the midst of such immense materials as are supplied by divines, lexicographers, critics, commentators, and travellers, of all ages and nations, is no easy task. It can only be successfully executed by a person of extensive reading, correct judgment, and very enlarged and comprehensive views. We have already adverted to some of the sources of information which Mr. Watson has explored; but to specify the whole of them would far exceed our limits. It will be observed that the plan of this work is more ample than that upon which publications of this

nature usually are formed. It is Biblical, theological, and ecclesiastical. On the topography of the Holy Land, many of its articles are particularly rich and interesting; and nearly all of those which relate to the distinguishing doctrines of revelation are copious and argumentative. The notices of the leading Jewish and Christian sects will be of considerable use to the student of ecclesiastical history. As a book of reference this Dictionary will doubtless obtain an extensive circulation among Christians in general; but to the Wesleyan connection it will be invaluable. It is the only work of the kind they have ever possessed; and will be found to embody all their peculiar tenets; while its tone and spirit toward every class of evangelical Christians are kind and friendly. To younger ministers of our connection, to the great body of local preachers, and to many private families and individuals, it will be of immense utility. The information which it contains is admirably condensed, while it is comprehensive and important. Nothing extraneous has been inserted. The maps by which it is enriched are neatly executed; and the volume altogether is one of the finest specimens of typography that ever issued from the Methodist press. The second edition of this Dictionary is already in a course of publication.'

LIFE AND TIMES OF ARMINIUS.

BY PROFESSOR STUART, OF ANDOVER.

In the second number of the *Biblical Repository for* 1831, is an article under the above title, from which we propose to give some extracts. Before, however, the appearance of this article, '*The Works of James Arminius*,' in two volumes Svo. by James Nichols, were published in London, in which that eminent Reformer and able defender of the truth is exhibited in a true light, and vindicated from the foul aspersions which had been cast upon him by his adversaries. On comparing the extracts from Professor Stuart with the full and copious dissertations of Arminius as furnished by Mr. Nichols, we are satisfied that the former has aimed to give a fair representation of the sentiments, and to do justice to the character and conduct of Arminius.

We prefer presenting to our readers the results of Professor Stuart's researches into the life and times of Arminius, first, because, being a professed Calvinist himself, he may be supposed to be free from any improper bias in favor of Arminius or of the system of doctrines which he so ably defended. Secondly, those who have heretofore ranked Arminianism among the heresies of the day, will hereby be more likely to be convinced of their error, and of the truth of what *we* have uniformly maintained, that our doctrine and Arminianism being identical, except in one point, it cannot be classed among the exceptionable dogmas of Pelagianism.

The following is Professor Stuart's historical account of Arminius:—

'James Arminius, (called in Latin, *Jacobus Arminius*, and in Dutch, *Jacob Hermanni* or *Van Harmine*,) was born in 1560, at Oudewater, a small but pleasant and thriving village in South Holland. While an infant his father died. It happened, however, at that time, that there was at Oudewater a priest by the name of Theodore Emilius,* who was distinguished for erudition and piety, and who had forsaken the Romish Church, and had emigrated from place to place, in order to avoid its persecution. Moved by compassion for the indigent condition of Arminius, he took him under his care, instructed him in the learned languages, and inculcated on him frequent lessons of practical piety. He became so interested in the distinguished talents and rapid improvement of his young pupil, that he continued his education until he was sufficiently advanced, or nearly so, in his studies, to be sent to a university. It appears, that some time before his death, Emilius had removed to Utrecht with his pupil; and there he died, leaving the young Arminius without any means of support. Soon after this event, however, the bereaved youth obtained a second patron in Rodolph Snell, a native of Holland, who had been obliged to quit Marburg, where he had resided, on account of the incursions of the Spaniards, and had recently come from Hesse. Snell was himself distinguished for a knowledge of the mathematics. He soon returned to Hesse, accompanied by his young pupil; but he had scarcely arrived there, before news came that the Spaniards had taken Oudewater, burnt it, and massacred all its inhabitants. Arminius, being exceedingly distressed at this news, set out immediately for his native place: and arriving there, he found it a heap of entire ruins, every house being burnt, and his mother, sister, brother, near relatives, and nearly all his fellow townsmen, murdered. He returned immediately to Hesse, performing the whole journey on foot. Here however he did not stay long. News reached him, that the university of Leyden had been founded by the prince of Orange. He soon set out once more for Holland, and betook himself to Rotterdam, which was then the asylum for such of the sufferers at Oudewater as survived, and also for many refugees from Amsterdam. Here Peter Bertius (the father of P. Bertius who wrote the funeral eulogy of Arminius) was persuaded to receive him into his own family; and he afterward sent him, with his son P. Bertius, to the university of Leyden. Here young Bertius was the constant companion of his studies and of his person. He describes Arminius as exceedingly devoted to literary pursuits. He cultivated much the study of poetry, mathematics, and philosophy, and became the ornament and example of the whole class of students to which he belonged. He was greatly beloved and extolled by his instructors. His principal instructor in theology here was Lambert Danæus, who had taught theology at Geneva, and was distinguished for his knowledge of the Christian fathers and of the scholastic divines.

After remaining at Leyden about six years, the senate of Amsterdam, being moved by the peculiar reputation for brilliant talents and distinguished application which Arminius had acquired, sent him, in

* So Bertius, De Vitâ, etc. Schröckh writes *Petrus Emilius*; I know not on what authority.

1582, at their own expense, to Geneva, which was then regarded as the head quarters of the Reformed Calvinistic Churches. Here he enjoyed the instructions of the celebrated Beza, the friend and successor of Calvin, in the famous theological school at Geneva. But here he soon created a prejudice against himself, among the leading men in this school, on account of his enthusiastic attachment to the philosophy of Ramus, which he taught to his fellow students by private lectures, and which he boldly and zealously defended in public. The philosophy of Aristotle was at that time considered as the summit of perfection in this branch of science, not only at Geneva, but in all the schools and universities of Europe. The views of Ramus were opposed to this philosophy; and of course, Arminius, who appeared as a zealous and contentious advocate for the opinions of Ramus, (*magnâ contentione pro illâ contendebat*, says his friend Bertius,) could not expect to meet with the approbation of the instructors at Geneva. Accordingly, he was soon obliged to quit Geneva. He immediately repaired to Basle, where Jacob Grynaeus was a distinguished teacher. Here he won so much applause and admiration by his attainments and devotedness to study, that he was speedily offered a doctorate in theology by the theological faculty at Basle, he being at that time only twenty-two years of age. This, however, he declined; justly deeming himself too young to be made the subject of such an honor.

The commotion excited at Geneva, by his opposition to the philosophy of Aristotle, in his absence soon began to subside. In 1583 he returned to Geneva. His own feelings were now greatly moderated on the subject of Ramus' philosophy, and he appears to have lived in quietude, during his second residence at Geneva.

As a characteristic of the times in which Arminius lived and Beza taught, it may be proper to stop the course of our narration for a moment, to make a little inquiry about Ramus and his philosophy, to which Arminius was so strongly attached. Peter Ramus was born in 1515, at Vermandois in Picardy. He was in indigent circumstances; but, from his love of learning, he procured himself a place in the university of Navarre at Paris, first in the capacity of a servant, then of a scholar. When a candidate for his master's degree, he boldly attacked the philosophy of Aristotle, assuming as his *thesis*, that all which Aristotle had written was false. This made great disturbance. He was forbidden to teach; he was accused of sapping the foundations of religion; and his sentence of degradation was posted up in every street of Paris. Gradually all this died away; and in 1531 he was made royal professor of philosophy and eloquence in the university. All his difficulties, however, were renewed afresh, when he attempted, as he did, to make an innovation in the pronunciation of a Latin word, and taught the students to sound the *qu* in uttering *quisquis*, instead of saying, as before, *kiskis*. Matters ran so high that the court of justice was obliged to interfere; who decided, that every one might pronounce Latin as he judged best. Ramus soon after deserted the catholic religion, and was expelled from his professorship; but after a while he was restored to favor, then attacked by new injuries, and finally massacred, with a vast multitude of other Protestants, on the horrible St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572. His body was thrown out of a window,

his bowels torn out and scattered around the streets, and his corpse dragged by his Aristotelian adversaries, and thrown into the Seine. Philosophy, it would seem, has her bigots, as well as religion; and the dispute, moreover, about *quisquis*, is highly indicative of the pulse of the times, and worthy of those who believed that nothing remained to be done in philosophy since the days of Aristotle.

When or where Arminius became acquainted with the philosophy of Ramus, does not appear. But a mind so ardent and inquiring as his, could not fail to read every thing which came in his way. That he found difficulty in the philosophy of Aristotle, will not be put to the score of heresy in these times; at least it will not, in this country.—That he could find such difficulty, shows an inquiring, curious mind; perhaps some proneness to take pleasure in new things. Beza saw, as he thought, this characteristic of mind in him. He accordingly advertised one of Arminius' friends to warn him against it. "It is a thing," said this wise and experienced instructor, "which Satan often makes use of in order to mislead distinguished men. Do not engage in vain subtilties. If certain thoughts which are new, suggest themselves to your mind, do not approve them at once, without having thoroughly investigated them, whatever pleasure they may at first afford you. Calvin gave me this advice; I have followed it, and always found it exceedingly good."

Nothing could be more opportune, or more judicious and sound, than this advice. Had Arminius taken it as he should have done, and reduced it to practice, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name; and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God.

It is to be deeply regretted, that all the ministers of religion have not put in practice such principles as Calvin and Beza have thus recommended. They do not stand in the way of any real improvement whatever, in the manner of representing or teaching religion; they only stand in the way of hasty and crude speculations being thrown out, before they are in any good measure examined or digested.

Grynaeus himself, pleased as he was with Arminius while at Basle, seems to have entertained views of his temperament like those of Beza. Philip Paraeus, in his life of David Paraeus, avers that Grynaeus *Arminium graviter admonuisse*, against his ardor and love of novelty.

I am indebted for these particulars to Bayle; for Bertius, the partial friend of Arminius, has wholly omitted them in his account of him. I cannot refrain from adding Bayle's own reflections; not only for their distinguished acuteness, but for their usefulness. "The cautions of Beza," says he, "are fitted to furnish reflections profitable to many persons, and quite necessary for some readers. Remember the maxim of St. Paul, *Knowledge puffeth up;* but be on your guard against another talent, which puffs up more still. A man of boundless memory and reading applauds himself for his knowledge, and becomes proud. But one applauds himself still more, and is still more proud, when he thinks himself to have invented a new method of explaining or treating any subject. One is not so apt to consider himself the father of a science which he has learned from books, as he is to regard himself as

the parent of some new explanation or doctrine which he has invented. It is for one's own inventions that a man cherishes the strongest partiality and affection; here he finds the most captivating charms; this is what dazzles him, and makes him lose sight of every thing else. It is a quicksand, of which the young, who are possessed of distinguished talents, cannot be too much admonished, nor too cautious to shun."

These sentiments are not the less true nor the less important, because they come from a man who is known to have been somewhat skeptical on the subject of religion. They are worthy of all approbation and good heed on the part of every man, engaged in the solemn and highly responsible office of teaching the principles of the Gospel.

Let us return to Arminius at Geneva. How long he remained here, during his second residence, is not well ascertained; but as he came here in 1583, and went into Italy in 1586–7, it seems probable that his stay was three or more years.

He was attracted to Italy, by the philosophic fame of James Zabarella at Padua. Thither he went, attended by a young Hollander, his constant and friendly companion. After attending a course of lectures here, he travelled through Italy, visited Rome, then returned to Geneva for a short time, and soon after to Holland. While on his travels, he and his companion carried with them a Greek Testament and a Hebrew Psalter, which they did not fail daily to read, in their exercises of devotion. In 1587 Arminius returned to Holland; and, on repairing to Amsterdam, he found that reports had been circulated there greatly to his disadvantage, respecting his favorable views of the Roman Catholic religion. Among other things, it was said that he had kissed the pope's feet; that he was intimate with Jesuits; that he was introduced to Cardinal Bellarmine; and that he had renounced the Protestant religion. "All this was false," says Bertius, "for he never saw the pope, except as one of the crowd who gazed on him as he passed by, nor does the beast admit any except kings and princes to the honor of kissing his feet; of the Jesuits he knew nothing; Bellarmine he never saw; and as to the Protestant religion, he has ever been ready to shed his blood in its defence." "Bertius is wrong," says Bayle, "in averring that the pope admits none to kiss his feet but kings and princes; private individuals are sometimes admitted to this honor!"

The probability is, that Arminius had been a little profuse of compliments and politeness to the Italians, while he travelled in their country; and it is also probable, that he had ventured to express his admiration of some things which he found in the consecrated land of classical study. This, in the view of some of his fellow Protestants, was "paying homage to the beast." They began *spargere voces ambiguas*, at first; these, like Virgil's *Fama*, soon magnified; every day's journey which they took, added new strength; and by the time they reached Amsterdam, they had assumed the definite shape which has been stated above. It is thus that a little more than ordinary civility toward one's opponents, can be transformed by party zeal, and withal a little of jealousy or envy, into downright heresy.

The reflections of Bayle on this subject are so just and striking, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them. "Among the popular dis-

vases of the human mind, I know not whether any are more worthy of blame, or more productive of evil consequences, than the habit of giving a loose rein to suspicion. It is a very slippery road; and one very soon finds himself at a great distance from the point where he set out. He passes easily from one suspicion to another. He begins with *possibility*, but does not stop there. He passes on to *probability*; then to an almost *certainty*. In a short time, what was possible or probable, becomes matter of *incontestable* certainty; and this certainty is spread over a whole town. Large cities are most of all exposed to this evil."

It may be true that large cities are more prolific in such offspring; because the means of multiplying them are so much more facile and convenient. But human nature is every where substantially the same; and one of the most conspicuous evidences of its degraded and sinful condition, is, its proneness to suspicion and detraction, and the gratification which it experiences in indulging or fostering this spirit.

Arminius found his *Mecaenases*, at Amsterdam, cold and suspicious when he first returned. He succeeded, however, in satisfying them entirely that he had been slandered. He soon received an invitation to a place as minister in one of the Churches at Amsterdam, over which he was installed in 1588, being then twenty-eight years of age. On his return from Italy, he had passed through Geneva, where Beza gave him a letter to his patrons, in which he speaks of him as "animo ad faciendum officium optime comparatus, si Domino Deo placeret, ipsius uti ad opus suum in ecclesiâ suâ ministerio."

Arminius soon became exceedingly popular as a preacher at Amsterdam. His slender, but sweet and sonorous voice, his manner, his ardor, his distinguished talents and finished education, all combined to give him extensive popularity and influence. The rumors which had been set afloat concerning his inclination to become a Catholic, gradually died away, and all classes of men united in extolling his talents as a preacher and a pastor.

This season of popularity and peace, however, was soon in a measure interrupted, by an occurrence unforeseen, and altogether without design, on the part of Arminius. There lived, at Amsterdam, a man of distinguished talents and learning, by the name of Theodore Koornhert, who was strongly opposed to the doctrine of predestination as held at Geneva and in Holland, and who had written and spoken much against it. Two of the ministers at Delft, Arnold Cornelius and Remier Dumteklok had undertaken, by conference and by writing, to oppose Koornhert. In order to do this, however, as they thought to the best advantage, they had relinquished the views of Calvin and Beza in respect to the *decretum absolutum*, viz. the doctrine that the decree of election and reprobation preceded all respect to the fall of man, and to his obedience or disobedience. This is what has since been called *Supralapsarianism*. On the other hand, the ministers at Delft maintained, not only that God in his decree regarded man as created, but also that he had respect to his lapsed condition. This is what has since been called *Sublapsarianism*. It was the work which the Delft ministers published at this time, entitled *Answer to some*

Arguments of Calvin and Beza on the subject of Predestination, which first gave rise to these denominations in the Church of Christ.

Whether the ministers of Delft did not misunderstand the views of Calvin and Beza, it may be of some importance here briefly to show. Calvin says, "Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which he hath determined, in himself, what he would have to become of every individual of mankind. For they are not all created with a similar destiny; but eternal life is foreordained for some, and eternal damnation for others. Every man, therefore, being created for one or other of these ends, we say, he is predestinated either to life or to death." (*Institut.* Lib. iii, c. 21. § 5.*) "In conformity with the clear doctrine of Scripture, we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God hath once for all determined, both whom he would once for all admit to salvation, and whom again he would condemn to destruction." (Ib. § 7.†) "Now with respect to the reprobate .... Esau, while yet unpolluted with any crime, is accounted an object of hatred. If we turn our attention to works, we insult the apostle, as though he saw not what is clear to us. Now that he saw none [i. e. no works] is evident, because he expressly asserts the one [Jacob] to have been elected, and the other [Esau] rejected, while *they had not yet distinguished any good or evil.* to prove the foundation of Divine predestination not to be in works. .... The reprobate are raised up for this purpose, that the glory of God may be displayed by their means. .... When God is said to harden, or show mercy to whom he pleases, men are taught by this declaration to seek no cause beside his will." (Lib. iii, c. 22. § 11.‡) "Let them [the wicked] not accuse God of injustice, if his eternal decree has destined them to death, to which they feel themselves, whatever be their desire or aversion, (velint nolint,) spontaneously led forward by their own nature." (Lib. iii, c. 23. § 3.§) "But though I should a hundred times admit God to be the author of it, [the perverseness of the wicked,] which is perfectly correct, (verissimum,) yet this does not abolish the guilt impressed on their consciences, and from time to time recurring to their view." (Ibid.‖) "All things being at God's disposal .... he orders

* Praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem praedestinatum dicimus.

† Quod ergo Scriptura clare ostendit, dicimus, aeterno et immutabili consilio Deum semel constituisse, quos olim semel assumere vellet in salutem, quos rursum exitio devovere.

‡ Nunc de reprobis .... Esau, nullo adhuc scelere inquinatus, odio habetur. Si ad opera convertimus oculos, injuriam irrogamus apostolo, quasi id ipsum quod nobis perspicuum est non viderit. Porro non vidisse convincitur, quando hoc nominatim urget, *quum nihildum boni aut mali designassent*, alterum electum, alterum rejectum; ut probet divinae praedestinationis fundamentum in operibus non esse .... quod in hunc finem excitentur reprobi, ut Dei gloria per illos illustretur. .... Quum enim Deus dicitur vel indurare, vel misericordia prosequi quem voluerit, eo admonentur homines nihil causae quaerere extra ejus voluntatem.

§ Ne ergo Deum iniquitatis insimulent, si aeterno ejus judicio morti destinati sint, ad quam a suâ ipsorum naturâ sponte se perduci, velint nolint, ipsi sentiunt.

‖ Atqui ut centies Deum auctorem confitear, quod verissimum est, non protinus tamen crimen eluunt, quod eorum conscientiis insculptum subinde eorum oculis recurrit.

all things by his counsel and decree in such a manner, that some men are born, devoted from the womb to certain death, that his name may be glorified in their destruction." (Ib. § 6.*)

As a more thorough-going passage still, in some respects, I quote once more from Lib. iii, c. 24. § 13. Calvin is commenting on the passage in Isa. vi, 9, 10, *Hear ye, indeed, but understand not*, etc. "Observe," says he, "that he [Jehovah] directs his voice to them, [the Jews;] but it is that they may become more deaf; he kindles a light, but it is that they may become more blind; he publishes his doctrine, but it is that they may be more besotted; he applies a remedy, but it is that they may not be healed. . . . Nor can it be disputed, that to such persons as God determines not to enlighten, he [God] delivers his doctrine in enigmatical obscurity, that its only effect may be, to increase their stupidity."†

These passages, all taken from the *Institutiones* of Calvin, a work that was published while he was yet a youth, could hardly be assumed as the certain index of his riper opinions, were it not that we find them confirmed in his Commentary, a work accomplished in his mature years. Let us then hear the same author, when commenting on Rom. ix, 18, *Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth.* "We must insist," says he, "on the words *whom he will;* beyond which we cannot go. As to the word *harden*, when this is used concerning God in the Scriptures, it means not only *permission*, (as some drivelling moderates would say,) but it also means the *action of Divine indignation;* for all external means which conduce to the blinding of the reprobate, are instruments of the Divine indignation. Yea, Satan himself, *who acts with efficiency internally*, is in such a sense his minister, that *he acts only under his control*, (nonnisi ejus imperio agat.) That pitiful subterfuge of the schoolmen, then, about foreknowledge, falls to the ground. Paul does not teach here that the ruin of the impious was *foreseen* by God, but that it was *ordained* by his will and counsel; in the same manner as Solomon teaches, not only that God foreknew the destruction of the impious, but that the impious were, by his decree, created in order that they might perish, Prov. xvi, 4."‡

Again, in commenting on Rom. ix, 10–13, he says, "Although

* Ecce, quum rerum omnium dispositio in manu Dei sit, quum penes ipsum resideat salutis ac mortis arbitrium, consilio nutuque suo ita ordinat, ut inter homines nascantur, ab ævo certæ morti devoti, qui suo exitio ipsius nomen glorificent.

† Ecce, vocem ad eos, dirigit, sed ut magis obsurdescant; lucem accendit, sed ut reddantur cæciores; doctrinam profert, sed qua magis obstupescant; remedium adhibet; sed ne sanetur. . . . Neque hoc quoque controverti potest, quos Deus illuminatos non vult, illis doctrinam suam ænigmatibus involutam tradere, ne quid inde proficiunt, nisi ut in majorem hebetudinem tradantur.

‡ Insistere enim debemus in istas particulas, *Cujus vult* et *quem vult;* ultra quas procedere nobis non permittit. Cæterum *indurandi* verbum, quum Deo in Scripturis tribuitur, non solum *permissionem*, (ut volunt diluti quidam moderatores,) sed divinæ quoque iræ actionem significat. Nam res omnes externæ quæ ad excæcationem reproborum faciunt, illius iræ sunt instrumenta. Satan autem ipse, *qui intus efficaciter agit*, ita ejus est minister, *ut nonnisi ejus imperio agat.* Corruit ergo frivolum illud effugium, quod de præscientiâ Scholastici habent. Neque enim prævideri ruinam impiorum a Domino Paulus tradit, sed ejus consilio et voluntate ordinari. Quemadmodum et Salomo docet, non modo præcognitum fuisse interitum, sed impios ipsos fuisse destinato creatos ut perirent, Prov. xvi, 4.

Esau might have been justly rejected, on account of his *vitiosity* [original sin] . . . . yet that no occasion of doubt may remain here, as if Esau's condition may have been any the worse on account of any fault or sin of his own, it was proper that both sins and virtues should be excluded. [He means virtues with respect to Jacob, and sins with respect to Esau] . . . God has, in his own will, just cause of election and reprobation."*

On Rom. ix, 17, *For this same purpose have I raised thee up*, viz. Pharaoh, Calvin says, "God declares that Pharaoh proceeds from him; that he has assigned him this part to act; and to this sentiment the words ἐξήγειρά σε well correspond. Moreover, lest any one should imagine that Pharaoh was impelled by a kind of general and indistinct impetus on the part of God, so that he might rush into that madness, the special cause or ground is here designated; as if it had been said, that God knew what Pharaoh was about to do, but of set purpose he had destined him to this very end."†

That Calvin, then, was a Supralapsarian, in the sense in which the Delft ministers understood him to be, seems, from these passages and many more to the same purpose which might easily be adduced, to admit of no historical doubt. The right or wrong of his opinions, is no part of my present business. I am now merely acting the part of a historian. By and by I shall make a few remarks, on the use and abuse of such passages as these, in Calvin and other Reformers. But for the present, I pass on to a brief notice of the allegation in respect to the *supralapsarian* sentiments of Beza.

This excellent scholar and able commentator, in his note on Rom. ix, 11, says, "Those who maintain that God has predestinated reprobates to eternal destruction, because he was influenced by any unbelief or sinful works which he foresaw in them, *magnopere profecto fallun-tur.* On this ground, one must draw the conclusion that the counsels of God have their ground in created things and in secondary causes, *quod non modo falsissimum, verum impium fuerit cogitare.*" He then goes on to argue, that just the contrary of all this is true, viz. that things are as they are, because God, for reasons wholly within Himself, determined they should be so; He neither had respect to any faith or good works in the elect, nor to any unbelief or wicked works in the reprobate.

Again, Rom. ix, 17, Beza thus paraphrases: "Respondet de reprobis, sive quos Deus in odio habet nondum natos, et nullo indignitatis praecunte respectu, exitio destinavit; i. e. The apostle treats of the reprobate, whom God hates before they are born, and without any preceding respect to their unworthiness, has destined to destruction."

* Etsi sola vitiositas, quae diffusa est . . . . ad damnationem sufficit, unde sequitur merito rejectum fuisse Esau . . . . ne quis tamen maneat scrupulus, ac si ullius culpae aut vitii respectu deterior ejus conditio fuisset, non minus peccata quam virtutes excludi utile fuit. . . . Deum in suo arbitrio satis justam eligendi et reprobandi habere causam.

† Deus Pharaonem a se profectum dicit, eique hanc impositam esse personam. Cui sententiae optime respondet *excitandi* verbum. Porro, ne quis imaginetur quadam universali et confuso motu divinitus actum fuisse Pharaonem, ut in illum furorem rueret, notatur specialis causa vel finis; ac si dictum essent, scivisse Deum quid facturus esset Pharao, sed datâ operâ in hunc usum destinasse.

These extracts will serve to show that the ministers of Delft did not misunderstand Calvin and Beza, in regard to their views concerning the decrees of God; and that I have not misinterpreted their meaning in the explanation which I have given above. I have quoted from Calvin and Beza, neither for the sake of attack or defence; but merely that the reader may have a fair chance to know the ground on which he stands, while entering upon the history of the times of Arminius.

I return to my narration. The book of the Delft ministers, containing strictures on the Supralapsarianism of Calvin and Beza, was sent by its authors to Martin Lydius, then professor of theology at Franeker. He was dissatisfied with it; but instead of undertaking to answer it himself, he solicited Arminius to do it, in order that he might defend his teacher Beza. This Arminius at first inclined to do; but after a thorough perusal of the *Answer*, he suspended his purpose, as his mind had been filled, by the perusal of the book, with doubts or difficulties in regard to some positions of Beza and Calvin respecting the point in question.

These doubts were soon whispered abroad in Amsterdam, although Arminius did not himself proclaim them in public. Suspicions of defection from orthodoxy began to break out more openly against him, when, in 1591, he explained publicly the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and represented the latter part of it as describing the sinner under legal conviction; in the same manner as Martin Bucer had before explained it, and all the fathers of the Church before the days of Augustine; and in like manner, I may add, as nearly all commentators, whether evangelical or neological, have of late done. He was now accused of *Pelagianism;* and the accusation became the more bitter, because Faustus Socinus had just published, under a fictitious name, the same view of the sentiments contained in this passage of Sacred Writ. He was cited before the synod on account of the exegesis in question, and had long disputes with many of his brethren. His lectures on Rom. vii, are published in his works. They exhibit much acuteness; but it is nearly all employed in the way of the school logic, not in the way of philology.

These difficulties were augmented still more, when, in 1593, Arminius published his lectures on Rom. ix, in which he called in question the interpretation given by Calvin and Beza of this chapter, and labored to show that it was susceptible of another and more probable meaning. In his view, the object of the chapter is to show, that God in rejecting the Jews, who sought for salvation on the ground of their own merit and refused to accept of the terms of the Gospel, and in receiving the Gentiles into their place as the spiritual children of Abraham, not only did the Jews no wrong, but that his proceeding in this case was entirely analogous with many instances of the like nature, which are recounted in the Old Testament and mentioned in Rom. ix. Whether Arminius supposed this reception of the Gentiles into the place of the excluded Jews, to be one of merely an *external* nature, or whether it was truly *spiritual* and *effectual*, is not very explicitly stated by him; at least I have not met with very explicit declarations. If the former only, then one might well ask, whether the great question in debate by the apostle, has any concern with the *mere externals* of religion? If the latter, then

all the difficulties are in reality involved in his own opinion, which belong to that of his antagonists; although the manner in which they have sometimes expressed themselves may be liable to serious objection.

At any rate, however, the exegesis of Arminius was much more specious and tolerable than that of his successor Episcopius, who, at an almost immeasurable length, has labored to show, that the predestination which Paul mentions in Rom. viii, 28, and on which he descants through chap. ix, is a predestination to *sufferings and sorrows*, which the Jewish converts were to expect, and not a predestination to *salvation*. Neither the strong commendations of this opinion by Schröckh (Kirchengesch. seit der Reform. V. 285 seq.) nor the more respectable opinion of J. A. Turretin (Comm. on Rom. viii) that this is one of the objects which Paul had in view, can support any just claim to its reception.

It is very natural to suppose, considering what the views of Calvin and Beza were respecting Rom. ix, and how extensively these were received among the reformed Churches, that such an interpretation by Arminius would occasion not a little commotion. This was the case. Disputes arose out of this, which greatly disturbed the peace and harmony of the Churches at Amsterdam and in its neighborhood, and were productive of no small evil.

In 1597 Arminius repaired to Leyden, for the sake of conferring with the celebrated F. Junius, who was then professor of theology there. The result of this was a long and amicable correspondence between them, on the subject of decrees, necessity, liberty, etc., which is published in the works of Arminius. Junius treated these subjects with mildness and great ability; but he did not satisfy the scruples of his friend respecting them, who became, as it usually happens in such cases, still more confirmed in his own opinion.

There lived, at this time, a very popular and able minister of the Gospel at the Hague, by the name of Uytenbogart, who sympathized in sentiment and feelings with Arminius. To him Arminius wrote, beseeching him to assist in the examination of the difficult questions in which he was engaged. Uytenbogart, as appears by the sequel, entered warmly into his views.

In 1598, Arminius wrote his *Examen modestum Libelli Perkinsii*, i. e. of the treatise in defence of predestination, which the Englishman Perkins had published under the title of *Armilla Aurea*. In 1699, he and his friend Uytenbogart endeavored to move the states of Holland, to cause a new translation of the Bible to be made by that excellent scholar, Drusius. In this they failed, because suspicion was already strong among many of the clergy, that they were aiming at the overthrow of the sentiments then prevailing in the Churches of Holland.

In 1600, Arminius set himself against those of his brethren, who were urging an *annual* subscription of all the ministers to the creed and catechism of the Churches in Holland. In 1602, the plague made dreadful ravages in this country, and particularly at Amsterdam. Arminius is said to have distinguished himself greatly, during the continuance of it, by his attention and kindness to the sick and to the bereaved.

During this plague, F. Junius and L. Trelcatius, professors of

divinity at Leyden, both died. The curators of that university elected Arminius to the place of Junius, in 1603. It was only by the interposition of the curators at Leyden, and of the leading men in the government of the states, that the synod at Amsterdam were persuaded to give him a dismission from the Church at Amsterdam; so great was the attachment of his people to their minister.

It is said that F. Gomar, a distinguished professor of theology in Leyden at this time, was opposed to the election of Arminius. Soon after the latter was inaugurated into his office, he and his colleague Gomar were brought to a friendly conference, in which Arminius explained himself so plainly and fully against the doctrines of Pelagius, that Gomar professed to be satisfied. But during the next year, Arminius delivered a lecture on predestination, in which he maintained that God had eternally decreed to save believers, and to punish the impenitent; the one to the praise of his glorious grace, the other in order to display his power and his indignation against sin. Arminius doubtless meant, that God had respect in his decree, to the belief of the one, and the unbelief of the other. Gomar openly attacked this lecture; Arminius replied; and thus commenced a dispute which has not yet subsided. Gomar carried it on actively, during the rest of his life. The students of the university soon became engaged in it, and were divided; a part held with Gomar, but a majority with Arminius, whose lecture room was always crowded.

This state of things very naturally took hold of the public sympathies. The ministers of the Gospel became divided, as well as the students of the university; but the majority appear to have taken the side of Gomar, and blamed Arminius. As the contest went on, the teachers of religion began first to dispute with each other, then to preach and write against each other, until all Holland was in a state of religious war.

In 1604, some *theses* of Arminius on the divinity of Christ, occasioned him new trouble. The reader will see his views on this subject, in the extracts which by and by will be made from his works.

In 1607, the ministers of Gouda published a catechism, which for the most part was expressed in the language of Scripture, and was intended to be simple and brief. Arminius was accused of favoring this catechism, which, it was averred, would open the floodgates for all manner of error. All these occurrences served to increase the excitement in Holland. This finally rose so high, that the states general were called upon by Arminius and Uytenbogart, to convoke a general synod, before which Arminius might defend himself. The supreme council admitted Arminius and Gomar to a conference before them. The result was, that the council informed the states general, that the disputes between the parties were on points of difficulty, and of little or no importance; and with respect to them, one might believe in this manner or in that, *salvâ fide et salvâ ecclesiâ.* The states general enjoined on the parties to cease contention, and to teach nothing against the creed or catechism; and here they dismissed the matter, intimating only, that at some future day, the subjects in dispute might be decided either by a provincial or national synod.

This attempt of the government to put a stop to the disputes con-

cerning religion, although well meant, was entirely unsuccessful.—Neither Arminius nor Gomar ceased to defend themselves, nor to attack their opponents. The students of the university of course followed suit; and ministers through the country, and finally private individuals, became deeply engaged on one side or the other, in this contest.

The friends of Arminius urged upon their more numerous and powerful antagonists, the command of the government to desist from disputation on the subject of the Divine decrees. Gomar and his friends, excited by remonstrances of this nature, finally disclaimed the authority of the states general in matters of religion. In accordance with these views, the *classis* of Alcmar proceeded, in 1608, to depose five of their number from the ministry, because they refused subscription to a declaration enjoined by them; which amounted to this, viz. that the Heidelberg catechism and the creed of the Hollandic Churches, were entirely accordant throughout with the word of God, and that one was bound to teach all which they contained. They were commanded by the supreme council to restore the ejected ministers to their office; but their answer was, that this was an *ecclesiastical* matter, entrusted to the Church and not to civil rulers. In the sequel, they partly yielded, but not entirely, as to the point in question.

About this time, fresh rumors broke out against Arminius, viz. that he and Uytenbogart had been treated with by the pope, in order to engage them in the defence of the Roman Catholic religion. The ground of these rumors was, that Arminius had averred, that God was ready and willing to impart strength to men to do the duty which he required of them; and also, that he had said, that a pope, who like Adrian VI. should honestly aim at a reformation, was to be judged with moderation. To put these accusations to silence, Arminius published his *Theses de Idololatriâ*, in which he maintained that the pope is an *idol*, and that all who pay homage to him, are idolaters. He published other theses also, in which he defended the Churches of the Reformation against the imputation of schism; and in a public *disputatio*, about this time, he declared the pope to be "adulterum et lenonem ecclesiae, pseudo-prophetam, et caudam draconis, Dei et Christi adversarium, Anti-christum; servum malum qui conservos suos verberat, episcopi nomine indignum, ecclesiae destructorem et vastatorem."

One would think, that if calling hard names could ever develop one man's views respecting another, Arminius had sufficiently done this with respect to the pope, on the present occasion. But all this did not seem to satisfy his opponents. Hints were still circulated, that he had a secret favorable opinion of the Romish Church. One of the ministers at Amsterdam accused him of maintaining many capital errors; and among the rest, of holding the pope to be a true member of the Church of Jesus Christ: "a doctrine," said he, "so odious to God, that many persons have remarked, that since it began to be maintained, the affairs of our republic have taken a very unfortunate turn." In addition to all this it was reported, that Arminius had persuaded a number of persons to return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and influenced magistrates to become less rigid in refusing to papists the liberty of worshipping in their own way without molestation.

In reply to these accusations, Arminius wrote a letter to Sebastian Egbert, in which he explicitly declared that "he did not regard the pope as a member of the body of Christ, but as an obstinate enemy of the same, a sacrilegious man, a blasphemer, a tyrant, a most violent usurper of unjust dominion over the Church, the man of sin, the son of perdition, etc."

As Luther and Calvin had scarcely ever succeeded in bringing more hard names together against the pope, than Arminius collected on this occasion, he seemed, at last, to have made the kind of propitiatory offering which the spirit of the day demanded. For a man to argue coolly and dispassionately, whatever skill or weight his arguments might exhibit or contain, was not enough to satisfy the excited feelings of men. If one did not blacken his adversary, it was but half doing his work. Above all, if he found in him any good thing, one trait of candor, generosity, ability, learning even, then he was no true son of his party. He was regarded as being in secret more than half on his opponent's side; and the only way in which he could throw off this load of suspicion, was, to fill his pages with epithets chosen from the vocabulary which the excitement of the times had rendered too common, to exhibit passionate antipathy, and as it were to clench his fist, and bring it not very softly against the face of his adversary.

One of the most derogatory things that I know of respecting Arminius, is, that he was overcome by the pressure of calumny, so as to yield to such a spirit as that which I have now described. He ought to have resisted it, with calmness as to manner, but still with sacred indignation; because it was truly of an unchristian character. He should have trusted in God, for his ultimate defence and deliverance from calumny. He should have bid defiance to the storm that raged, not in the spirit of pride, but in the strength of conscious innocence; and he was entitled to look with pity on those, who insisted upon it, on penalty of defaming his reputation, that he should defend the truth of God in an ungodly manner. Passion is not piety; the calling of hard names is not argument; the loading of an opponent with curses or with detraction, is not the most probable way of convincing him; nor is the exhibition of the *odium theologicum* a very happy exemplification of obedience to those precepts, which require us, when we are reviled, not to revile again, and demand that "the servant of the Lord should not strive, but be gentle toward all men, meekly instructing those who oppose themselves to the truth, if peradventure God will give them repentance."

Arminius, however, is not the first nor the last, who has been driven, by the cry of heresy, from the ground which Christian integrity and courtesy should ever maintain. But he would have appeared far more dignified, in my view, had he never moved an inch because of the empty accusations about his inclination toward the Romish Church. I am constrained indeed to believe, that all the accusations are true, which he made against the head of that Church, as he then was, and has been for most of the time since. But I could wish he had never uttered them in the manner that he did; much less to appease the unjust demands made on him by detraction. It was an unholy sacrifice. A man who makes such a one, must expect that the very persons who

demand it, will shortly turn round, and look at him with contempt for doing what they demanded. And no doubt, sooner or later, he did receive ample retribution in this way.

Thus much for the spirit of the day, and the homage which even the more independent minds paid to it. We return to the events of Arminius' life.

In this same year (1608) Arminius was summoned by the states general to appear before them at the Hague, and give them an account of his sentiments. This he did in his famous *Declaratio*, published in his works. From this, most of the extracts in the sequel are made, which are exhibited in order to develop the sentiments of Arminius.

The states general, as a body, were at this time beyond all doubt inclined to favor Arminius. But the disputes continuing with increased violence, in the next year (1609) they summoned Arminius and Gomar before them once more, each accompanied by four ministers of his own party, in order that they might hold another conference in their presence. This was interrupted, in a short time, by the sickness of Arminius. Gomar and his friends insisted, before the magistrates, on a general synod, knowing that they had a majority of the clergy on their side. Uytenbogart, the special friend of Arminius, who was present as one of his assistants, warned the states against being prejudiced by the violence and the number of the opponents of Arminius. He expressed an entire willingness to have a general synod; only he averred that, as Beza once said, *he did not wish Satan to be the president of it.*

In the mean time, Arminius died, on the 19th Oct. 1609. His last sickness was exceedingly severe. Exhausted by the fatigues of body and mind which he had undergone, during the many years of his warfare; deeply wounded by the ill reports which the heat of dispute had engendered, and zeal against him had extensively circulated; he fell under a complication of diseases, viz. fever, cough, dyspnoea, atrophy, and arthritis. It is said, that amidst all his sufferings, he died with great calmness and resignation, lamenting the evils to which the Church had been exposed, and earnestly praying for her peace and prosperity. In his last will, made on his death bed, he solemnly testifies that he had, with simplicity and sincerity of heart, endeavored to discover the truth by searching the Scriptures; and that he had never preached or taught any thing, which he did not believe to be contained in them.

Some of his opponents, as Bertius tells us, did not fail to take advantage of the circumstances of his death, in order to make an impression that Heaven had interposed, by special judgments, to remove him from the earth. A partial paralysis of the left side, was one of the evils which he suffered in his last sickness; and with this, came on an obscuration of vision in the left eye, the optic nerve of which became insensible. His opponents, as Bertius and Brandt aver, quoted and applied to him, because of this, the passage in Zech. xiv, 12, where it is said of the enemies of Jerusalem, that *their eyes shall consume away in their sockets;* also Zech. xi, 17, where it is said of a false shepherd, that *the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye.* If they did so, they were at least unlucky in the choice of this last text, as it was the *left* eye of Arminius which was affected.

On a par with this exegesis and application of the Scripture, we may place the epigrams which are said to have been made, on the occasion of his death; among the rest, one made out of his name, by transposition of the letters, *Vani Orbis Amicus.* Among the blessings which the ravages of time bring along with them, one is, that they exterminate a mass of poisonous or of worthless matter, which would otherwise mar the safety and peace of the world by its influence. Such epigrams, I would hope for the honor of Christianity, have been swept away by time, and that they lie buried deep, along with the accusations that Arminius was inclined to favor the Romish Church.

On the other hand, Baudius and Grotius each composed Latin elegies on the occasion of Arminius' death, which were filled with eulogy of his learning and his virtues. It is said that the celebrated Daniel Heinsius, private secretary of the deputation of the states general at the synod of Dort, did the same; but the copy of his verses was suppressed in the later edition of his works.'

After giving a succinct account of the synod of Dort, which took place about ten years after the death of Arminius, the professor presents to his readers an account of the *Creed of Arminius;* but as this differs in nothing material from the doctrine of our own Church, except in the article of the possibility of falling from grace, as it has been so often published, it is not necessary, we apprehend, to lay it before our readers in this place. As, however, the views of Arminius on depravity, regeneration, and justification, have occasioned considerable controversy, have been misunderstood by some and misrepresented by others; and as Professor Stuart has taken some pains to set these subjects in a fair point of light, and to illustrate them by quotations from some other authors of celebrity, of whose orthodoxy even the Calvinists never had any doubt, we think it expedient to give the following extracts from this part of the work before us:—

'"On this point," namely, *justification*, says Arminius, "I am not conscious of having thought or taught any thing different from what the reformed and Protestant Churches believe. . . . For the present I say briefly, that I believe sinners to be justified solely by the obedience of Christ; and that the righteousness of Christ is the sole meritorious cause, on account of which God pardons believers, and accounts them as just, not otherwise than if they had obeyed the whole law. But since God imputes the righteousness of Christ to none except to believers, I think that in this sense, faith may well and truly be said to be gratuitously imputed to a believer for righteousness, viz. inasmuch as God has set forth his Son Jesus Christ as the mercy seat (ἱλαστήριον, or propitiatory sacrifice, by faith in his blood. But however this may be, my sentiments on this subject do not so differ from those of Calvin, whom all admit to be correct here, but that I am ready to subscribe with my own hand, to those things which he has said in the third book of his *Institutions.*" (p. 127.)

Arminius then adds: "These, most noble and supreme *Ordines*,

are the particular articles, respecting which I deemed it necessary to speak my sentiments, agreeably to the order of your *Consessus.*" (p. 127.) He then concludes his declaration, by urging a new and general synod of the Belgic Churches, to take into consideration several particulars of their confession and catechism. p. 128 seq.

We may well suppose, that the points which have now been brought under review, were the principal ones which were the object of attack upon him; for it would have been very ill judged in him to leave unnoticed any important particular of accusation, before an assembly of the states general, to whom an ultimate appeal must be made in all matters of Church as well as of state. Whatever other allegations his opponents have made, or can make against him, I presume that of being wanting in shrewdness and foresight never has been, and never will be one. He plainly *outgeneraled* all his competitors, and enlisted a large majority of the civil power on his side.

It appears, however, that Arminius was not assailed in synods only. There was put in circulation, in a kind of private way, a paper or papers, containing thirty-one charges of error, i. e. error with respect to thirty-one points in theology. To these he at length made a public reply, denying many of them wholly; explaining others; and avowing his sentiments in regard to most of them. From these avowals, I beg the liberty of making a few extracts, which will explain more fully the opinions of this writer, on some points which the preceding extracts leave untouched.

Among other accusations was the following; viz. "that he held, that to those, unto whom the Gospel is preached, sufficient grace of the Holy Spirit is given, so that if they will, they are able to believe; otherwise God does but mock men, in proffering them salvation."

That he ever taught this, in the same words, or the like ones, he totally denies. He afterward proceeds to show what he does hold. "What is meant by *giving sufficient grace?* It is known that there is *habitual* grace (gratiam habitualem) and the grace of *assistance* (assistentiae.) Now the phrase *sufficient* grace may be construed as meaning, that all to whom the Gospel is preached, have *habitual* grace infused into them, which renders them qualified (aptos) to yield faith to the Gospel; which sense I disapprove. For whatever is said of their *sufficiency*, I think should be ascribed to the assistance of the Holy Spirit, by which He aids the preaching of the Gospel, as the instrument by which He is wont to operate on the minds of men. But this assistance of the Holy Spirit may easily be explained, and sufficiency ascribed to it; so that Pelagianism may be shunned, at a great distance.

As to the expression, 'They can believe, through that sufficient grace, if they will;' these words, in this crude form, may be made to convey the very worst sense, and one which by no means accords with the Scriptures; just as if, when ability is once given, the Holy Spirit and Divine grace remain inactive, waiting to see whether man will rightly use this ability and believe in the Gospel. Whereas he who would think and speak correctly respecting this matter, must necessarily assign to grace its own part, and this the principal one, in persuading the will so that it shall assent to those things which are preached.

This explanation will easily free me from the suspicion of heresy on this point." (p. 145.)

The amount of these views seems to be, that Arminius never meant to assert, that *habitual* grace rendered men able or disposed to accept the offers of the Gospel. In other words, what is sometimes called *common* grace, i. e. such influences of the Spirit, whatever they may be, as are bestowed habitually on all men who hear the Gospel, these Arminius denies to be sufficient to engender faith, or to enable the sinner savingly to believe. He affirms that the *gratia assistentiae*, grace specially aiding, or (as we call it) *special grace*, is necessary in order to persuade the will to assent unto the Gospel. He avows explicitly, that we must assign to this grace its own part, and this a principal one, in the matter of saving belief. And if there can be any doubt here as to his meaning, we have to look to his declaration respecting the free will of the sinner, (p. 271 above,) where he openly avows, that "man, in his fallen and sinful state, is able neither to think, will, nor do any thing truly good, but he must be regenerated and renewed of God, in Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in his understanding, affections, or will, and all his faculties, in order rightly to understand, regard, consider, will, and do that which is truly good."

I do not see how it can be justly denied, that Arminius held the doctrine of total depravity, (as this expression is understood by all considerate and intelligent theologians of the present day,) and the doctrine of *special grace*, in the highest sense that words are capable of expressing, unless man is represented as a mere passive machine. It is doing manifest injustice to his memory, to tax him with a denial of these doctrines; and equal injustice, to appeal to him as a patron and supporter of sentiments directly opposed to these doctrines. The envy or fear of a name, and the heat of party spirit, can never be an adequate apology for doing injustice to the dead, in order to gain interest among the living. Nor can a Christian sense of justice admit that it is pardonable, either to denounce a man for errors which he did not hold, or to appeal to him as the patron of sentiments which he rejected, (and this in order to render them more popular and grateful,) when the means of correction are at hand, and nothing is wanting but a little diligence to use them. Whatever were the faults or virtues of Arminius, neither the one nor the other consisted in his rejecting the doctrine of the entire depravity of the unregenerate man, or of the special influences of the Spirit of God; for it is clear as the light, that he did fully recognize the truth of both these doctrines.

I am apprehensive that neither his opposers nor his friends will be satisfied with this representation; for both, in some respects which may easily be conjectured, will be disappointed. The pen of historic justice, however, must not be guided by the wishes of those who may read, but by the evidence which lies before it. This evidence I have produced; and every man of candor may now judge for himself.

Clearly as the opinion of Arminius is expressed in the above extracts, so clearly that we are not at liberty to doubt what his opinion was, unless we can show that he has made a false statement, yet he had such views of the state of the sinner, when laboring under that conviction of mind which usually precedes the regeneration of the heart, as do not

agree with the speculative opinions of many excellent men at the present day. The point is both a delicate and an interesting one; and therefore it is expedient to give his own words.

The anonymous paper that had been put in circulation, and contained the thirty-one articles of accusation mentioned above, charged him, among other things, with holding that "the works of the unregenerate may be pleasing to God, and may be an impulsive cause or occasion, on account of which God is moved to confer saving grace upon them."

In respect to this allegation he says, "The word *unregenerate* may be understood in a two-fold sense. (1) It denotes those who have not experienced any influence of the Spirit, either regenerating them, or tending to or preparing for regeneration. (2) It signifies those who are in the state of being born again, and experience the influence of the Holy Spirit, pertaining either to that which is preparatory to regeneration, or to regeneration itself; although the final act itself of regeneration is not yet completed. I have reference to such persons as are led to acknowledge their sins, to grieve for them, to desire deliverance from them, and to seek after the Deliverer who has been revealed; although they are not yet the actual subjects of that influence of the Spirit, by which the flesh or the old man is mortified, and the new man, formed for a new life, is able to do good works.

In the next place I remark, that a thing may be pleasing to God, either as an initial action pertaining to the commencement of conversion; or as a work complete as to its very essence, and performed by one truly converted and born again. Thus confession of sin is pleasing to God, in which one acknowledges that he is stupid, blind, and poor, and therefore would betake himself to Christ that he may procure ointment for his eyes and garments for himself. So also, works which proceed from warm affection, are pleasing to God. Calvin himself appears to distinguish between the *initial* and *filial* fear of God; and so does Beza, who holds that grief and sorrow for sin belong not to the essential part of regeneration, but to the preparatory one; while he places the essence of regeneration itself in the mortification [of sin,] and in the vivification [of holiness.]

In the third place I remark, that the occasion or impulsive cause by which God is moved, may be variously understood. It will be sufficient for my purpose, if I appeal to two passages of Scripture, from a comparison of which a distinction may be made out which is agreeable to, and sufficient for, my present purpose. In Matt. xviii, 32, the king says, 'I have forgiven thee the whole debt, because thou didst ask me.' In Gen. xxii, 16, 17, God says to Abraham, 'Since thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy son, thine only son, I will greatly bless thee.' If any one does not see in these, first an *impulsive* cause, and secondly one of *complacency*, it must be because he is blind as to the Scriptures.

In the fourth place, saving grace is conferred in different measures or ways; it may be the first grace, or the second; it may be antecedent, or subsequent; it may be operating, or co-operating; it may be knocking and opening, or actually entering. Now unless one properly distinguishes all these things, and uses his language accordingly,

he must necessarily infringe upon others, whose sentiments he does not well understand, or he must make them offenders. If any one will duly consider these things, he will find that the accusation or allegation in question, when understood in one sense, is agreeable to the Scriptures; but in another sense, it is widely diverse from them.

Let the word *unregenerate* be understood as designating one in whom the work of regeneration is begun but not completed; let that which is pleasing when completed, be considered as agreeable when it is commenced; let *impulsive* be defined as that which tends to the final obtaining of a thing; and finally, let saving grace be considered as secondary, subsequent, co-operative, and actually entering [the sinner's heart;] then, evidently we may say with propriety, that earnest sorrow for sin is pleasing to God in such a sense, that, from his abounding compassion, he is moved by it to bestow grace on sinful man."—(pp. 158, 159.)

It would seem, from this representation, that the sinner who is awakened to a sense of his lost condition, may, as Arminius viewed it, be the subject of real sorrow for sin, and have a deep, or at least a true sense of his spiritual wants, and of the necessity of betaking himself to Christ in order that they may be supplied; and all this, short of actual regeneration. This seems at first view to be repugnant to his opinions about the natural, unregenerate man, which have been stated above, and also to the statement of Arminius with regard to special grace. But the contradiction is merely in appearance. Arminius does not deny that the sinner's conviction and sorrow for sin, are the work of the Spirit; he recognizes it as the initial work of the Spirit, but not as the essential and completing one. Of course, he does not contradict his views of the natural man, as he is in himself. The mistake, if there be any, lies in his definition of regeneration. He appeals to Beza in order to confirm this, and avers that Beza held grief and sorrow for sin not to be regeneration, but only a preparation for it. The mortification of the sinful principle, and the vivification of the holy one, Beza makes to be regeneration. And as Arminius had himself been a pupil and an ardent admirer of Beza, we can hardly distrust the correctness of this statement.

Now, at the present day, we are accustomed (rightly as I must believe) to think, that real grief and sorrow for sin come only from a heart truly penitent, and therefore truly regenerate. There may be much terror on account of sin, much *legal* fear, much "sorrow of the world which worketh death," without any real evangelical contrition. The error of Arminius, then, if it be one, lies merely in mistaking the definition of regeneration, or in a want of right views as to the place of its commencement, if I may be permitted so to speak. He makes a gradual work, partly legal and partly evangelical, all of which together makes up an initial and final work of the Spirit, or the whole compass of the operation by Divine grace. After all, the essential act of regeneration itself, the final one, the *gratia finalis, efficiens, ingrediens*, he does not state to be gradual. It is the preparatory, not the final part, which in his view is gradual.

We may differ from him, then, and from Beza, (if Arminius has correctly stated his opinion,) as to the point where the actual renovation

itself of the heart begins. But we need not, on this account, accuse either of them as being heterodox on this point, so long as they ascribe *both the initial and final process to Divine grace*, and maintain that the sinner of himself is "dead in trespasses and sins."

In regard, moreover, to what Arminius calls the initial or preparatory part of the work of regeneration, he certainly does not stand alone here. If this be heretical, then others, whose reputation for high orthodoxy has never been called in question, are also heretical on the same point. Thus in confirmation of the statement of Arminius respecting Beza, I find that this author in commenting on John iii, 6, *That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit*, says, when explaining the nature of the spiritual birth, in distinction from our natural one, "that the Spirit of God does not impart Himself to the regenerate substantially, i. e. by infusing into them a part of His own essence, or by an abscission of Himself in part, and communicating this part to those who are created anew; nor does He create a new substance in the place of the old one which belonged to the natural man; He only renews the image of God in them, removing by His power their former state of pollution, and bestowing on them a disposition to purity; which is a work so great and distinguished, that those who are transformed in such a manner as to their moral qualities, may with propriety be called regenerate, that is, born again, yea, they seem as it were to be created anew, by existing in a new state."

But this great work is not begun and completed at once, according to the views of Beza. So he explains himself: "Hoc autem SENSIM quidem [Spiritus] efficit; et primum in animâ, cujus intellectum verâ luce illustrare, et voluntatem et cæteros affectus ad bonum volendum et præstandum præparare *incipit*;" that is, "the Holy Spirit GRADUALLY accomplishes the work of regeneration; He begins by imparting light to the understanding; and thus He prepares the way for the will and other affections to be inclined to that which is good."

How this differs, in any material circumstance, from the statement and views of Arminius, I am not able to perceive. Neither of them maintains, that the *essential* act itself of regenerating, is gradual. Both aver that there is a preparatory work which is gradual, (hoc *sensim* efficit,) so that one may affirm that Beza and Arminius both held the work of regeneration to be gradual, when considered as a whole, i. e. as embracing the initial or preparatory work; but neither avers this, as to the act itself of creating the soul anew, or of regenerating it in the highest and truly efficient sense.

Nor do these writers stand alone. Dr. Owen, the *coryphæus* of the English Calvinists, in his great work on the Spirit, says, that "Ordinarily there are certain *previous and preparatory workings* in and upon the souls of men, that are antecedent and *dispositive* unto regeneration." (Vol. i, p. 362.) "This," he goes on to say, "is, for the substance of it, the position of the divines of the Church of England at the synod of Dort. . . . I mention this, that those by whom these things are despised, may a little consider whose ashes they trample on and scorn." He then goes on to aver, that what he says respecting this preparatory work, has respect only to adults; and that "the disposition (preparatory and dispositive) is only *materially* so, but

not such as contains grace of the same nature as in regeneration itself."

But what is a *material* disposition to regeneration? Let the author explain himself. "It is one which disposeth, and in some way maketh a subject fit, for the reception of that which shall be communicated, added, or infused into it as its form." By *form* here, I suppose the writer to mean, what was meant by the metaphysical schools of his day. *Form*, in one sense of the word, means a *mould*. Now as melted metal poured into a mould, receives a particular form and shape; so *infusion into a thing as a form*, borrows its meaning from this. The mould (so to speak) of the soul is, in Dr. Owen's view, first to be fashioned, shaped *materialiter*, i. e. as to its own natural ingredients or component parts, before the Spirit of God can be infused into it.

He proceeds to explain his idea. "So wood by dryness and a due composure, is made ready and fit to admit of firing or continual fire." Such then is the preparatory work of regeneration, in Dr. Owen's view. He distinguishes between this so called *material* disposition and a *formal* disposition of the soul. The latter is an ἀπαρχή of essential regenerating grace; (*formal* here meaning *essential*, i. e. pertaining, according to the old metaphysics, to *essential form*;) it is "where one degree of the same kind disposeth the subject unto farther degrees of it; as the morning light, which is of the same kind, disposeth the air to the reception of the full light of the sun." This formal disposition he excludes from the preparatory work; and exactly the same thing do Arminius and Beza.

Dr. Owen proceeds still farther to unfold his idea of the new birth. "In natural generation," says he, "there are sundry dispositions of the matter, before the form [essence] is introduced. So the body of Adam was formed before the rational soul was breathed into it; and Ezekiel's bones came together with a noise and shaking, before the breath of life entered into them." (p. 363.)

Hear him in another subsequent passage: "There are some things required of us in the way of duty, IN ORDER UNTO OUR REGENERATION, *which are so in the power of our own natural abilities*, as that nothing but corrupt prejudices and stubbornness in sinning, doth keep or hinder men from the performance of them." These things he states to be, (1) "Outward attendance on the dispensation of God's word; (2) A diligent intention [attention] of mind in attending on the means of grace." "These things," says he again, "are required of us *in order unto our regeneration*." (pp. 364, 365.) He goes on to state, that these will not of themselves regenerate us, "without an especial, effectual, internal work of the Holy Spirit on the soul;" but that God does "ordinarily, in the effectual dispensation of His grace, meet with them who attend diligently to the outward administration of the means of it."

Beside these preparatory steps toward regeneration, Dr. Owen avers that there are other and more important ones. "There are certain spiritual effects, wrought in and upon the souls of men, whereof the word is the instrument;" viz. (1) Illumination. (2) Conviction. (3) Reformation. "The first of these respects the mind only; the

second, the mind, conscience, and affections; the third, the life and conversation." (p. 366.) Under the head which treats of illumination, he declares, that "there is an illumination [of the unregenerate] which is an *especial* effect of the Holy Ghost, by the word, on the minds of men;" and this he endeavors to establish, by declaring that "such an illumination adds perspicuity to the understanding; greater assent of mind to things revealed; some kind of sudden joy; and sometimes it adds gifts to all the rest." He concludes this head, by saying that such illumination is not regeneration, but "a *third* degree [of illumination] is required thereunto." The second degree has brought the subject of it out of a purely natural state, and placed him on a kind of intermediate ground. A third degree perfects the work. And this second degree, "in the order of nature, is previous to a full and real conversion to God, and is materially [in the sense before explained] preparatory and dispositive thereunto."

Under the head of *conviction*, he states, that "it is antecedaneous unto real conversion to God;" it consists "in sorrow or grief for sin committed, because past or irrecoverable;" also "in humiliation for sin, which is the exercise or working of sorrow and fear in outward acts of confession, fasting, praying, and the like." (pp. 368, 369.)

To all these he adds, that "the soul is filled with thoughts, desires, inquiries, and contrivances about a deliverance out of that state and condition wherein it is;" and that "a great reformation of life, and *change in affections*, doth ensue hereon."

"All these," he next avers, "may be wrought in the minds of men by the dispensation of the word, and yet the work of regeneration never be perfected in them." Moreover, "These things are good in themselves, and fruits of the kindness of God toward us," (p. 370;) "they are the effects of the power of the Spirit of God." (p. 372.)

An objection then presents itself to the mind of this distinguished theologian. "How can the Holy Spirit be the author of a work, which is ineffectual and imperfect upon the hearts of men?" To this he answers, (1) In most persons real conversion follows this work; and "their *preparatory actings make way* for the introduction of the new spiritual life into the soul." (2) Their failure is owing to the sinner's extreme wickedness; for "even common illumination and conviction of sin have, in their own nature, a tendency unto sincere conversion." It is "wilfulness and stubbornness in those enlightened and convicted," which defeat the end to be attained. "*They faint not for* WANT OF STRENGTH *to proceed;* BUT BY A FREE ACT OF THEIR OWN WILLS, they refuse the grace which is farther tendered unto them in the Gospel. This *will*, and its actual resistency unto the work of the Spirit, God is pleased in some way to take away . . . . but *the sin of men, and their guilt, is in it*, where it is continued; for no more is required hereunto, [i. e. to constitute sin or guilt,] but that it be *voluntary;* IT IS WILL, AND NOT POWER, THAT GIVES RECTITUDE OR OBLIQUITY UNTO MORAL ACTIONS." (pp. 373, 374.)

So speak the unbiassed feelings of every man on earth, respecting the moral nature of sin, when he forgets system, and comes to vindicate God and the work of his Spirit, as Dr. Owen does here. It is "*not* want of strength," says this excellent man and divine, "but a

free act of the sinner's own will" which makes him come short of the grace of life. How little Dr. Owen, on some occasions, remembered such explicit declarations as these, when he was urging the doctrine of human inability and depravity against the Semi-Pelagians of his day, any one may see who will take the trouble to compare his works. But I return to my immediate purpose.

Dr. Owen does not even stop with the preparatory work of regeneration, where I have left him. He goes on quite beyond Arminius himself; for in speaking of his "preparatory and dispositive work," he says: "These operations of the Holy Spirit are, in their own nature, GOOD AND HOLY; illumination is so; so is conviction; so is sorrow for sin; with a subsequent change of affections and amendment of life." (p. 374.)

Arminius contented himself with averring merely, that these things in the convicted sinner were *pleasing* to God, because they are dispositive toward regeneration, i. e. constitute an initial state of preparation for that work. But Dr. Owen does not scruple to say, that these very same things are "*good and holy.*" Both acknowledge that they proceed solely from the influence of the Spirit; so that here is no room for making any distinction. If then Arminius was an *Arminian* in regard to this whole matter, Beza was one equally decided, and Dr. Owen was greatly advanced beyond either, in the same heresy. So easy it is, where history and facts are not consulted, and prejudice and popular clamor are followed, to put down one man for heresy, and cry up another for orthodoxy, when, if both are sifted to the bottom, it will be found, that they are substantially agreed on the very points where they are affirmed widely to differ.

The right or wrong of Arminius, or Beza, or Owen, is not what I am laboring to prove or disprove. This is not my present business. But to do historical justice to the parties concerned, by showing what their opinions really were, and what justice or injustice has been done them by subsequent ages, will be regarded as highly proper, by every candid and discerning man.

My apology for dwelling so long on these points, is, the interest which they claim, at present, in our religious community. Every man who wishes to know "what he speaketh and whereof he affirmeth," will be glad to have facts placed before him; and then he can judge for himself.

I do not refrain from giving any opinion on the correctness of the sentiments above cited, because I have none; but because, as I have already remarked, it would here be out of place. I say, only in a word, that to some of the *things* aimed at by these distinguished writers, I can give my hearty assent: to some others I cannot; and to the *mode* of representation in general, I feel many objections which do not seem to me capable of being removed.

I proceed to another topic of great interest, and respecting which I have yet exhibited no very explicit declarations of Arminius; I mean *the sin and fall of our first parents.* In his thesis respecting this, he ascribes their first sin to their own free will, and to Satan, as concurrent causes of it. As to its effect on their posterity, he uses the following language:—

"This whole sin is not peculiar to our first parents, but is common to the whole race of their posterity; who, at the time when they sinned, were in their loins, and afterward descended by natural generation from them. *For all sinned in Adam*, Rom. v. Whatever punishment, therefore, was inflicted on our first parents, has gone down through, and still rests on, all their posterity; so that all are children of wrath by nature, Eph. iii, 3, being obnoxious to condemnation, to death temporal and eternal, and to a destitution of original righteousness and holiness. To these evils they will remain eternally subject, unless they are delivered from them by Jesus Christ; to whom be glory for ever." (p. 243.)

To the same purpose Arminius speaks, in another thesis respecting the effects of the sin committed by our first parents. "If they transgressed, their posterity were to be deprived of such blessings as they enjoyed, [viz. the favor and grace of God,] and were to become obnoxious to the opposite evils. Hence it comes, that all men who are their natural descendants, have become obnoxious to eternal and temporal death, and are destitute of original righteousness; which penalty is usually called, a loss of the Divine image, and *original sin*." (p. 378.)

If President Edwards, who endeavors to prove the physical and metaphysical unity of all men with Adam and Eve, was sufficiently strenuous on the doctrine of original sin and imputation of sin; then is Arminius to be regarded in the same light as to this point; inasmuch as he maintains the absolute *physical* unity of all men with Adam, and that the same sentence of death, temporal and eternal, has come upon all, because they did thus partake of Adam's sin. So says the Westminster Catechism, moreover: "Who sinned IN him, and fell with him, in his first transgression." I have met with no orthodoxy of a higher type than that of Arminius, on this much contested point.

My readers will doubtless be curious to inquire, whether Arminius has given us still more particular views, in respect to the hereditary depravity which we derive from Adam. In his thesis on *actual sins*, he has touched this point. He is speaking of the cause of our sinning, when he says: "The efficient cause of all actual sins, is man's free will. The *causa προηγουμένη*, precedent cause, is our original inclination to that which is contrary to the Divine law, which [inclination] we contracted by natural generation from our first parents. The *causæ προκατάρκτικαι*, the predisposing causes, [of sin,] are the objects and occasions which solicit to sin." (p. 245.)

In his thesis respecting the *free will and ability of men*, he represents the unregenerate man as "impotent in his will with respect to good; as mangled, wounded, infirm, bowed down, beat down, taken captive, undone, lost; his ability not only weakened and inefficacious, without the assistance of Divine grace, but as amounting to nothing at all without such grace; for, adds he, Christ has said, *Without me ye can do nothing*. The mind of man, in his natural state, he declares to be darkened, and incapable of understanding the things of the Spirit. With this is associated the perverseness of the heart and affections, so that the sinner hates what is truly good, and loves and pursues what is evil. The carnal mind is enmity against God, is not subject to his

law, neither indeed can be. The heart is deceitful, perverse, uncircumcised, hard, and stony; its imagination is only evil, from youth."

His impotence as to all that is good, corresponds to his blindness of mind and perversity of heart. An evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit. He is not subject to the law of God, neither can he be so. He is altogether dead in sin. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty; the Son only can make us free; "it follows, therefore, that our will, since the first offence of Adam, *is not free to good*, unless it is made free by the Son."' (pp. 263, 264.)

After thus exhibiting the history and creed of Arminius, the learned professor thus sums up his own views respecting him and his doctrine:—

'On the whole, it must be conceded that Arminius had rare talents to sustain the place of a leader of a party. He was learned, eloquent, bold, ardent, fearless, persevering, and undismayed by partial defeat. If he was repulsed, and his forces scattered, and the enemy were retiring to celebrate their supposed final triumph, he would rally again, pursue his exulting foes, and attack them while crowned with the garlands of victory. He was so thoroughly versed in the ancient fathers of the Church, so acute in school logic, and familiar with the masters of it, and withal so much of an adept in the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, that his declarations respecting these matters carried along with them a weight among the learned, which his antagonists could not well resist. Then, when he appeared in public as a preacher, his great engagedness, the great remove at which he placed himself from the school theology, which was unintelligible to the common people, and withal his sweet voice, his winning manner, and his seriousness and fervor, overcame all the prejudices that his opponents could raise against him, and made him the idol of his congregation at Amsterdam, and equally so of the students at Leyden. Not a little of the asperity of Gomar's opposition to him, sprung, in all probability, from this source. How can we bear, not only that another should venture to differ from our own opinion, but that he should even make it and himself more popular than we can make our cause and ourselves? It is one of the hardest burdens to bear, that poor human nature ever takes upon itself. Nothing but magnanimity above the ordinary stamp, and even this sanctified by the grace of God, will enable a man meekly and patiently to sustain such a load.

With all the superior advantages of person and talent which Arminius possessed, there was joined an expertness and dexterity of management, which he had acquired by long personal experience. When a child, he became an orphan. From the very dawn of his being, then, he was inured to struggle with difficulties and trials. Early in life he went abroad, and began to contend with some of the first geniuses of the age, in regard to metaphysics and dialectics. In all the universities where he came, he was put forward as a leader and spokesman. Defamation attacked him on his outset in life. All these things gave him experience and dexterity; and these, united with his talents and learning, his personal manners and appearance, his fervor

and eloquence, fitted him in an extraordinary manner to gain popularity and influence, and to foil his adversaries in serious conflict.

Beside these things, which account for his influence and success, it must be remembered, that his own personal heresy, (if indeed such a name must be given to his opinions,) was not a very grievous one in the eyes of sober and reflecting persons, who were not partisans in theology. On all the great doctrines of the Gospel, total depravity, special grace, atonement by the death of Christ, justification by grace alone through faith, the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divine authority and sufficiency of the Scriptures, and other doctrines necessarily connected with these, he was altogether orthodox. He only contended against the *decretum absolutum* and irresistible grace, and doubted about final perseverance, because he thought that this could not be maintained, without infringing upon the liberty and free agency of man. And admitting that he reasoned wrongly here, it amounts to an error in the philosophy of religion, rather than in its *theosophy*, if I may use this word in the sense which its origin indicates. Consequently the moderate part of thinkers in religion, did not regard Arminius as deserving of decided and hostile reprobation. They first sympathized with him under the abuse which he received; and (which is very natural) at last with his sentiments. This done, the more he was impinged upon by his opponents, the closer did his friends draw around him.

He had powerful friends. Uytenbogart was the most distinguished pulpit orator of his day in Holland. Oldenbarneveld, Grotius, Hogerbeets, Casaubon, J. G. Vossius, Vorstius, some of them among the most distinguished scholars the world has seen, were the decided friends of Arminius. He well knew this; and supported by such influence, he redoubled his zeal and his confidence.

To sum up the whole of Arminius' character in a word; he was a man of very distinguished talents and learning; he possessed shining and popular talents to an uncommon degree; he was too much actuated by the love of popularity and novelty; and too much intent on making his opponents unpopular. He was fitted, in an unusual manner, to become a powerful heresiarch; but most of the accusations of heresy made against him, appear to be the offspring of suspicion, or of a wrong construction put upon his words. In reference to what is now, and has for a long time been, called Arminianism among us, we may well and truly say, that *Arminius himself was no Arminian.* The justification of such an assertion is altogether unnecessary, after having made such copious extracts from his writings as I have made above. Unless Sublapsarians are to be counted heretics, Arminius himself is not justly to be called a heretic. If he is, then the Lutheran Churches are to be deemed heretical; who have almost universally accorded with his sentiments. If any insist upon it, moreover, that Sublapsarians are heretics, a majority of the synod of Dort must come under this denomination. I trust that a sober man will be disposed to consider the subject very seriously, before he proceeds in a plan of excommunication so extensive as this.'

We know not to what particular system of doctrines Professor Stuart alludes, when he says above that, 'In reference to what is now, and

has for a long time been called Arminianism among us, we may well and truly say, that *Arminius himself was no Arminian.*' We know of no sect indeed, at the present time, which is distinguished by the name of Arminian, only so far as this name may have been applied to us as a term of reproach, and which we have constantly repelled, not by denying that we are Arminians, understanding thereby those who hold to the doctrines taught by Arminius; but by endeavoring to show that Arminianism properly understood was not that dreaded heresy which our opponents had so often and so long represented it to be; and we are now glad to find ourselves sustained and justified by so able a champion for orthodoxy as is Professor Stuart.

We allow, indeed, that many have been *called* Arminians, who were as far from the creed of Arminius, as he was represented to be by his adversaries from genuine orthodoxy, and from which the present piece so triumphantly vindicates him; but why Arminius himself, or any of his genuine followers, should be reproached with sentiments they never held, but always and uniformly protested against, we cannot tell; and we cannot but hope that hereafter we may hear no more that Arminianism, or in other words Methodism, should be ranked among the enemies of the cross of Christ.

Circumstances having placed us in such a position as to compel us to look narrowly and cautiously into this controversy, we have often wondered at the flippancy of some writers who have so positively condemned Arminianism as a detestable heresy. We asked ourselves, *Do not these writers know better?* If they do not, they are certainly unfit to write on this subject; because it was as clear to our minds as the light at noon day, that they entirely misapprehended the doctrine taught by Arminius; and identifying our principles with *that*, without a proper examination, they set us down also as unsound in the faith. If, on the other hand, they knew better, we were at a loss to reconcile their conduct with common honesty. And we think the discussion of this subject by Professor Stuart, considering the results to which he has so justly arrived, leads to one or the other of the following conclusions: either,

1. That the enemies of Arminius and of Arminianism wilfully misrepresented him and his doctrine; or,

2. That they were ignorant of the man and of his communication.

And whoever will consult Nichols' edition of the *Works of Arminius* will be at no loss in determining this question. We are extremely gratified, however, to find that bigotry is giving place to candor, and that such a man as Professor Stuart is ennobling his character by doing such an act of justice to the illustrious dead. It is a service for which the Christian community ought to thank him, and more especially his

more immediate brethren, as it will set them right on a very important and long-mooted item of Christian theology, and enable them to decide with greater accuracy on the points of difference between Calvinism and Arminianism.

Although we have received no new light on this subject, having been long satisfied that Arminianism, as taught either by Arminius himself or by John Wesley, would bear the light of a thorough and impartial examination, yet we rejoice that Professor Stuart was led to take this subject in hand, as many will read his work and believe his word, that would, in all probability, otherwise never have been rightly informed on these subjects. And if the professor will now take up the Life and Times of John Wesley, and do as ample justice to him and his doctrine, as he has done to Arminius and his doctrine, he will add another item to the catalogue of his good deeds, and thereby convince *his* readers that Methodism should no longer be ranked among 'the resources of the adversary.'

As reference has been made in the preceding quotation from Professor Stuart to the circumstances which led Arminius forth into the field of controversy, perhaps it may be satisfactory to our readers to have these explained more at large. The following account of these matters is taken from Nichols' edition of the Works of Arminius, vol. i, page 59 :—

'The cause of the controversy was this: Coornhert one day entered into conversation with a man who made a great boast of having left the communion of the Church of Rome, and joined the Reformed or Calvinists. Coornhert, perceiving from his conversation, that this proselyte from popery could adduce no solid reason for the change, dryly observed, "It is a matter that may admit of some doubt, whether the profession of religion which you have abandoned, or that which you have embraced, be the better." This expression being repeated with a few obnoxious additions, as is the general custom in cases of this kind, excited the sensitive zeal of the two Calvinist ministers, and in the heat of their passion they challenged Coornhert to a public controversy on *the characteristics of the true Church.* Coornhert maintained, that the congregations that believed and professed the doctrines of Calvin, could not be true Churches: to prove this thesis, he reprobated in a masterly and popular manner their peculiar views of *predestination, justification,* and *killing heretics.* After this public conference had been conducted on both sides a short time, it was prohibited by order of the states general,—but resumed a few weeks afterward at Leyden, where certain deputies were appointed by their high mightinesses to attend as moderators in the assembly. Coornhert relates, that he was not allowed by these commissioners of the states, to mention the subject of *punishing heretics with death;* and he was compelled to follow the two ministers in the order in which they chose to conduct the dispute and to answer the questions which they proposed.

Yet though he had to maintain his cause against two subtil opponents, and before judges who were themselves of the Calvinistic persuasion, he completely silenced the chief speaker Cornelison, who, being greatly enraged, was not able to proceed with his intended arguments. Donteklok came to his assistance, but soon caught the infectious stammering and hesitation of his colleague, and when he was obliged suddenly to stop, either through a defect of recollection or a want of argument, Coornhert, who was a bold and witty man, said rather smartly, "What! is this the doctrine of Calvin and Beza?" Their honors, the commissioners, thinking this a good opportunity for relieving the embarrassment of the discomfitted ministers, turned round to Coornhert and reprimanded him severely for having mentioned the names of those two venerable reformers. Another person also added something in the way of reproof, to whom Coornhert, having given an answer in kind, proceeded to say, "We are permitted to repeat the name both of God and the *devil*, without being called to an account for such words; why then ought we to be blamed for speaking of two mortal men that were liable to error?" Many warm expressions followed on both sides, and Coornhert left them, declaring before the hundreds of assembled hearers, that he should reason no longer with men who would not concede to him the right of reply.

Each party, as is usual on such occasions, claimed the victory for itself. Coornhert was for some years prohibited from publishing his remarks on this or any other religious controversy, although he petitioned the states, without effect, against such a severe and sweeping restriction. But the ministers of Delft,—willing to give the best coloring to the doctrine of Calvinistic predestination, some time about the year 1589, wrote the popular pamphlet, the title of which has already been given, and in which they defended the lower or *sublapsarian* scheme.

This controversy had occurred ten years before; yet, in consequence of it, Coornhert had frequently become the object of pulpit vituperation. Some of his theological opinions were certainly too loosely expressed, and were such as could not be maintained by any conscientious ARMINIAN,—a term of distinction at that time unknown among professors of religion. He was a man of great sincerity, a hater of persecution on religious account, and his life and conduct were most holy and exemplary. He had rendered important services to his country on various trying emergencies at the risk of his life, and had been a most zealous and active champion in the cause of the reformation. Yet he was loaded with reproaches, and his name was cast out as evil. "The heretic" and "the libertine" were the usual epithets by which he was known among his enemies; and to refute his supposed errors from the press and the pulpit, was the labor which almost every petty synod in the United Provinces delegated to one of the most able of its members. When Lydius, therefore, who was an admirer of Beza and consequently a *supralapsarian*, had sent the pamphlet published by the ministers at Delft, and had solicited Arminius to defend the sentiments of his old master, against those which were then considered to be much too mild and fraught with error,—at the very same period the ecclesiastical senate of Amsterdam preferred a

request to him that he would undertake the province of exposing the errors of Coornhert. Thus, by a remarkable coincidence, was committed into the hands of Arminius, a young divine of the greatest promise, the momentous charge of refuting what were deemed to be two very opposite heresies. The providence of God, under whose control are all the affairs of His Church, seems, for the wisest and most beneficent purposes, to have brought into immediate contact, at a remarkable crisis, two clashing propositions involving an important verity of Christian doctrine, that they might arouse the attention and excite the energies of a mortal who had been highly gifted of God, and upon whom had been bestowed an enlarged and most capacious understanding, and a mind so peculiarly trained to close thought and logical deductions, as if it had been educated with the sole intent of skilfully eliciting the portion of conflicting truth contained in each of these propositions, and of framing from them a grand and Scriptural system which most signally "justifies the ways of God to man."'

On page 11 Professor Stuart gives it as his opinion that if Arminius had taken the sage advice addressed to him by Beza, and 'reduced it to practice, he would have never been the head of a party which is called by his name; and he would have avoided many a scandal and sorrow, and much disturbance to the Church of God.' In this we by no means agree with the professor. It was not owing to a rage for novelty, nor from an improper warmth of temperament, which led Arminius to perceive the errors of high-toned Calvinism; but an ardent love of the truth, and a conscientious regard to its sacred dictates. Indeed, it is not at all to be wondered at that a mind like that of Arminius, so richly furnished with science, so deeply bent on the pursuit of truth, and withal so thoroughly imbued with the fear and love of God, should have discovered the legitimate and pernicious consequences of Calvin's doctrine of the Divine sovereignty.

The authority also on which the professor relies for these particulars respecting Arminius, is at least of an equivocal character. Bayle was a professed skeptic, and as such was no doubt a believer in the doctrine of fatality; and hence he would naturally be inclined to pour contempt on, or at least to find a fault if possible in the man who did so much to undermine the foundation of his skepticism. All, we believe, with the exception of this infidel writer, (Bayle,) who have impartially searched into the character of Arminius, allow that he was no less remarkable for his humility and love of truth than he was for his commanding ability and profound erudition. Nor do we believe that if his antagonists had been possessed of a kindred spirit, the Church would ever have suffered so 'much disturbance,' nor Arminius himself have been afflicted with that 'scandal and sorrow,' which came upon him and upon the Church without his fault. We believe, moreover, that thousands will bless God, for ever, that He raised up such a man

as *James Arminius* and made him instrumental in clearing away the rusts which the objectionable features of Calvinism had collected around the character of God.

AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

Journal of an Expedition to explore the source and termination of the Niger: with a Narrative of a voyage down that river to its termination. By Richard and John Lander. Illustrated with engravings and maps. In two volumes, 18mo. Vol. i, 384, vol. ii, 366 pages.

Africa,* though connected with the continent of Asia by the isthmus of Suez, by a neck of land about sixty miles in breadth, lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the Arabian Gulf, has been reckoned one of the four great continents into which the world is divided. In point of size it ranks next to Asia and America. It forms an immense peninsula, being united to Asia by the isthmus just mentioned, bounded on the north by the Mediterranean, which separates it from Europe, on the west by the Atlantic, which separates it from America, on the south by the Southern Ocean, on the east by the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and part of Asia. It stretches from Cape Bona in the Mediterranean on the north to the Cape of Good Hope in the south, comprehending about 70 deg. of latitude, or 4980 miles; and from Cape Verd on the west to Cape Guardafui east, about 68 deg. of longitude, or somewhat more than 4790 miles.

Though the northern parts of Africa, comprehending Egypt, Ethiopia, and Carthaginia, were well known to the ancients, yet the southern regions, particularly the interior provinces, have never been accurately surveyed even to this day. Herodotus seems to have been well acquainted with those countries from Mount Atlas to Ethiopia; but his knowledge of the central parts of the country was extremely limited, as his inaccurate accounts of it evidently show.

The striking diversity of appearance by which the inhabitants of different parts of Africa are distinguished from each other, and the negroes from all the rest of mankind, would naturally lead us into a discussion concerning its original population; but history furnishes us with no facts sufficient to direct us in this interesting inquiry. The northern and eastern regions probably received their first inhabitants from the adjacent coasts of Asia. A general resemblance in feature.

* Various conjectures have been entertained respecting the etymology of the name given to this country; but the most plausible appears to be that of Servius, who derives it from the Greek *a priv.* or *not*, and φρικη, *cold*, *not cold*, which is certainly expressive of that burning climate by which most parts of Africa are distinguished.

in manners, and in some of their religious tenets, seems to indicate an affinity between the Egyptians and the natives of Hindostan. The Abyssinians are evidently of Arabian extraction. Carthage was originally peopled by a colony from Tyre; and Sallust, on the authority of Punic manuscripts, informs us, that other parts of the African coasts were colonized by Medes, Persians, and Armenians. The Romans, who extended their conquests in Africa as far as the river Niger, established in these fertile regions many flourishing colonies. When their empire was subverted by the northern barbarians, the Vandals passed from Spain into Africa; and, after converting one of the richest and most populous countries in the world into a barren wilderness, erected there a kingdom which lasted for upward of a century. The north of Africa was, after that interval, subdued by Mohammedan Arabs, who, under the name of Moors, form now a great proportion of its population. Among the mountains of Barbary there is a race of men distinct from the Moors in the plains, of a fair complexion, thin, light, and active. Though a pastoral people, their sentiments are lofty, their manners are more elegant, and their morals less licentious than those of the Moors. Berberia, the ancient name of Barbary, may easily be traced to Breber, the appellation by which these people are still distinguished; and from many other circumstances, it is probable that they are the most ancient inhabitants of this part of Africa; and have mingled so little with foreigners, that they retain much of their original appearance. On the southern frontiers of Morocco, there is a tribe apparently the same with the Brebers, known by the name of Shellu, who speak a language of their own, which is supposed to be derived from the ancient Punic. They correspond almost exactly to the description of the Mauritenians, given by the Roman writers; and are said still to denominate Europeans by a name that sounds like Roumi. The countries south of Sahara, or the great desert, are inhabited by the negroes, apparently a distinct and indigenous race.*

* We by no means concur in the opinion expressed above respecting the indigenous origin of these people, as it savors too much of infidelity, and is moreover unphilosophical. The difference of color may, we think, be accounted for from difference of climate, habits, and modes of living. That the climate has great influence in forming the color of the skin is manifest even in our own country. Compare, for instance, the hands of a man who is accustomed to labor in the open air, with those of another who is kept chiefly in-doors, and never goes out without defending his skin from the atmosphere by wearing gloves, and there is as great a difference between the one and the other as there is between the skin of the laboring man and that of an African. Look also at those families who are brought up in habits of idleness, filth, and rags, exposed much to the rays of a burning sun, and what a difference in their whole appearance from those of cleanly and orderly habits.

As to the unmeaning physiognomy of some of the Africans, it arises, we believe, altogether from want of mental culture and from a barbarous custom practised upon

No cause, but an original difference of conformation, can well account for that peculiarity of appearance which so remarkably distinguishes them from the inhabitants of every other country, though placed under similar latitudes, and as burning a sun; and which remains invariable in the negro race, whatever may be the change of their situation, or their mode of life. Some nations of a copper color, with lank hair, have recently been discovered in the interior; but so imperfectly is this country known, that scarcely a probable conjecture can be given concerning their origin.

The Carthaginians, an active and enterprising people, penetrated by land into several of the interior provinces, with some of which they established a commercial intercourse, while others they subjected to their empire. They sailed along the western coast almost to the tropic of Cancer; and planting several colonies, endeavored to civilize the rude natives, and accustom them to trade.

A more wonderful voyage was afterward said to have been performed by the Phœnicians, which, though the account of it was regarded as fabulous by some, subsequent discoveries have confirmed to be true; for they affirmed that when sailing around Africa, *they had the sun on the right hand.* But notwithstanding these voyages and discoveries, Africa was very little known to the ancients, even by men of the most extensive erudition, for Polybius, the most learned and intelligent historian of antiquity, informs us that in his time it was not ascertained whether Africa was a continued continent, stretching toward the south, or whether it was surrounded by the sea. Strabo was equally ignorant of its form, and Ptolemy, the most inquisitive and best informed of the ancient geographers, supposed that it stretched without interruption to the south pole; and he so far mistook its figure, that he describes it as becoming broader and broader toward the south.

After the downfall of the Roman empire, Africa was scarcely known to Europeans, until the accidental discovery of the Canary Islands excited a general spirit of adventure, increased and aided as it was by

them in their infancy, as they are naturally as shrewd as any other race of people; and in those places where the arts and sciences were once cultivated, they produced men as eminent in the walks of literature as any other part of the world. And the facts disclosed by recent travellers in Africa give us honorable examples of native shrewdness, though the individuals lacked that polish which education gives, and of as high and delicate feeling, as are to be found in more civilized countries.

As to the indigenous origin of the Africans, it is but a repetition of what Tacitus affirms of the aborigines of Germany, when speaking of their barbarous manners. The fact is, 'God made of one blood all the nations of the earth,' and hence whatever difference may now appear among the several tribes of men, is doubtless owing to climate, to education, to modes of living, to the influence of religious sentiments, rites, and customs, and to other accidental causes which might be named.

the invention of the mariner's compass. It was not, however, till the fifteenth century, that the boldness of enterprise, which the improving skill in navigation inspired, and the ardent curiosity natural to minds just emerging from ignorance, and expanding with more enlarged ideas, suggested regular plans of discovery, which at length conducted the navigator to a new world, and to regions hitherto unexplored. The Portuguese took the lead in this career. John I. of Portugal equipped a large armament to attack the Moors on the coast of Barbary; and the vessels sent on this expedition passed the dreaded promontory of Cape Non, and proceeded as far as Cape Bojador, 160 miles beyond any former navigators. The breakers, which dashed with tremendous fury over the cliffs of Bojador, projecting far into the Atlantic, prevented them from attempting to sail around this frightful cape. Still more vigorous efforts were made by the enthusiastic ardor of Henry, fourth son of John, who succeeded in doubling the Cape of Bojador, in discovering the island of Madeira, and finally of advancing within the tropics: the ships discovered the river Senegal, and explored all the coast of Africa, from Cape Blanco to the Cape de Verd. John II. of Portugal prosecuted with ardor this enterprise. He sent a powerful fleet, which discovered the kingdoms of Banin and Congo, and advanced 1500 miles beyond the equinoctial line, where the adventurers beheld with astonishment a new heaven filled with stars which they had never before seen; and with a view to secure these newly-discovered countries, this enterprising monarch planted colonies on the coast of Guinea, entered into commercial connections with its more powerful sovereigns, rendered others vassals to him; and by a regular and well digested system of policy, established upon a solid foundation, the power and commerce of the Portuguese in Africa. These discoveries rendered the account of the Phœnician voyage, which had been considered by the ancients as fabulous because they reported that they had seen the *sun on their right*, highly probable, and confuted the theory of Ptolemy, who had hitherto been considered as an oracle among geographers, that Africa grew broader and broader toward the south.

Being now fully convinced that the southern point of Africa terminated in the ocean, this monarch fitted out another fleet, under the command of Bartholomew Diaz, whose intelligence and boldness well qualified him for the adventurous enterprise. After encountering a variety of hardships, from storms and tempests, the loss of one of his ships, and from the mutinous conduct of his crew, and discovering more than a thousand miles of new country, he descried the lofty promontory by which Africa is terminated in the south; but the increased violence of the storms, and the shattered state of his ships, prevented him from sailing around it: to commemorate the hardships he had en-

countered in these hitherto unknown seas, he called the promontory *Cabo Tormentoso* or the *Stormy Cape*. But his sovereign, confident that he had found a passage around this continent, and of course a passage to India, gave it the name of *Cape of Good Hope*, a name which it has ever since retained.

Intent upon accomplishing the object of his wishes in finding a passage in this direction to India, the monarch sent out another fleet under the command of Vasquoz de Gama, who, after struggling for months with contrary winds, succeeded in passing the southern point of Africa, explored its eastern shores as far as Melinda, in Zanquebar, and sailing thence for India, arrived at Calicut on the 22d of May, 1498, about six years after Columbus had discovered the continent of America. But while this passage opened a lucrative trade to India, it merely opened a way to Africa for the commencement of the detestable slave trade, by which the several nations of Europe have so generally disgraced themselves, and entailed upon their posterity a curse of the most tremendous magnitude.

These discoveries, however, gave but an imperfect knowledge of the geography of Southern Africa, except a few lines along its coast. Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, had to be sure long been known, and an acquaintance with Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, was much enlarged by the communications of Norden and Bruce.

Such was the state of African geography, when an *association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa*, was formed by a number of enterprising English gentlemen. The first person they employed in their service was Ledyard, an American, who had spent several years among our American Indians, and afterward accompanied Capt. Cook in his voyage around the world. Impelled on by a spirit of enterprise he had also travelled through various countries of Europe and Asia, suffering almost incredible hardships, and finally arrived in England just in time to offer himself as the first adventurer, under the auspices of the African association, into the interior of Africa. But though actuated by the most generous and ardent enthusiasm in this cause, and fully competent for the task, he failed in his expectations. Having arrived at Cairo in Egypt, he became so vexed with the tedious delays of the caravan with which he was to travel, that he brought on a fever of which he died in a few days. But though his progress was thus cut short, he had collected much useful information from such as had travelled into the interior of Africa, which he communicated to his employers, and which tended to increase the desire and the facilities for farther discoveries.

The next adventurer in this perilous enterprise was Mr. Lucas, who had been three years in captivity at the coast of Morocco, and after his

liberation sixteen years as vice consul and charge d' affairs in the empire of Morocco. He succeeded in penetrating into the interior of Africa as far as Mesurata; but not being able to advance that season to Fezzan, according to his expectations, he returned to Tripoli, and thence to England. On the 16th of October, 1790, Major Houghton sailed from England under the direction of the association, and on the 10th of November arrived at the entrance of the River Gambia. After travelling through many difficulties and dangers, being robbed of his baggage by the son of the king of Bambouk, and afterward falling into the hands of some treacherous Moors, who robbed him of the little he had left, he was left to perish at a place called Tarra, near the great desert of Sahara.

Not discouraged by these disasters, the association next engaged Mungo Park in their service, a brave and ingenuous man, well fitted for such an enterprise. He sailed from Portsmouth on the 22d of May, 1795, and arrived at Jillifree, a town on the northern bank of the Gambia, after a pleasant voyage of thirty days. The account of his travels, his hardships and sufferings, is well known. For eighteen months he travelled in the hottest, the wildest, and most unfriendly regions of Africa, encountering dangers and enduring distress under which a mind less firm and a constitution less vigorous must have sunk. We cannot but admire the heroism displayed by this enterprising traveller in those inhospitable regions, even after he was stripped of every thing he possessed, and was obliged to beg his way among strangers—and these strangers often of the most barbarous and unfeeling character. He penetrated about 1100 miles in a direct line from Cape de Verd, and added much useful information respecting the geography of Africa. His second voyage terminated fatally to himself, and deprived the world of that rich increase of knowledge respecting many of the interior regions of this vast continent, which the genius, the enterprise, and the diligence of this scientific adventurer might have furnished, had his life been spared.

Horneman, a young German, was next sent out to explore the country, but was less successful than Park, as no authentic information has been received of his fate. He doubtless perished either by famine, fever, or by the hands of an assassin. Considerable acquisition to the knowledge of African geography was afterward made by the adventures of Mr. Browne, who travelled in the western parts of the country.* One grand object of all these travellers was to ascertain the source of the river Niger, and then to trace it to its termination in the ocean or elsewhere, and to note the various kingdoms bordering

* See New Edinburgh Encyclopedia, under the article Africa, whence the above facts are principally taken, though in an abridged form.

on that celebrated river, as well as the number and general character of the inhabitants.

In 1821 another expedition was undertaken under the sanction of the British government, by Major Denham and Lieutenant Clapperton. They advanced by the way of Tripoli to Mourzouk on the borders of the great desert; and from thence Major Denham, in company with an Arab chief, by the name of Boo Khalloom, passed through a part of this dreary desert. After travelling through these arid wastes for two weeks they discovered signs of returning life, and were much cheered at the prospect of being again in a cultivated country. They finally entered the most northern province of Bornou, where they saw the great interior sea of Africa, the Lake Tchad, *glowing with golden rays of the sun.* The caravan marched along the shores of this lake for two days and then arrived at a large town called Woodie. They journeyed thence to Kouka, passing through Angornoù, the largest city in the kingdom of Bornou, containing not less than 30,000 inhabitants. Bornou forms an extensive plain, stretching along the western shore of the immense Lake Tchad for 200 miles and nearly the same distance inland. We present the following account of an expedition undertaken by the party, in conjunction with some of the natives, which was detailed by Major Denham:—

'Boo Khalloom, having despatched his affairs in Bornou, wished to turn his journey to some farther account, and proposed an expedition into the more wealthy and commercial region of Houssa or Soudan; but the eager wishes of his followers pointed to a different object. They called upon him to lead them into the mountains of Mandara in the south, to attack a village of the kerdies, or unbelievers, and carry off the people as slaves to Fezzan. He long stood out against this nefarious proposal; but the sheik, who also had his own views, took part against him; even his own brother joined the malecontents, and at length there appeared no other mode in which he could return with equal credit and profit. Influenced by these inducements, he suffered his better judgment to be overpowered, and determined to conduct his troop upon this perilous and guilty excursion. Major Denham, allowing his zeal for discovery to overcome other considerations, contrived, notwithstanding the prohibition of the sheik, to be one of the party. They were accompanied by Barca Gana, the principal general, a negro of huge strength and great courage, along with other warriors, and a large body of Bornou cavalry. These last are a fine military body in point of external appearance. Their persons are covered with iron plate and mail, and they manage, with surprising dexterity, their little active steeds, which are also supplied with defensive armor. They have one fault only, but that a serious one,—they cannot stand the shock of an enemy. While the contest continues doubtful, they hover round as spectators, ready, should the tide turn against them, to spur on their coursers to a rapid flight; but if they see their friends victo-

rious, and the enemy turning their backs, they come forward and display no small vigor in pursuit and plunder.

The road that led to Mandara formed a continued ascent through a fertile country which contained some populous towns. The path being quite overgrown with thick and prickly underwood, twelve pioneers went forward with long poles, opening a track, pushing back the branches, and giving warning to beware of holes. These operations they accompanied with loud praises of Barca Gana, calling out,—"Who is in battle like the rolling of thunder? Barca Gana. In battle, who spreads terror around him like the buffalo in his rage? Barca Gana." Even the chiefs on this expedition carried no provisions except a paste of rice, flour, and honey, with which they contented themselves, unless when sheep could be procured; in which case half the animal, roasted over a frame work of wood, was placed on the table, and the sharpest dagger present was employed in cutting it into large pieces, to be eaten without bread or salt. At length they approached Mora, the capital of Mandara. This was another kingdom which the energy of its present sultan had rescued from the yoke of the Fellata empire; and the strong position of its capital, enclosed by lofty ridges of hills, had enabled it to defy repeated attacks. It consists of a fine plain, bordered on the south by an immense and almost interminable range of mountains. The eminences directly in front were not quite so lofty as the hills of Cumberland, but bold, rocky, and precipitous, and distant summits appeared towering much higher, and shooting up a line of sharp pinnacles resembling the needles of Mont Blanc. It was reported, that two months were required to cross their greatest breadth and reach the other side, where they rose ten times higher, and were called large *moon* mountains. They there overlooked the plain of Adamowa, through which the Quolla (or Niger) was said to flow from the westward. The hills immediately in view were thickly clustered with villages perched on their sides and even on their tops, and were distinctly seen from the plain of Mandara. They were occupied by half savage tribes, whom the ferocious bigotry of the nations occupying the low country branded as pagans, and whom they claimed a right to plunder, seize, and drive in crowds for sale to the markets of Fezzan and Bornou. "The fires, which were visible in the different nests of these unfortunate beings, threw a glare upon the bold rocks and blunt promontories of granite by which they were surrounded, and produced a picturesque and somewhat awful appearance." A baleful joy gleamed in the visage of the Arabs as they eyed these abodes of their future victims, whom they already fancied themselves driving in bands across the desert. A kerdy village to plunder was all their cry, and Boo Khalloom doubted not that he would be able to gratify their wishes. Their common fear of the Fellatas had united the sultan of Mandara in close alliance with the sheik, to whom he had lately married his daughter; and the nuptials had been celebrated by a great slave hunt among the mountains, when, after a dreadful struggle, three thousand captives, by their tears and bondage, furnished out the materials of a magnificent marriage festival.

The expedition obtained a reception quite as favorable as had been expected. In approaching the capital they were met by the sultan

with 500 Mandara horse, who, charging full speed, wheeled round them with the same threatening movements which had been exhibited at Bornou. The horses were of a superior breed, most skilfully managed, and covered with cloths of various colors, as well as with skins of the leopard and tiger-cat. This cavalry made of course a very brilliant appearance; but the Major did not yet know that their valor was exactly on a level with that of their Bornou allies. The party were then escorted to the capital, amid the music of long pipes like clarionets, and of two immense trumpets. They were introduced next day. The mode of approaching the royal residence is to gallop up to the gate with a furious speed, which often causes fatal accidents; and on this occasion a man was ridden down and killed on the spot. The sultan was found in a dark blue tent, sitting on a mud bench, surrounded by about two hundred attendants, handsomely arrayed in silk and cotton robes. He was an intelligent little man, about fifty years old, with a beard dyed sky blue. Courteous salutations were exchanged; during which he steadily eyed Major Denham, concerning whom he at last inquired; and the traveller was advantageously introduced as belonging to a powerful distant nation, allies of the bashaw of Tripoli. At last, however, came the fatal question,—"Is he Moslem?—*La! la!*—no! no!—What! has the great bashaw Caffre friends!" Every eye was instantly averted; the sun of Major Denham's favor was set; and he was never more allowed to enter the palace.

The bigotry of this court seems to have surpassed even the usual bitterness of the African tribes, and our traveller had to undergo a regular persecution, carried on especially by Malem Chadily, the leading fighi or doctor of the court. As Major Denham was showing to the admiring chiefs the mode of writing with a pencil, and effacing it with Indian rubber, Malem wrote some words of the Koran with such force that the rubber could not wholly remove the traces of them. He then exclaimed with triumph, "They are the words of God, delivered to his prophet; I defy you to erase them." The major was then called upon to acknowledge this great miracle; and, as his countenance still expressed incredulity, he was viewed with looks of such mingled contempt and indignation as induced him to retire. Malem, however, again assailed him with the assurance that this was only one of the many miracles which he could show as wrought by the Koran; imploring him to turn, and paradise would be his, otherwise nothing could save him from eternal fire. "O!" said he, "while sitting in the third heaven I shall see you in the midst of the flames, crying out to your friend Barca Gana and myself for a drop of water; but the gulf will be between us:" his tears then flowed profusely. The major, taking the general aside, entreated to be relieved from this incessant persecution; but Gana assured him that the fighi was a great and holy man, to whom he ought to listen. He then held out not only paradise, but honors, slaves, and wives of the first families, as gifts to be lavished on him by the sheik if he would renounce his unbelief. Major Denham asked the commander, what would be thought of himself if he should go to England and turn Christian? "God forbid!" exclaimed he; "but how can you compare our faiths; mine would

lead you to paradise, while yours would bring me to hell. Not a word more." Nothing appears to have annoyed the stranger more than to be told that he was of the same faith with the kerdies or savages; little distinction being made between any who denied the Koran. After a long discussion of this question, he thought the validity of his reasoning would be admitted, when he could point to a party of those wretches devouring a dead horse, and appealed to Boo Khalloom if he had ever seen the English do the same; but to this, which was not after all a very deep theological argument, the Arab replied,—"I know they eat the flesh of swine, and, God knows, that is worse." "Grant me patience," exclaimed I to myself,—"this is almost too much to bear and to remain silent."

The unfortunate kerdies, from the moment that they saw Arab tents in the valley of Mandara, knew the dreadful calamity which awaited them. To avert it, and to propitiate the sultan, numerous parties came down with presents of honey, asses, and slaves. Finally appeared the Musgow, a more distant and savage race, mounted on small fiery steeds, covered only with the skin of a goat or leopard, and with necklaces made of the teeth of their enemies. They threw themselves at the feet of the sultan, casting sand on their heads, and uttering the most piteous cries. The monarch, apparently moved by these gifts and entreaties, began to intimate to Boo Khalloom his hopes that these savages might by gentle means be reclaimed and led to embrace the true faith. These hopes were held by the latter in the utmost derision; and he privately assured Major Denham that nothing would more annoy this devout Mussulman than to see them fulfilled, whereby he must have forfeited all right to drive these unhappy creatures in crowds to the markets of Soudan and Bornou. In fact, both the sultan and the sheik had a much deeper aim. Every effort was used to induce Boo Khalloom to engage in the attack of some strong Fellata posts, by which the country was hemmed in; and as the two monarchs viewed the Arabs with extreme jealousy, it was strongly suspected that their defeat would not have been regarded as a public calamity. The royal councils were secret and profound, and it was not known what influences worked upon Boo Khalloom. On this occasion unfortunately he was mastered by his evil genius, and consented to the proposed attack; but as he came out and ordered his troops to prepare for marching, his countenance bore such marks of trouble that the Major asked if all went well? to which he hurriedly answered, "Please God." The Arabs, however, who at all events expected plunder, proceeded with alacrity.

The expedition set out next morning, and, after passing through a beautiful plain, began to penetrate the mighty chain of mountains which form the southern border of the kingdom. Alpine heights, rising around them in rugged magnificence and gigantic grandeur, presented scenery which our traveller had never seen surpassed. The passes of Hairey and of Horza, amid a superb amphitheatre of hills, closely shut in by overhanging cliffs, more than two thousand feet high, were truly striking. Here, for the first time in Africa, did nature appear to the English to revel in the production of vegetable life. The trees were covered with luxuriant and bright green foliage; and their

trunks were hidden by a crowd of parasitical plants, whose aromatic blossoms perfumed the air. There was also an abundance of animal life of a less agreeable description: three scorpions were killed in the tent; and a fierce but beautiful panther, more than eight feet long, just as he had gorged himself by sucking the blood of a newly-killed negro, was attacked and speared. The sultan and Barca Gana were attended by a considerable body of Bornou and Mandara cavalry, whose brilliant armor, martial aspect, and skilful horsemanship gave confidence to the European officer, who had not yet seen them put to the proof.

It was the third day when the expedition came in view of the Fellata town of Dirkulla. The Arabs, supported by Barca Gana and about a hundred spearmen, marched instantly to the attack, and carried first that place, and then a smaller town beyond it, killing all who had not time to escape. The enemy, however, then intrenched themselves in a third and stronger position, called Musfeia, enclosed by high hills, and fortified in front by numerous swamps and palisades. This was likewise attacked, and all its defences forced. The guns of the Arabs spread terror, while Barca Gana threw eight spears with his own hand, every one of which took effect. It was thought, that had the two bodies of cavalry made even a show of advancing, the victory would have been at once decided; but Major Denham was much surprised to see those puissant warriors keeping carefully under cover behind a hill on the opposite side of the stream, where not an arrow could reach them. The Fellatas, seeing that their antagonists were only a handful, rallied on the tops of the hills, were joined by new troops, and turned round. Their women behind, cheering them on, continually supplied fresh arrows, and rolled down fragments of rock on the assailants. These arrows were fatal; they were tipped with poison, and wherever they pierced the body in a few hours became black, blood gushed from every orifice, and the victim expired in agony. The condition of the Arabs soon became alarming; scarcely a man was left unhurt, and their horses were dying under them. Boo Khalloom and his charger were both wounded with poisoned arrows. As soon as the Fellatas saw the Arabs waver, they dashed in with their horse; at sight of which all the heroic squadrons of Bornou and Mandara put spurs to their steeds, the sultan at their head, and the whole became one mass of confused and tumultuous flight. Major Denham saw too late the peril into which he had wantonly plunged. His horse, pierced to the shoulder bone, could scarcely support his weight; but the cries of the pursuing Fellatas still urged him forward. At last the animal fell twice, and the second time threw him against a tree, then, frightened by the noise behind, started up and ran off. The Fellatas were instantly up, when four of his companions were stabbed beside him, uttering the most frightful cries. He himself was fully prepared for the same fate; but happily his clothes formed a valuable booty, through which the savages were loath to run their spears. After inflicting some slight wounds, therefore, they stripped him to the skin, and forthwith began to quarrel about the plunder. While they were thus busied, he contrived to slip away, and though hotly pursued, and nearly overtaken, succeeded in reaching a mountain stream gliding at the bottom of a deep and precipitous ravine. Here he had snatched the young branches

issuing from the stump of a large overhanging tree, in order to let himself down into the water, when, beneath his hand, a large *liffa*, the most dangerous serpent in this country, rose from its coil, as in the very act of darting upon him. Struck with horror, Major Denham lost all recollection, and fell headlong into the water; but the shock revived him, and, with three strokes of his arm, he reached the opposite bank, and felt himself for the moment in safety. Running forward, he was delighted to see his friends Barca Gana and Boo Khalloom: but amid the cheers with which they were endeavoring to rally their troops, and the cries of those who were falling under the Fellata spears, he could not for some time make himself heard. Then Maramy, a negro appointed by the sheik to attend on him, rode up and took him on his own horse. Boo Khalloom ordered a burnouse to be thrown over him,—very seasonably, for the burning sun had begun to blister his naked body. Suddenly, however, Maramy called out, "See, see! Boo Khalloom is dead!" and that spirited chief, overpowered by the wound of a poisoned arrow, dropped from his horse, and spoke no more. The others now thought only of pressing their flight, and soon reached a stream, where they refreshed themselves by copious draughts, and a halt was made to collect the stragglers. Major Denham here fell into a swoon; during which, as he afterward learned, Maramy complained that the jaded horse could scarcely carry the stranger forward, when Barca Gana said, "By the head of the prophet! believers enough have breathed their last to-day; why should we concern ourselves about a Christian's death?" Malem Chadily, however, so bitter as a theological opponent, showed now the influence of a milder spirit, and said, "No, God has preserved him; let us not abandon him;" and Maramy declared, "His heart told him what to do."—They therefore moved on slowly till about midnight, when they passed the Mandara frontier in a state of severe suffering; but the Major met with much kindness from a dethroned prince, Mai Meegamy, who, seeing his wounds festering under the rough woollen cloak which formed his only covering, took off his own trowsers and gave them to him.

The Arabs had lost forty-five of their number, beside their chief; the rest were in a miserable plight, most of them wounded, some mortally, and all having lost their camels and the rest of their property. Renouncing their pride, they were obliged to supplicate from Barca Gana a handful of corn to keep them from starving. The sultan of Mandara, in whose cause they had suffered, treated them with the utmost contumely, which perhaps they might deserve, but certainly not from him. Deep sorrow was afterward felt in Fezzan when they arrived in this deplorable condition and reported the fall of their chief, who was there almost idolized. A national song was composed on the occasion, which the following extract will show to be marked by great depth of feeling, and not altogether devoid of poetical beauty:—

"O! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the unbeliever prevails!

Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe? Even as the moon among the little stars, so was Boo Khalloom among men! Where shall Fezzan now look for her protector?

Men hang their heads in sorrow, while women wring ther hands, rending the air with their cries! As a shepherd is to his flock, so was Boo Khalloom to Fezzan!

Give him songs! Give him music! What words can equal his praise? His heart was as large as the desert! His coffers were like the rich overflowings from the udder of the she camel, comforting and nourishing those around him!

Even as the flowers without rain perish in the fields, so will the Fezzaners droop; for Boo Khalloom returns no more!

His body lies in the land of the heathen! The poisoned arrow of the unbeliever prevails!

O! trust not to the gun and the sword! The spear of the heathen conquers! Boo Khalloom, the good and the brave, has fallen! Who shall now be safe?" ' (*Discovery and Adventure in Africa*, pp. 146–155.)

The failure of this expedition could not be otherwise than mortifying to those who so eagerly and imprudently engaged in it. While Major Denham pursued his journeys in different directions in the kingdom of Bornou, Mr. Clapperton and his party left Kouka for the kingdom of Houssa, and on his way buried one of his companions in travel, Dr. Oudney, who died of the consumption. The following account of the remainder of Mr. Clapperton's first adventure will, we doubt not, be highly entertaining to the reader:—

'From Kano he set out under the guidance of Mohammed Jollie, leader of an extensive caravan intended for Sackatoo, capital of the sultan of the Fellatas. The country was perhaps the finest in Africa, being under high cultivation, diversified with groves of noble trees, and traversed in a picturesque manner by ridges of granite. The manners of the people, too, were pleasing and pastoral. At many clear springs gushing from the rocks young women were drawing water. As an excuse for engaging in talk, our traveller asked several times for the means of quenching his thirst. "Bending gracefully on one knee, and displaying at the same time teeth of pearly whiteness, and eyes of the blackest lustre, they presented a gourd, and appeared highly delighted when I thanked them for their civility, remarking to one another, 'Did you hear the white man thank me?'" But the scene was changed when the traveller reached the borders of the provinces of Goober and Zamfra, which were in a state of rebellion against Sackatoo. The utmost alarm at that moment prevailed; men and women, with their bullocks, asses, and camels, all struggled to be foremost, every one crying out, "Wo to the wretch that falls behind! he will be sure to meet an unhappy end at the hands of the Gooberites." There was danger even of being thrown down and trampled to death by the bullocks, which were furiously rushing backward and forward; however, through the unremitting care of the escort, Clapperton made his way safely, though not without much fatigue and annoyance, along this perilous frontier.

On the 16th March, 1824, after passing through the hilly district of Kamoon, the valleys began to open, and crowds of people were seen

thronging to market with wood, onions, indigo, and other commodities. This indicated the approach to Sackatoo, which they soon saw from the top of a hill, and entered about noon. A multitude flocked to see the white stranger, and received him with cheers of welcome. The sultan was not yet returned from a ghrazzie or slave hunt; but the gadado, or minister, performed handsomely the honors of the place. Next day the chief arrived, and instantly sent for Clapperton. The palace, as usual in Africa, consisted of a sort of enclosed town, with an open quadrangle in front. The stranger, on entering the gate, was conducted through three huts serving as guard houses, after which he found Sultan Bello seated on a small carpet in a sort of painted and ornamented cottage. Bello had a noble and commanding figure, with a high forehead and large black eyes. He gave the traveller a hearty welcome, and, after inquiring the particulars of his journey, proceeded to serious affairs. He produced books belonging to Major Denham, which had been taken in the disastrous battle of Dirkullah; and, though he expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction at the major's presence on that occasion, readily accepted an apology, and restored the volumes. He only asked to have the subject of each explained, and to hear the sound of the language, which he declared to be beautiful. He then began to press his visiter with theological questions, and showed himself not wholly unacquainted with the controversies which have agitated the Christian world; indeed he soon went beyond the depth of his visiter, who was obliged to own that he was not versant in the abstruser mysteries of divinity.

The sultan now opened a frequent and familiar communication with the English envoy, in which he showed himself possessed of a good deal of information. The astronomical instruments, from which, as from implements of magic, many of his attendants started with horror, were examined by the monarch with an intelligent eye. On being shown the planisphere, he proved his knowledge of the planets, and even of many of the constellations, by repeating their Arabic names. The telescope, which presented objects inverted—the compass, by which he could always turn to the east in praying—and the sextant, which he called "the looking glass of the sun," excited peculiar interest. Being desirous to see an observation performed with the latter instrument, Clapperton, who had lost the key of the artificial horizon, asked a dagger to break it open; upon which the sultan started, and half drew his sword, trembling like an aspen leaf. The other very prudently took no notice of this excitement, but quietly opened his box, when the exhibition soon dispelled all unfavorable impressions. The sultan, however, inquired with evident jealousy into some points of English history that had come to his knowledge; as, the conquest of India, which the traveller endeavored to represent as a mere arrangement to protect the natives, and particularly the Moslem population. The attack on Algiers being also alluded to, was justly declared to have been made solely on account of her atrocious piracies.

Sackatoo appeared to Mr. Clapperton the most populous city he had seen in the interior of Africa. The houses stand more closely together than in most other towns of Houssa, and are laid out in regularly well built streets. It is surrounded by a wall between twenty and thirty

feet high, with twelve gates, which are punctually shut at sunset. The dwellings of the principal inhabitants consist of clusters of cottages and flat-roofed houses, in the Moorish style, enclosed by high walls. There are two mosques, one of which, then in progress of building, was 800 feet long, adorned with numerous pillars of wood plastered with clay, and highly ornamented.

Mr. Clapperton, desirous to accomplish what had all along been his main object, solicited a guide to the western countries and the Gulf of Benin. By this route he might investigate the course of the Niger and the fate of Park; he might also pave the way for a commercial intercourse, which would be of some benefit to Britain, and of great advantage to Africa. The sultan at first gave assurances of permission and aid in travelling through every part of his dominions; but when our countryman specified Nyffe on the banks of the Niger, Youri where the papers of Park were reported to be kept, Rakah and Fundah, where that river was said to fall into the sea, the courtiers began to demur. Professing tender solicitude for his safety, they represented that the season was becoming unfavorable, and that rebellion and civil war were raging to such a pitch in these countries as to make even the mighty protection of Sultan Bello insufficient for his security. Clapperton strongly suspected that this unfavorable change was produced by the machinations of the Arabs, and particularly of Mohammed Gomsoo, their chief, notwithstanding the warm professions of friendship made by that personage. They apprehended, probably, that were a communication opened with the western coast, interior Africa might be supplied with European goods by that shorter route, instead of being brought by themselves across the desert. Perhaps these suspicions were groundless; for the state of the country was afterward found to be, if possible, worse than had been described, and the ravages of the Fellatas so terrible, that any one coming from among them was likely to experience a very disagreeable reception. Indeed, it may be suspected that the sultan must have been a good deal embarrassed by the simplicity with which his guest listened to his pompous boasting as to the extent of his empire, and by the earnestness with which he entreated him to name one of his seaports where the English might land, when it is certain that he had not a town which was not some hundred miles distant from the coast. To prevent the disclosure of this fact, which must have taken place had our traveller proceeded in that direction, might be an additional motive for refusing his sanction. In short, it was finally announced to Clapperton, that no escort could be found to accompany him on so rash an enterprise, and that he could return to England only by retracing his steps.

Here the traveller obtained an account of Mr. Park's death, very closely corresponding with the statement given by Amadi Fatouma. The Niger, it appears, called here the Quorra, after passing Timbuctoo, turns to the south, and continues to flow in that direction till it crosses the parallel of Sackatoo, at only a few days' journey to the westward; but whether it reaches the sea, or, making an immense circuit, becomes the Shary, and pours itself into the immense basin of the Tchad, are points on which his informants varied greatly.

Returning by a different route, Mr. Clapperton visited Zirmie, the

capital of Zamfra, a kind of outlawed city, the inhabitants of which are esteemed the greatest rogues in Houssa, and where all runaway slaves find protection. He passed also through Kashna or Cassina, the metropolis of a kingdom which, till the late rise of the Fellata power, had ruled over all Africa from Bornou to the Niger. In its present subject and fallen state, the inhabited part does not cover a tenth of the wide circuit enclosed by its walls; yet a considerable trade is still carried on with the Tuaricks, or with caravans coming across the desert by the route of Ghadamis and Tuat. Here our traveller met with much kindness from Hadgi Ahmet, a powerful and wealthy Arab chief, who even took him into his seraglio, and desired him, out of fifty black damsels, to make his choice,—a complaisance, nothing resembling which had ever before been shown by a Mussulman. But our countryman, being indisposed, only picked out an ancient maiden to serve as a nurse.

Mr. Clapperton rejoined Major Denham at Kouka, whence they set out, and recrossed the desert together in the latter part of the year 1824. They reached Tripoli in January, 1825, and soon after embarked for Leghorn; but being detained by contrary winds and quarantine regulations, did not reach London till the month of June.' (*Ibid.* pp. 166–170.)

Mr. Clapperton, now raised to a captain, was induced to undertake a second journey, in company with Captain Pearce, an excellent draftsman, and Mr. Morrison, a naval surgeon, and Mr. Richard Lander, whose journal of observation is now before us. Instead of pursuing the route they before took, they went directly to the Gulf of Benin; and on the 7th of December, 1825, the mission set out from Badagray for the interior of Africa. Clapperton was soon deprived of the services of Pearce and Morrison, who contracted the fever of the country by imprudently sleeping in the open air, of which they both died in a few days. Notwithstanding this severe loss at the outset of the voyage, Clapperton pursued his journey, having Pascoe, a native African, for a servant, and Richard Lander for his companion, and passing through the kingdom of Yarriba, and other populous kingdoms, he finally arrived at Boussa, a place chiefly interesting as the scene where the career of Mungo Park terminated in a manner so tragical. Every thing that he saw and heard tended to confirm former reports respecting that enterprising traveller having terminated his labors and life at this place: the king and all the people spoke of it with deep grief, disclaiming all personal concern in the transaction. Here Clapperton crossed the Niger and entered Nyffe, which he found in a distracted state on account of a desolating war which was raging from a dispute respecting the succession to the throne between two rival chiefs. He thence passed on to Zeg-zeg, a Fellata country, which he found beautifully variegated with hill and dale, covered over with rich pastures and plentiful crops, fine fields of rice, rows of tall trees, re-

sembling gigantic avenues of poplar, extending from hill to hill. But this intelligent and enterprising adventurer was doomed to lay his bones on the soil of Africa. The account of his death is so affecting that we give it as recorded in the account of his travels :—

'The strong constitution of Clapperton had till this period enabled him to resist all the baneful influences of an African climate. He had recovered, though perhaps not completely, from the effects of the rash exposure which had proved fatal to his two companions ; but he had, when overcome with heat and fatigue, in hunting at Magaria, lain down on a damp spot in the open air, and was soon after seized with dysentery, which continued to assume more alarming symptoms. Indeed, after the seizure of the letter to the sultan of Bornou, he was never seen to smile, and in his sleep was heard addressing loud reproaches to the Arabs. Unable to rise from bed, and deserted by all his African friends, who saw him no longer a favorite at court, he was watched with tender care by his faithful servant Richard Lander, who devoted his whole time to attendance on his sick master. At length he called him to his bedside, and said, "Richard, I shall shortly be no more,—I feel myself dying." Almost choked with grief, Lander replied, "God forbid, my dear master,—you will live many years yet." But the other replied, "Don't be so much affected, my dear boy, I entreat you ; it is the will of the Almighty, it cannot be helped." He then gave particular directions as to the disposal of his papers, and of all that remained of his property ; to which strict attention was promised. "He then," says Lander, "took my hand within his, and looking me full in the face, while a tear stood glistening in his eye, said, in a low but deeply affecting tone, 'My dear Richard, if you had not been with me I should have died long ago ; I can only thank you with my latest breath for your kindness and attachment to me ; and if I could have lived to return with you, you should have been placed beyond the reach of want ; but God will reward you.'" He still survived some days, and appeared even to rally a little ; but, one morning, Lander was alarmed by a peculiar rattling sound in his throat, and, hastening to the bedside, found him sitting up, and staring wildly around ; he laid his head gently on the dying man's shoulder ; some indistinct words quivered on his lips ; he strove, but ineffectually, to give them utterance, and expired without a struggle or a sigh.' (*Ib.* pp. 184, 185.)

Thus ended this expedition. Major Laing is next distinguished among the African adventurers. He penetrated as far as Timbuctoo, but on his return was basely murdered in crossing the desert. Caillié, a Frenchman, also penetrated through the country from Sierra Leone to Morocco, passing through Jenne and Timbuctoo, and was rewarded by the French government with a pension and the cross of the Legion of Honor for his services.

We come now to notice more particularly the adventurous journey of the Messrs. Landers, one of whom, Richard, as we have seen, accompanied Captain Clapperton on his last tour. The two brothers left England on the 9th of January, 1830, and on the 22d of the following

month arrived at Cape Coast Castle. They were plentifully provided with all necessary implements for their journey, and presents for those African sovereigns into whose kingdoms they might be introduced. It is not necessary to trace their journeyings from place to place, nor to record minutely the various rencounters they had with the natives, or the conversations they held with individuals. After a tedious and somewhat perilous journey, June 17th they came to the city of Boossa, which they found situated on the main land, on the bank of the Niger, and not an island in that river, as stated by Capt. Clapperton. They were welcomed to the city of Boossa by the king and his people, who informed them that they had just been weeping for the death of Capt. Clapperton. The next morning they visited the far-famed *Niger*, or *Quorra*, as it is called by the natives, and were greatly disappointed to find the river so narrow, it being, in its widest part at this place, not more than a stone's throw across. Seating themselves upon a rock which overlooks the place where Mungo Park perished, they reflected with melancholy emotions upon the number of valuable lives which had been sacrificed in attempting to explore this mighty river, and secretly implored the Almighty to make them the humble means of setting at rest the great question of its source and termination. At this place, and for about four days' passage up the river, the navigation is very dangerous, being impeded by large rocks and sand banks. Up this dangerous passage our travellers passed in a canoe which they had engaged for that purpose, to Yaoorie, the capital of a kingdom of that name. They found the city of Yaoorie of great extent, and the kingdom generally flourishing and united. Here they remained until August 2, when they left it on their return passage. While here they were informed by the Arabs and others who had passed through the city, that the Niger flows from a place called *Musser*, where silks and other fine articles are manufactured, and that the natives of that country trade to Timbuctoo in large vessels, carrying thither their silks and manufactures; but they could not ascertain from any one the distance between the two places, only that it was very great. Finding it impracticable to prosecute their journey any farther north, after being detained at Yaoorie until August 2, they set off on their return to Boossa.

'It is pleasant,' say they, 'very pleasant, after an imprisonment of five weeks in a close, dark, and unwholesome chamber, subject to every kind of inconvenience and much anxiety, to be set at liberty; to know and feel that one is free; to admire again the beauties of God's creation, and enjoy once more the cheering freshness of the country. It is only in health that such feelings can either be excited or indulged. Objects ever so charming are looked on with indifference by an invalid. For our parts, we had entered Yaoorie in sickness and had suffered much in that city; but we left it in all the strength and vigor of

health. During our residence there, the growth of vegetation had been astonishingly rapid; the face of the country wore an aspect entirely different and improved; the trees and shrubs had put on a greener and lovelier "livery;" the grasses, stunted as they were before for want of moisture, had sprung up to the surprising height of ten or twelve feet; and the corn and rice had grown up with no less vigor.' (*Landers' Discovery of the Termination of the Niger*, vol. i, p. 295.)

About mid-day they arrived at a considerable town called Guàda, and halted near a small creek of a river flowing from Cubbie, and entering the Niger a little lower down. The following extract will give the reader a specimen of their mode of sailing in this part of the country:—

'Here, as soon as we had taken a slight refreshment, we sent our beasts across the Niger to proceed by land to Boossa, and embarked in two canoes, which were each paddled by four men. These canoes are about eighteen or twenty feet long, and formed from a single log of wood, unlike those of Boossa. When we got into the main body of the Cubbie river, the canoemen kept us exposed to the sun for a considerable time, waiting the arrival of two companions, because the men with whom we had been supplied were unable to manage both canoes by themselves. Though we entreated the four men to go a little way with us, or at least to convey us into a cool and shady place, which we pointed out to them, for protection from the sun's rays, they would not hearken to us; we found scolding, threats, and supplication to be all equally unavailing; they maintained the same calm yet mortifying placidity of countenance, than which in such a case nothing can be more vexing. At length we were fain to hold our peace, and patiently resigned ourselves to the inconvenience.

The Cubbie river falls into the Niger about four miles from the creek where we had embarked; and on entering the Niger, we found it running from two to three miles an hour, and with trifling labor on the part of the canoemen, we could have journeyed very rapidly; but though we had taken on board their two companions, the whole of them were so obstinately indolent, that we travelled very slowly indeed, insomuch that we did not expect to arrive at the appointed halting place for the night. The canoes, however, were passing along almost close to the shore, and we saw a woman at the water's edge who had a quantity of cheap country beer for sale, and thinking it might animate the men to a little more exertion, we purchased as much as they could drink, which in a few minutes completely metamorphosed them. The meekness, innocence, and composure of their listless countenances soon passed away; their heavy eyes sparkled with fire and animation; they trembled all over with anxiety to display their strength, dexterity, and vigor; and each being emulous to rival his companion, they snatched up their paddles, and by their united efforts the canoes glided through the water with inconceivable velocity, even to the danger of upsetting. Thus we proceeded down the river till the sun had set, and the moon was shining beautifully on the water, as we drew near to a small Cumbrie village on the borders of the river, where we landed and pitched our tent. The thermometer to-day has varied from 75 deg. to 92 deg.' (*Ib.* pp. 296, 297.)

On the 4th of August they arrived at a town called *Warree*, one of the most celebrated market towns in that part of the country. Here they found vast numbers of canoes filled with people, crossing the Niger to and from the market. Having satisfied their curiosity they crossed over to the Boossa side of the river, and landed at a small town called *Gamiscassa*, situated about five miles north of the city Boossa. Within sight of this place they found that all the branches of the Niger met and united, forming a beautiful and magnificent body of water at least seven or eight miles in width, and they remark, that 'it is truly astonishing what becomes of it, for at Boossa, only five miles distant, the river is not more than a stone's throw across, and its depth in proportion to its narrowness; and then about an hour's walk farther it becomes a noble river, and maintains its width, it is said, even to Funda. This singular fact favors the opinion that a large portion of the waters of the Niger is conveyed by subterraneous passages from the town of Gamiscassa to a few miles below Boossa.' From conversation, however, with various persons at this place, it was not possible, so contradictory were their accounts, to ascertain either the source, or the place where this river disembogues itself.

The following extract will show that the native Africans are as giddy and frivolous in their sports as are many of the Americans, and that both alike need the reforming influence of Christianity to make them what they should be:—

'A sudden and confused noise of merriment awoke me from a pleasing kind of revery in which I was indulging in the moonshine. I went out instantly to ascertain the cause of such obstreperous mirth, and discovered a number of young girls, and married women with children on their backs, dancing, singing, romping, and clapping their hands, after the manner of the country; and a group of their male relatives standing beside them as judges and spectators of their proceedings. A female would spring suddenly from amid her companions, and after skipping and dancing with great animation till she became quite exhausted, would fall backward into the arms of her associates, who, anxiously watching her movements, had put themselves into a suitable attitude to receive her. Another would then supply her place, and then another, till all the festive party had danced in turn; and this amusement was kept up with so much spirit, that screams of laughter and other violent tokens of delight continued as long as it lasted.—The dance (if it deserve the name) commenced with the whole of the females, married and single. They first formed themselves into a circle, holding fast of each other's arms, and then they moved round very slowly without lifting their feet from the ground. This exercise seemed to have occasioned them much exertion and difficulty, if we might be allowed to judge from the violent and peculiar manner in which they shook and twisted their bodies, as well as from the failure of several of the younger girls, who were obliged to quit the ring almost

as soon as it was formed. This slowness of motion was gradually succeeded by a sprightlier movement, till they ran round so swiftly, that the circle was suddenly broken, and many of the women were thrown with violence to the ground. The singing, or rather screaming, and clapping of hands, together with other noises, more vociferous and wild than these, were continued till the approach of morning, when a heavy shower drove every one home. Nothing, perhaps, in this country is more capable of producing a wild, romantic, and pleasing effect than such a spectacle as this, and at such a time. In front of us lay the celebrated Niger, reflecting from its unruffled surface the splendid canopy over our heads, with the radiant clouds of departing day. On each side of the river nature had scattered with a lavish hand the most lovely of her gifts; and verdant trees cast their tall shadows on the water. Almost close to the place where we stood was a circle of naked savage women, all black as a coal, who were performing the oddest antics imaginable; and still nearer stood a wild-looking group of their male companions, resting on their tall spears and participating in the frolic with all their hearts. A three-cornered rush or straw hat, having a high peak, but without a brim, was the only article of dress worn by these men. Altogether, as we have already said, the scene was such as to fill the mind with the highest gratification and delight. To us it was irresistibly charming, and we contemplated it a long time with emotions of the most pleasing description.' (*Ib.* pp. 306, 307.)

From this place our travellers returned to Boossa, where they were cordially received and entertained by the king and his people. Among other things which occurred while they were detained at this metropolis, they relate the following; and if any one is disposed to pity these deluded mortals, let them compare the ceremonies of this national festival with the manner in which our 4th of July is celebrated by most of the inhabitants of these United States, and he will find that the latter, to say the least, are not more rational, but much less regular in their habits on such occasions. The fears excited by the eclipse of the moon will show the influence which superstition has on ignorant minds, as well as the benefits resulting from the lights of science:—

'*Wednesday, Sept.* 1.—Day was drawing to a close, and evening fast approaching, when the king came out of his residence to show himself to his people. He was attended by a number of his head men, with whom he perambulated the town; and afterward proceeded outside the gates to offer up a short prayer with them to the gods of his religion, for he is still a pagan, as all his fathers were, though he employs Mohammedan priests to pray for his welfare, and intercede with their prophet in his behalf, agreeably to their form of worship. Several musicians were in attendance with drums, fifes, and long Arab trumpets of brass; these men preceded their sovereign, and played lustily on their instruments all the while he was returning to his house. He shortly came out again, and rode slowly up the race-course, attended by people of both sexes most uncouthly dressed, singing and dancing before him, and followed by a party of well-dressed men mounted on

mettlesome horses, and equipped as if for war. On our saluting him, the monarch stopped and sent us a goora-nut, which, on such an occasion as this, is considered as a mark of great condescension, and a sign of peculiar favor; and he staid opposite us at least ten minutes, to give us a fair opportunity of admiring his grandeur, and diverting ourselves by the frolicsome gambols of his attendants. Smiling at our wonderment, and gratified with the respect we paid him by discharging our pistols close to his person, he nodded and passed on. The king was mounted on a fine handsome gray horse, sumptuously caparisoned; while he himself is a noble and commanding figure on horseback, and was dressed extremely well, in a red cap and large turban of the same color, a silk damask tobe of green and crimson made full and flowing, red cloth trowsers, and Arab boots. Groups of well dressed individuals were seated under every tree, with spears, quivers of arrows, long bows, and ornamented cows' tails. These latter were flourished about as the people sung; their owners threw them high into the air, and danced at the same time in the most extraordinary manner, and flung their limbs about as though they had been actuated by a supernatural power. Every one was exhilarated and in motion,—both horseman and footman, woman and child. The musicians also, not satisfied by making the whole of Boossa echo with the most grating and outrageous sounds conceivable, both sung, or rather screamed and danced, twisting their mouths, with their exertions, into all manner of wry and comical shapes. The spectacle altogether was odd and grotesque beyond description, and such a one could never enter into the dreams or waking visions of a European. Guns were fired by the king's followers, and other obstrepereus and astounding noises were made by the people. Never did we see the king in a happier mood; his satisfaction seemed to be quite complete. He smiled graciously on all around him; and bestowed many an arch and significant look upon us, as if he would have said, "Can *your* sovereign boast so splendid a retinue as mine, or display so much regal splendor?"

The ceremony was long and fatiguing; and though the king was screened from the sun's rays by two large ponderous umbrellas, and though two men were standing by, constantly fanning him, yet perspiration stood in large drops upon his forehead, and he appeared nearly exhausted. After our curiosity had been amply gratified, the king rode away, preceded by his singing and dancing women, his musicians, his bowmen, and his spearmen, with all their noise and clamor, and instantly began to make preparations for a horse-race. The course was short, rough, and uneven, and the competition between the riders by no means animated. Indeed, the race was of short duration, and very inferior to the horse-racing of either Kiáma or Wowow. The king is a graceful rider, and displayed his horsemanship to much advantage by galloping up and down the course; and, owing to his advantageous stature, his appearance was very becoming. The sun was then setting, and as soon as he had disappeared the amusements ceased. The people, both strangers and inhabitants, were then collected together before the king's house, for the purpose of hearing an oration from their monarch; for, in pursuance of an ancient and established practice, the king of Boossa annually harangues his people on the celebra-

tion of this festival. The sovereign is at least a head taller than any of his subjects, so that he was a remarkable and conspicuous object to every one of his audience. If such a comparison may be ventured on, the commencement of his speech was in its nature not unlike that delivered on the opening of parliament by his majesty of England. The king of Boossa began by assuring his people of the internal tranquillity of the empire, and of the friendly disposition of foreign powers toward him. He then exhorted his hearers to attend to the cultivation of the soil, to work diligently, and live temperately; and concluded with an injunction for them all to be abstemious in the use of beer. He declared that too much indulgence in it was the source of much evil and wretchedness, and the cause of most of the quarrels and disturbances that had taken place in the city. "Go; retire to rest soberly and cheerfully," said the king, "and do as I have requested you, when you will be an example to your neighbors, and win the good opinion and applause of mankind." The king's speech lasted for three quarters of an hour. He spoke vehemently and with much eloquence; his language was forcible and impressive, and his action appropriate and commanding; and he dismissed the assembly with a graceful and noble air. Instead of a sceptre the monarch flourished the tuft of a lion's tail.

While the king was haranguing his subjects, and while all of them were listening with respect and attention to the precepts of morality and virtue which he recommended, two of our own men, one of whom was intoxicated, were fighting and blustering, and making a great uproar among the people: my brother endeavored to separate them, but all his efforts were unavailing and abortive, and he only received severe blows on the breast for his pains. The fight was observed by the king, who seemed distressed and angry, and rode up to the men three different times, and commanded them to forbear and be quiet, but his interference was regarded with no more respect than my brother's. My brother and I, perceiving that the principal of the fellows would not be pacified by any other means, gave directions that he might immediately be secured. But the people of Boossa are gentle and compassionate in their disposition, and they not only regretted that the man was to receive punishment, but were actually afraid to come near him, for he was wild as a maniac, and our own men were obliged to lay hold of him, and attempted to bind him with ropes. This was no easy matter, for he struggled hard with them; but after an hour's desperate resistance, they succeeded in securing him, and he was subsequently confined in irons for the night, much against the wishes of the king and his people. This individual, whose name I forbear to mention, is a mulatto, and was born in the British colony of Nova Scotia, from whence he was removed in his childhood, with his parents, to Sierra Leone. While yet a boy, he was sent to sea; and before he had attained to maturity he had filled the different characters of a slave, a seaman, a pirate, and the master of a vessel. He afterward volunteered into the British navy, and became a man-of-war's man; but for a serious misdemeanor, he was flogged through the fleet in the Mediterranean, and deserted in consequence. We found him at Badágry, where he had suffered a fortnight's imprisonment, by order of Adooley,

for theft. When we first saw him, he told us a long and pitiful story, of his having been born a British subject, but falling sick on board of a merchant vessel, which was trading on the coast, he was set on shore about five years ago by order of his captain, and from that time up to the period of his joining our party at Badágry, he had been a slave to Adooley, for the captain had left him to his fate. As we knew the man would be extremely useful in a canoe, to the management of which he has been accustomed from his infancy, and that he also understood the cleaning and repairing of guns, beside other useful matters, and as we likewise believed his artful tale, we obtained the consent of the Badágrian chief, whose slave he was, to part with him, provided we would pledge ourselves to bring him back with us in safety. In Yarriba we could by no means complain of his general conduct; he was always willing to do every thing we required of him, and was by far the most diligent and useful man of the party. At Boossa and at Yàoorie, however, his evil propensities and bad conduct began to display themselves: he became idle, drunken, and careless, and purloined several little articles, which, intrinsically, were of no value; but in the reduced state of our finances, they were of great consequence to us. Beside which, he is one of the most abandoned creatures in the world; and it was a common practice with him to absent himself from our party several days together, so that we saw nothing of him, and when he returned, was accompanied by complaints from the native women. This man's conduct has given us both much uneasiness, anxiety, and apprehension; we scarcely know what to do with him, he is so profligate and vicious: we thought of sending him back to Yarriba by a party of men who will leave hence for Keeshee in a day or two, but they dread the thoughts of his company, and refuse to take him along with them for any consideration. He has already threatened the lives of more than one of our men, and they begin to tremble with apprehension for their personal safety. In his sober moments he is quiet, orderly, and good-natured; and it is only when his furious passions are excited by drinking that he becomes altogether ungovernable, and displays all his fiend-like disposition, to the danger of our lives. We are likewise apprehensive that the natives of the country will entertain but a despicable opinion of us, when they reflect upon the outrageous conduct of this man, for his features are cast in the European mould; he dresses in the English costume, like ourselves; he speaks our language with readiness, and writes it with facility.

Thursday, September 2.—Yesterday was considered as a day of amusement and recreation for men on horseback only; but this has been devoted almost exclusively to dancing and singing, and other trifling diversions, which are more generally relished by people of all ranks, and of both sexes. At an early hour in the morning, the people of the city, with musicians in their train, assembled in large groups, and continued parading the streets all day, and singing and dancing were kept up without intermission till four o'clock in the afternoon. Nothing could surpass the hilarity and general good humor which prevailed among the people during the day. The features of every one were animated with joy. Theirs was no ordinary mirth; for being

naturally of a warm-hearted, sanguine disposition, they entered into the sports of the day with a fervency which displayed itself in all manner of extraordinary tricks, gestures, and movements. This was a holy-day for all, from the king to the meanest of his subjects. The old seemed to have forgotten their weight of years, the young knew no restraint, and those who before had talked of love in secret, now openly exchanged with each other

"Quips and cranks, and wanton wiles,
Nods and becks, and wreathed smiles."

A short relaxation from this tumultuous pastime was now obtained by some in making preparations for joining the king's party, which was fast collecting at his house. Such diversions as theirs, so highly exciting and gratifying, are nevertheless wearisome to the strongest frame, and in this sultry climate must be particularly so to them.—When they had all assembled, they presented a singularly grotesque and striking appearance. A cluster of between sixty and seventy Falatahs, men, women, and children, were some standing and some sitting in front of the doorway leading to the interior apartments. Their dresses were remarkably clean, neat, varied, and becoming; the long black hair of the women was ingeniously and prettily braided, and confined in nets and caps; and their flowing garments of striped cotton swept along the ground: the men wore red caps, loose white tobes, and full trowsers; and their little children were pleasingly clad, and decorated with all the finery and ornaments which their parents had been able to bestow on them. These well-looking Fallatahs formed the most interesting and agreeable assemblage of the whole; they had likewise more vivacity in their looks, and more quickness of action, than any of their companions. To the right of them, in an enclosure of mud, was seated the queen of Boossa, dressed loosely, though not inelegantly, in rich English silks, as spectatress of the amusements; behind her were the king's other wives, and her own female slaves, who were pretty numerous. They formed also a cleanly, decent group, inferior only to the former. On each side of the Falatahs and behind them was a great number of other spectators, of all ranks, many of whom were standing, and many sitting on the turf and reclining against the trunks of trees. Most of the men were clad in the Mohammedan costume, with cap, tobe, and trowsers; and the majority of the women were dressed in neat and durable country cloths, which were carelessly thrown over the left shoulder, and reached to the ground, leaving the right arm and shoulder, and part of the right leg, uncovered. A few among them, however, wore common Manchester cottons, of a large, showy, and vulgar pattern, which were infinitely surpassed by their own country cloth.

Although the king had not made his appearance, the amusements were carried on with much animation; and the dancers, far from being tired, seemed to imbibe fresh vigor and renewed activity; while the drummers, eight in number, with a fifer as an assistant, continued playing to them. A man first started from the crowd with a bundle of rushes in his hand, like a German broom, which he flourished over his head with inconceivable dexterity. After dancing awhile, he was joined by two Falatah women, who imitated his actions, and partook

of his glee. One of them held a little girl by the hand; and the whole four individuals, man, women, and child, continued the dancing till they were completely fatigued, when they were succeeded by another party of three or four, and then another in like manner, so that there was not a moment's pause in the dance at any time. They kept good time with the music and singing. But instead of the quick, lively motion which is generally observed on similar occasions, the dancers moved with a slow and measured step, in which there was nothing unbecoming or improper, and all seemed consistent with the rules of delicacy. For want of a proper fan, the females used neat round mats of various colors; and it afforded us no little entertainment to see them placed before the mouth whenever they wished to hide their faces, or attempt to conceal their laughter.

Meanwhile the king was expected by every one with much anxiety and impatience, for as yet he had not been present to witness the diversions of his people; and it was not till past four in the afternoon that he showed himself from one of his huts. His arrival was welcomed by a spirited rally upon the drums, while he took his seat on a stool between the queen's station and the group of Falatahs, and perceiving us among the crowd, he invited us to place ourselves near his person. Several attendants who had followed their master stood on each side of him, forming, if it may so be called, a "guard of honor." One of these men held two large bundles of spears, whose points or barbs were confined in caps of burnished brass, on which he rested his head with much solemnity, and with a slight inclination of the body; while from his temples was suspended a huge and enormous hat, made either of grass or rushes, which reached to the ground, and covered him like a shield. Others held loose bundles of spears, fans, and arrows, with the two prodigious Arab trumpets which have before been casually alluded to. Thus attended, the king entered into the spirit of the performances with a merry heart, and a determination to be pleased with them. He appeared to be by far the most delighted spectator of the whole, and signified his approbation by encouraging words and glances to those who danced or sung to his satisfaction. A cheerful smile animated his countenance during the whole time, and caused his features to assume an expression of good humor which it is a particular custom in him never to display so fully except on occasions of public festivity and enjoyment, though he is one of the pleasantest and best-tempered men that we have met with in Africa.

There was an elderly female who danced alone before the king, and by the peculiarity of her looks, and her ludicrous and uncommon gestures, afforded us very great amusement. This woman is a tall, awkward, masculine, and uncomely figure; yet she endeavored to look so serious, at the same time with so arch a countenance, and with a half-averted glance smiled with so much artfulness and loving-kindness on her sovereign and his attendants, dancing at the same time with such an extraordinary motion of her person, that she obtained universal applause. This was a fair challenge to the king; and as soon as she had finished, the monarch himself arose and stepped into the ring to display his acquirements in the art. Every one stood on his legs, out of respect to their sovereign, as well to applaud his dancing as to ob-

tain a fairer opportunity of beholding his person; and a great press was made by the crowd in consequence, that they might gain a better view of him. The king moved with much stiffness and stateliness, which is at all times unbecoming in a dance; but the populace expressed their admiration of his abilities in shouts of joy, and certainly his attempts to please and amuse them deserved the full extent of applause. To us, however, it does not appear that nature, which has been so bountiful to this beloved monarch in other respects, has fitted him for so active an amusement as this; for though his size approaches to the majestic, though he walks and rides with equal ease, and though the exercise by no means requires the greatest flexibility of body, his dance, to us at least, was a complete failure; for he has a foot which may be compared to that of a dromedary in point of size, and his toe is any thing but "light and fantastic." When his first dance, which was much the same as that performed by his people, was concluded, the king began a second, by imitating the canter of a native horse when going to war. This, as may be supposed, was an inexpressibly odd and whimsical experiment, but it lasted a short time only; for in a very few minutes he disappeared from the spectators by cantering into one of his huts, followed by the cheers of admiration and the acclamations of every one present.

The sun had now set, and with the departure of the prince the singing and dancing ceased for the evening; nevertheless all the people patiently awaited his return to the spot. Now, of all the celebrated dancers in the country, none can excel or equal the king of Wowow in grace, elegance, and vivacity; and the fame of his skill in this amusement, which is thought so much of in this country, is gone abroad into all lands; every one, even his enemies, acknowledge his superiority in this polite accomplishment; and the envious and malicious are compelled to own that he is without a rival from Bornou to the sea. Yet, notwithstanding his renown as a dancer, the chief is a very aged man, having a most solemn and forbidding aspect; and though he has evidently, to use a common expression, one foot in the grave, he is as active as a boy, and indulges largely in this his favorite amusement every Friday. It was in order for us to witness his elegant dancing, we have been told, that he pressed us with so much earnestness and importunity to spend the holydays at Wowow, which we should certainly have consented to but for the discouragement our project received from the king of Boossa, who was envious of his celebrity, and therefore compelled, rather than enticed us to remain here, that we might see his personal accomplishments to advantage, witness the public gayety and festivities of his people, and in his imagination be struck with astonishment and admiration at his own perfection in the art of dancing.

The Boossa people did not wait long for the reappearance of their monarch; for shortly after he came out to them, followed by a boy with two calabashes full of cowries, which were to be distributed among the multitude. But first of all the king took up a handful, and gave to each of the singers, dancers, and musicians that had contributed so essentially to his entertainment; nor was the tall old woman forgotten, who had danced alone before him, for she received a double

allowance. We were rather pleased at this, for she is our next-door neighbor, a poor old woman, who is very chatty and flippant, and has fallen in love with one of our young men, named Antonio. This having been done to the apparent satisfaction of all parties, the remainder of the cowries were scattered by the king's own hand among the crowd to be scrambled for, which occasioned the most animating and amusing sight that can be conceived. Parents and children, brothers and sisters, strangers and friends, were scrambling and tumbling over each other, some on their faces and some on their knees, both giving and receiving cuffs and kicks in the scuffle to get at the money. This scramble lasted about ten minutes, when the party before the king's house broke up; but the good-natured monarch, to show his affection for his subjects, whom he indeed regards with as much tenderness as if they were his children, was unwilling to send them to their homes without giving them another last treat, so he danced sideways half way up the race course and back again to his residence with much stateliness. This was indeed a royal attempt; the midiki smiled with delight that she had *such* a spouse; the people were louder than ever in their shouts of approbation; all was noise, tumult, and confusion; their sovereign was more beloved than ever he had been; and as the evening closed in, silence was gradually restored, and the people retired to their homes. This was the last of the holydays, and the proceedings of this day have concluded their festivities.

About ten o'clock at night, when we were sleeping on our mats, we were suddenly awoke by a great cry of distress from innumerable voices, attended by a horrid clashing and clattering noise, which the hour of the night tended to make more terrific. Before we had time to recover from our surprise, old Pascoe rushed breathless into our hut, and informed us with a trembling voice that "the sun was dragging the moon across the heavens." Wondering what could be the meaning of so strange and ridiculous a story, we ran out of the hut half dressed, and we discovered that the moon was totally eclipsed. A number of people were gathered together in our yard, in dreadful apprehension that the world was at an end, and that this was but the "beginning of sorrows." We learned from them that the Mohammedan priests residing in the city, having personified the sun and moon, had told the king and the people that the eclipse was occasioned through the obstinacy and disobedience of the latter luminary. They said that for a long time previously the moon had been displeased with the path she had been compelled to take through the heavens, because it was filled with thorns and briers, and obstructed with a thousand other difficulties; and therefore that, having watched for a favorable opportunity, she had this evening deserted her usual track, and entered into that of the sun. She had not, however, travelled far up the sky, on the forbidden road, before the circumstance was discovered by the sun, who immediately hastened to her in his anger, and punished her dereliction by clothing her in darkness, forcing her back to her own territories, and forbidding her to shed her light upon the earth. This story, whimsical as it may seem, was received with implicit confidence in its truth by the king and queen, and most of the people of Boossa; and the cause of the noises which we had heard, and which were still

continuing with renewed vehemence, was explained to us by the fact that they were all "assembled together in the hope of being able to frighten away the sun to his proper sphere, and leave the moon to enlighten the world as at other times." This is much after the manner of many savage nations.

While our informant was yet speaking to us, a messenger arrived at our yard from the king, to tell us the above tale, and with an invitation to come to see him immediately. Therefore, slipping on the remainder of our clothes, we followed the man to the residence of his sovereign from outside of which the cries proceeded, and here we found the king and his timid partner sitting on the ground. Their usual good spirits and cheerful behavior had forsaken them entirely; both appeared overwhelmed with apprehension, and trembled at every joint. Like all their subjects, in the hurry of fear and the suddenness of the alarm, they had come out of their dwellings half dressed, the head and legs, and the upper part of their persons, being entirely exposed. We soon succeeded in quelling their fears, or at least in diminishing their apprehension. The king then observed, that neither himself nor the oldest of his subjects recollected seeing but one eclipse of the moon beside the one he was gazing at; that it had occurred exactly when the Falatahs began to be formidable in the country, and that it had forewarned them of all the wars, disasters, and calamities which subsequently took place.

We had seated ourselves opposite to the king and queen, and within two or three feet of them, where we could readily observe the moon and the people without inconvenience, and carry on the conversation at the same time. If the royal couple shuddered with terror on beholding the darkened moon, we were scarcely less affected by the savage gestures of those within a few yards of us, and by their repeated cries, so wild, so loud, and so piercing, that an indescribable sensation of horror stole over us, and rendered us almost as nervous as those whom we had come to comfort. The earlier part of the evening had been mild, serene, and remarkably pleasant; the moon had arisen with uncommon lustre, and being at the full, her appearance was extremely delightful. It was the conclusion of the holydays, and many of the people were enjoying the delicious coolness of a serene night, and resting from the laborious exertions of the day; but when the moon became gradually obscured, fear overcame every one. As the eclipse increased, they became more terrified. All ran in great distress to inform their sovereign of the circumstance, for there was not a single cloud to cause so deep a shadow, and they could not comprehend the nature or meaning of an eclipse. The king was as easily frightened as his people, being equally simple and ignorant; he would not therefore suffer them to depart. Numbers sometimes beget courage and confidence, he thought; so he commanded them to remain near his person, and to do all in their power to restore the lost glory of the moon.

In front of the king's house, and almost close to it, are a few magnificent cotton trees, round which the soil had been freed from grass, &c, for the celebration of the games. On this spot were the terrified people assembled, with every instrument capable of making a noise

which could be procured in the whole town. They had formed themselves into a large treble circle, and continued running round with amazing velocity, crying, shouting, and groaning with all their might. They tossed and flung their heads about, twisted their bodies into all manner of contortions, jumped into the air, stamped with their feet on the ground, and flourished their hands above their heads. No scene in the romance of Robinson Crusoe was so wild and savage as this: and a large wood fire, with a few men spitted and roasting before it, was alone wanting to render it complete! Little boys and girls were outside the ring, running to and fro, clashing empty calabashes against each other, and crying bitterly; groups of men were blowing on trumpets, which produced a harsh and discordant sound; some were employed in beating old drums; others again were blowing on bullocks' horns; and in the short intervals between the rapid succession of all these fiend-like noises, was heard one more dismal than the rest, proceeding from an iron tube, accompanied by the clinking of chains. Indeed, every thing that *could* increase the uproar was put in requisition on this memorable occasion; nor did it cease till midnight, when the eclipse had passed away. Never have we witnessed so extraordinary a scene as this. The diminished light, when the eclipse was complete, was just sufficient to enable us to distinguish the various groups of people, and contributed in no small degree to render the scene still more imposing. If a European, a stranger to Africa, were to be placed on a sudden in the midst of the terror-struck people, he would imagine himself to be among a legion of demons, holding a revel over a fallen spirit; so peculiarly unearthly, wild, and horrifying was the appearance of the dancing group, and the clamor which they made. It was perhaps fortunate for us that we had an almanac with us, which foretold the eclipse: for although we neglected to inform the king of this circumstance, we were yet enabled to tell him and his people the exact time of its disappearance. This succeeded in some measure in suppressing their fears, for they would believe any thing we might tell them; and perhaps, also, it has procured for us a lasting reputation "and a name." "O," said the king, "there will be sorrow and crying this night from Wowow to Yaoorie. The people will have no one to comfort or condole with them; they will fancy this eclipse to be the harbinger of something very dreadful; and they will be in distress and trouble till the moon shall have regained her brightness." It was nearly one o'clock when we left the king and queen, to return to our hut; every thing was then calm and silent, and we lay down to rest in peace.' (*Ib.* pp. 352–368.)

After being detained at this place a little short of two months, our travellers set off to traverse an unexplored part of the country, under the expectation that they would now be able to follow the Niger to its entrance into the sea. They had found in the king and queen of Boossa most hearty friends; and the following account of the affectionate manner in which they separated, will show that true hospitality and the kindlier feelings of the heart may be found among pagans and Mohammedans as well as among Christians. Indeed it may be fairly

questioned whether any Christian prince would show even equal attention to strangers, however exalted their characters, unless enrolled among those whose blood is of royal extraction, as was manifested to the Messrs. Landers on the present occasion.

'About breakfast time the king and queen arrived at our hut, to pay us a farewell visit, and bestow upon us their last blessing. They brought with them two pots of honey and a large quantity of goora nuts, strongly recommending us to present the latter to the Rabba chieftain, for that nothing we might have in our possession could so effectually conciliate his favor, procure us his friendship, and command his confidence. When mutual compliments were passed, we expressed our acknowledgments to both of them with sincerity and earnestness, for the benevolence, hospitality, and attention with which they had uniformly treated us; for their kindness to us; for their zeal in every thing that regarded our welfare; and for the protection they had afforded us during a period little short of two months, in which we had enjoyed the utmost security, and as much of happiness and gayety as it had been in their power to bestow. And we assured them, that should we be so fortunate as to return to England, it would be our first care to acquaint our countrymen of all their kindness to us, which we would remember as long as we lived. We then shook hands heartily, and concluded by wishing them a continuation of the simple blessings and the felicity they enjoyed; that they might ever be loved by their subjects, and feared and honored by the neighboring nations; that they might live to a good old age, and die in peace with all mankind. They were both touched with sorrow at our words, for they were the last which they would hear us utter; tears were glistening in the eyes of each as they were making an affecting and suitable answer; and the good couple walked out of our hut with heavy and mournful countenances, and immediately repaired to their own abode in order to make a powerful spell for our preservation and success.

When we ourselves quitted the hut, which was shortly after their departure, we found our yard filled with neighbors, friends, and acquaintances, who all fell down on their knees to bid us good-by.—They blessed us earnestly with uplifted hands, and those among them that were of the Mohammedan religion fervently implored for us the favor and protection of Allah and their prophet. The eyes of many of them were streaming with tears, and all were more or less affected. As we passed by these poor creatures, we spoke to them all, and thanked them again and again for their good wishes. Our hearts must have been of marble if we could have beheld such a scene without some slight emotion. On our way toward the river, also, the path was lined with people, some of whom saluted us on one knee, and some on both, and we received their benedictions as we walked along.' (*Ib.* vol. ii, pp. 9–11.)

They found the river below Boossa full of islands, and about the distance of fifty miles landed at one called Patashie, thickly inhabited, its soil exceedingly fertile, embellished with various groves of palm and other noble trees, and abounding with horses, goats, poultry, &c,

and its inhabitants honest, industrious, and many of them wealthy. Here they were also received and treated with great cordiality, and were amply supplied with provision without fee or reward, the natives vying with each other to do them honor and to obtain a sight of their persons.

After some vexatious delays, our travellers left Patashic, and in a few hours landed at the town of *Lever*, about twenty miles distant, where they met with some difficulty in procuring canoes for their voyage. However, on the 4th of October they set off from this place with two canoes, and launched out into the middle of the current, and glided swiftly down. Here the river appeared deep, was free from islands and rocks, and its width appeared to vary from one to three miles, the banks being high and steep. We give the following extract from the journal of our travellers as affording a specimen of the manner in which the petty sovereigns appear, when strangers are introduced to them :—

'Between nine and ten, A. M., we heard a number of men singing, and keeping time to the motion of many paddles, but we could see no one. However, in a very few minutes, a canoe, which was paddled by a few men only, came in sight, and we knew by this that the Water King was approaching. It was instantly followed by another and much larger one, propelled by above twenty very fine young men, whose voices we had been listening to just before, and who were still continuing their song. Their music was slower, but very similar to that which may be heard on many parts of the western coast. The *King of the Dark Water* was with them. As the canoe drew nearer we were not only surprised at its extraordinary length and uncommon neatness, but likewise at the unusual display of pomp and show which we observed in her. In the centre a mat awning was erected, which was variously decorated, and on the front of it hung a large piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented with bits of gold lace stitched on different parts of it. In the bow of the canoe were three or four little boys, of equal size, who were clad with neatness and propriety; and in the stern sat a number of comely-looking musicians, consisting of several drummers and a trumpeter, while the young men who had the management of the boat were not inferior to their companions either in decency of apparel or respectability of appearance. They all looked in fact extremely well.

As soon as this canoe arrived at the landing place, the "Water King" came out from beneath the awning, and, followed by the musicians and a suite of attendants, walked to the hut wherein all public matters are transacted, and whither, in a few minutes, we ourselves were desired to repair. The chief of the island, with his elders and the more respectable of the people, were seated, on our entrance, on each side of their important visiter, and my brother and I, as a mark of distinction, were invited to place ourselves in front of him. When the usual compliments had passed on both sides, he informed us, with much solemnity, of his rank and title; he then alluded to the cause of

his coming, which, he said, was to do us honor, and repeated what had previously been told us by the king's son. This being done, he presented us with a pot of excellent honey, and two thousand cowries in money, beside a large quantity of goora-nuts, which are cultivated in the country, and which are held in so great esteem, that the opulent and powerful alone have the means of procuring them. Having nothing farther to say or do, we shook hands with his sable majesty, whose name is Suliken Rouah, expressed our acknowledgments for his handsome present, and returned to our boats.

The "King of the Dark Water" is a fine-looking man, well stricken in years; his skin as black as a coal; his features are coarse but benevolent, and his stature advantageous and commanding. He was dressed in a full Bornouse, or Arab cloak, of inferior blue cloth, underneath which was a variegated tobe made of figured satin, country cloth, and crimson silk damask, all patched together; he likewise wore a cap of red cloth, Haussa trowsers, and sandals of colored leather. Two pretty little boys, about ten years of age, and of equal size, and who acted in capacity of pages, followed him into the hut. Their clothing was neat and becoming, and their persons nicely clean; each of them was furnished with an ornamented cow's tail, and they stood one on his right hand and the other on his left, to brush away flies and other insects from his person, and supply him with goora-nuts and tobacco. The king was also accompanied by six of his wives, fine handsome jet-black girls, dressed in neat country caps edged with red silk. Native cloths, made of cotton and silk, were fastened round their waists, beneath which they wore a sort of short frock. The usual custom of staining their finger and toe nails with henna appears to be general among them; their wrists were ornamented with neat silver bracelets, and their necks with coral necklaces.

To such a man as the "Water King," with such a suite and such a title, the greatest honor is expected to be paid, and we therefore showed our respect by saluting him with a discharge from two or three muskets; and by waiting patiently his return from the council hut, wherein he stayed two whole hours, during which we were sitting in our canoes, exposed to a very hot sun, for we had removed them from under the tree by the side of his own.' (*Ib.* pp. 56–58.)

In company with this chief they sailed down the river until they arrived at Zagozhi, situated on an island in the Niger. While here they opened a communication with the king of Rabba, a neighboring prince, whose friendship they obtained by an interchange of presents. This friendship proved highly advantageous to them afterward. It seems the king of Nouffie, with whom they had had intercourse before, and who had professed great friendship for them, now sent a messenger to Rabba, demanding more presents, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to search their baggage, and take by force what he could not obtain by fraud. This message being communicated to the Rabba king, he treated it with indignation, saying, 'Tell the magia, your sovereign, that I would rebuke him for this expression of his senti-

ments; that I detest his base insinuations; that I will never consent to his wishes; and that I reject his proposal with disdain. What! shall the white men, who have come from such distant lands to visit our country, who have spent their substance among us, and made us presents, before we had leisure to do any good for them, shall they be treated so inhumanly? Never! They have worn their shoes from their feet, and their clothes from their persons, by the length and tediousness of their journeys; they have thrown themselves into our hands, to claim our protection and partake of our hospitality; shall we treat them then as robbers, and cast them from us like dogs? Surely not. What would our neighbors,—what would our friends—our foes, say to this? What could be a greater reproach than the infamy which would attach itself to our characters and to our name, should we treat these poor, unprotected, wandering strangers, and white men too, in the manner your monarch, the king of Nouffie, proposes? After they have been received and entertained with so much hospitality and honor in Yarriba, at Wowow, and at Boossa, shall it be said that Rabba treated them badly; that she shut her doors upon them and plundered them? No, never! I have already given my word to protect them, and I will not forfeit that sacred pledge for all the guns and swords in the world.'

The following conversation will show the estimation in which white men are held by these people:—

'Several Haussa merchants arrived at Rabba this morning, with a number of fine horses for sale. As soon as they entered the town, they went to pay their respects to the prince, when Pascoe happened to be in his company, and they conversed together in the Falatah language, not thinking for a moment that it could be understood by him. In allusion to us, for we are generally brought on the *tapis* on such occasions, they spoke very much in our praise, mentioned Capt. Clapperton, "the unfortunate Abdallah," in terms of the highest admiration, and had seen with wonder the splendid and curious presents which he had made to Sultan Bello at Soccatoo. "I know the white men too," said the prince, "they are good men; in fact I have reason to speak well of them, for I also am a white man, and therefore I am of opinion that they are of the same blood as ourselves." It is in this manner that Falatahs endeavor to claim relationship with Europeans, though these people are either of a swarthy complexion, or black as soot; and this passion to be considered fair is often carried to a most ridiculous height. White men, how sorry soever their outward appearance may be, are certainly considered, not only by Falatahs, but by the native blacks, as a superior order of beings, in all respects more excellent than themselves. At Yaoorie we recollect having overheard a conversation between two men, who were quarrelling in the very height of passion. "What!" exclaimed one of them to his fellow, "thou pitiful son of a black ant! dost thou presume to say that a horse was my

father? Look at these Christians! for as they are, I am; and such were my ancestors; answer me not, I say, for I am a white man!"—The speaker was a negro, and his skin was the color of charcoal.' (*Ib.* pp. 78, 79.)

Below Rabba, they found the breadth of the Niger to be about two miles, its general course being south-east; but after sailing about twenty minutes it turned in an easterly direction, when its breadth appeared to be not less than four miles. They soon found themselves in a situation which rendered it impracticable to land, though they saw a number of villages at a distance from the river, on account of the deep morasses along its banks; the width of the river in the mean time varying from three to six miles, interspersed with numerous islands, beautiful in appearance, and well cultivated; but the gentle stream wafted them pleasantly along without much labor. At length, not being able to land, they were much annoyed and not a little terrified by the appearance of an incredible number of Hippopotami, which came plashing, snorting, and plunging around the canoe, amidst the darkness of the night, the gleaming of the lightning, and the roaring of the thunder. Under these circumstances they were obliged to sail nearly the whole night; but toward morning, the storm passed over, a clear sky appeared, and the Niger presented a magnificent view, being, as they supposed, not less than eight miles wide.

We cannot follow our travellers minutely through all their journeyings down this mighty river. November 4, they took their departure from *Damuggoo*, where they had been hospitably entertained for some time, and sailed down the river which they found to be from one to three or four miles wide, with a rapid current, when on the 5th they met with the following rencounter:—

'At six A. M. we were passing rather close to a point in the river, round which it takes an abrupt turn, and the current being very rapid we were carried into an eddy before we were aware of it. It was with considerable difficulty that we got clear of it, but had we been two yards nearer to the shore our canoe would have been dashed into pieces. These dangers will always be avoided by the precaution of keeping in the middle of the river. At seven A. M. we saw a small river enter the Niger from the eastward, the banks of which, as well as those of the Niger, were elevated and fertile. Shortly after we observed a branch of the river running off to the westward, about the same size as that from the eastward. On the right bank of this river, close also to the bank of the Niger, we observed a large market, which I was informed is Kirree; and that the river, flowing to the westward past it, runs to Benin. A great number of canoes were lying near the bank. They appeared to be very large, and had flags flying on long bamboo canes. We took no notice of them, but passed on, and in a short time afterward we saw about fifty canoes before us, coming up the river. They appeared to be very large and full of men, and the appearance of

them at a distance was very pleasing. They had each three long bamboo canes, with flags flying from them, one fixed at each end of the canoe, and the other in the middle. As we approached each other I observed the British Union flag in several, while others, which were white, had figures on them of a man's leg, chairs, tables, decanters, glasses, and all kinds of such devices. The people in them, who were very numerous, were dressed in European clothing, with the exception of trowsers.

I felt quite overjoyed by the sight of these people, more particularly so when I saw our flag and European apparel among them, and congratulated myself that they were from the sea coast. But all my fond anticipations vanished in a moment as the first canoe met us. A great stout fellow, of a most forbidding countenance, beckoned to me to come to him, but seeing him and all his people so well armed I was not much inclined to trust myself among them, and paid no attention to him. The next moment I heard the sound of a drum, and in an instant several men mounted a platform and levelled their muskets at us. There was nothing to be done now but to obey; as for running away it was out of the question, our square loaded canoe was incapable of it; and to fight with fifty war canoes, for such we found them, containing each above forty people, most of whom were as well armed as ourselves, would have been throwing away my own and my canoe-men's lives very foolishly. In addition to the muskets, each canoe had a long gun in its bow that would carry a shot of four or six pounds, beside being provided with a good stock of swords and boarding pikes.

By this time our canoes were side by side, and with astonishing rapidity our luggage found its way into those of our opponents. This mode of proceeding I did not relish at all; so as my gun was loaded with two balls and four slugs, I took deliberate aim at the leader, and he would have paid for his temerity with his life in one moment more, had not three of his people sprung on me and forced the gun from my hands. My jacket and shoes were as quickly plundered from me, and observing some other fellows at the same time taking away Pascoe's wife, I lost all command over myself, and was determined to sell my life as dearly as I could. I encouraged my men to arm themselves with their paddles and defend themselves to the last. I instantly seized hold of Pascoe's wife, and with the assistance of another of my men dragged her from the fellow's grasp; Pascoe at the same time levelled a blow at his head with one of our iron-wood paddles that sent him reeling backward, and we saw him no more.

Our canoe having been so completely relieved of her cargo, which had consisted only of our luggage, we had plenty of room in her for battle, and being each of us provided with a paddle, we determined, as we had got clear of our adversary, to cut down the first fellow who should dare to board us. This was not attempted; and as none of the other canoes had offered to interfere, I was in hopes of finding some friends among them, but at all events was determined to follow the people who had plundered us to the market, where they seemed to be going. We accordingly pulled after them as fast as we could. My men, now that the fray was over, began to think of their forlorn condition. All their things were gone, and as they gave up all hopes of re-

gaining them, or being able to revenge themselves on the robbers, they gave vent to their rage in tears and execrations. I desired them to be quiet, and endeavored all in my power to pacify them by telling them that if we were spared to reach the sea in safety, I would pay them for every thing they had lost.

We were following the canoe that had attacked us as fast as we possibly could to regain our things, if possible, when some people hailed us from a large canoe, which I found afterward belonged to the New Calebar river. One of the people, who was apparently a person of consequence, called out lustily to me, "Holloa, white man, you French, you English?"—"Yes, English," I answered him immediately.—"Come here in my canoe," he said, and our two canoes approached each other rapidly. I accordingly got into his canoe, and he put three of his men into mine to assist in pulling her to the market. The people of the canoe treated me with much kindness, and the chief of her who had hailed me gave me a glass of rum. There were several females also in the canoe, who appeared to take a great deal of interest in my safety.

On looking around me I now observed my brother coming toward us in the Damuggoo canoe, and the same villain who had plundered me was the first to pursue him. As we had been absent from each other all the morning, and the foregoing transactions only relate to myself, the following narrative of my brother's will give the reader an account of his proceedings to the time I saw him, and the disaster which soon after followed.

"My brother left the village nearly two hours before me, and therefore he was far in advance when the Damuggoo canoe, in which I had remained, was pushed off the land. Wishing to overtake him, for he had no guide, the men exerted themselves wonderfully to make amends for the time which they had trifled away, and it was really astonishing to see the rapidity with which the canoe was impelled through the water.

The morning was cool, serene, and delightful, and the sun had just emerged from a mass of dense clouds, which were fringed with a silvery light. On each side of the river, gentle and undulating hills rose one behind the other, covered with verdure, and here and there varied by groves of dark green trees, which served to render the prospect yet more agreeable. The smooth, transparent surface of the river, disturbed only by the motions of our paddles, so calm, so peaceful in its gentle course, reflected with unerring truth the enchanting landscape from either side, and lent its friendly aid to hasten us to our long-wished-for destination.

After we had been in the canoe perhaps an hour, one of the men who happened to be standing in the bow fancied that he could descry, in another canoe, then at a considerable distance before us, a sheep and goat which my brother had taken away with him in the morning. All doubt as to the identity of the animals having been removed from his own mind and those of his companions,—though for my own part I must own that my vision was not near keen enough to allow me to agree with them in opinion,—we gave chase to the suspected canoe. The men summoned all their resolution and strength to the task, and,

like an arrow from a bow, our narrow vessel darted through the water. We gained rapidly on the chase, and the people, perceiving our object and mistrusting our intentions, kept near the shore, and labored hard to get away from us. They then entered a branch of the river which was running to the south-west, and sheltered themselves among a number of canoes that were lying alongside a large market place, situated on the right bank.

This did not damp the spirit of our men, or deter them from following the pursued: we succeeded in discovering their hiding place; and at length, after much wrangling and many threats, the robbers (for such they proved to be) were compelled to restore the animals. But how my brother could have suffered two men to plunder his canoe puzzled me exceedingly, and I was totally at a loss to account for it. Nothing could exceed my surprise, on approaching the market, to observe, as I thought, large European flags, affixed to poles, and waving over almost every canoe that was there. On a closer examination I discovered them to be imitations only, though they were executed with uncommon skill and neatness. British colors apparently were the most prevalent, and among these the Union flag seemed to be the general favorite. Nor did my former surprise diminish in the least when I landed, on finding that the market people were clad in European apparel, though, with the odd fancy which is remarkable among Indians who have any intercourse with Europeans, none of them were dressed in a complete suit of clothes. One wore a hat only, with a Manchester cotton, tied round his waist, another a shirt, another a jacket, &c. As all natives, with the exception of kings, are forbidden by law to wear trowsers, a common pocket handkerchief was generally substituted for that article of dress. The multitude formed the most motley group that we have ever seen; nothing on earth could be more grotesque or ridiculous. Many of the men had a smattering of the English and French tongues.

The object for which we had stopped at the market having been effected to our satisfaction, we pulled out again into the main body of the river, and here we saw several canoes of amazing size coming toward us from the southward. Totally unsuspicious of danger of any kind from this quarter, astonishment at such a sight was the only emotion that entered my mind; and we resolved to pass in the midst of these canoes, that we might more conveniently look on each side of us, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they contained any thing belonging to us. At the next moment another *squadron* of the same description of vessels came in sight, in one of which I could discover my brother by his white shirt, and I fancied that he was returning to demand restitution of the animals of which he had been plundered, therefore I still felt perfectly easy in my mind.

When we drew nearer, it was apparent that these were all war canoes, of prodigious dimensions; immense flags of various colors were displayed in them, a six-pounder was lashed to the bow of each; and they were filled with women, and children, and armed men, whose weapons were in their hands. Such was their size, that each of them was paddled by nearly forty people. In pursuance of our arrangement, we passed through the midst of them, but could see nothing; and we had advanced a few yards, when on looking behind us, we dis-

covered that the war canoes had been turned round, and were swiftly pursuing us. Appearances were hostile; the apprehension of danger suddenly flashed across my mind; we endeavored and struggled hard to escape; but fear had taken possession of the minds of my companions, and as they were unable to exert themselves we did not get on: all was vain. Our canoe was overtaken in a moment, and nearly sent under water by the violence with which her pursuer dashed against her; a second crash threw two or three of the Damuggoo people overboard, and by the shock of the third she capsized and sunk. All this seemed the work of enchantment, so quickly did events succeed each other; yet, in this interval, a couple of ill-looking fellows had jumped into our canoe, and in the confusion which prevailed, began emptying it of its contents with astonishing celerity.

On finding myself in the water, my first care was, very naturally, to get out again; and therefore looking round on a hundred ruffians, in whose countenances I could discern not a single trace of gentleness or pity, I swam to a large canoe, apart from the others, in which I observed two females and some little ones,—for in their breasts, thought I, compassion and tenderness must surely dwell. Perceiving my design, a sturdy man of gigantic stature, such as little children dream of, black as a coal, and with a most hideous countenance, suddenly sprang toward me, and stooping down, he laid hold of my arm, and snatched me with a violent jerk out of the water, letting me fall like a log into the canoe, without speaking a word.

I soon recovered, and sat up with my companions, the women and children, and discovered them wiping tears from their faces. In momentary expectation of a barbarous and painful death, 'for what else,' said I to myself, 'can all this lead to?' the scene around me produced little impression upon my mind; my thoughts were wandering far away, and this day I thought was to be my last. I was meditating in this manner, heedless of all that was going on around me, and reckless of what came next, when I looked up and saw my brother at a little distance, gazing steadfastly upon me; when he saw that I observed him, he held up his arm with a sorrowful look, and pointed his finger to the skies. O! how distinctly and eloquently were all the emotions of his soul at that moment depicted in his countenance! Who could not understand him? He would have said, 'Trust in God!' I was touched with grief. Thoughts of home and friends rushed upon my mind, and almost overpowered me. My heart hovered over the scenes of infancy and boyhood. O how vividly did early impressions return to my soul! But such feelings could be indulged only for a moment. Recollecting myself, I bade them, as I thought, an everlasting adieu; and weaning my heart and thoughts from all worldly associations, with fervor I invoked the God of my life, before whose awful throne I imagined we should shortly appear, for fortitude and consolation in the hour of trial. My heart became subdued and softened; my mind regained its serenity and composure; and though there was nothing but tumult and distraction without, within all was tranquillity and resignation.

On account of the eagerness and anxiety with which every one endeavored to get near us in order to share the expected plunder, and

the confusion which prevailed in consequence, many of the war canoes clashed against each other with such violence, that three or four of them were upset at one time, and the scene which ensued baffles all description. Men, women, and children, clinging to their floating property, were struggling in the river, and screaming and crying out as loud as they were able, to be saved from drowning. Those that were more fortunate were beating their countrymen off from getting into their canoes, by striking their heads and hands with paddles, as they laid hold of the sides and nearly upset them. When the noise and disorder had in some measure ceased, my brother's canoe and that which I was in were by the side of each other, and he instantly took his shirt from his back and threw it over me, for I was naked. I then stepped into his canoe; for, whatever might be our fate, it would be a mournful kind of pleasure to comfort and console one another in the hour of trial and suffering. But I had no sooner done so, than I was dragged back again by a powerful arm, which I could not resist, and commanded by furious gestures to sit still on my peril.

Unwilling to aggravate our condition by obstinacy or bravado, which would have been vain and ridiculous, I made no reply, but did as I was desired, and silently watched the motions of our keepers. Now there were still other canoes passing by on their way to the market place, and among them was one of extraordinary size. Fancying it to be neutral, and hoping to make a diversion in our favor, I beckoned to those who were in it, and saluted them in the most friendly manner. But their savage bosoms were impenetrable to feeling. Surely they are destitute of all the amiable charities of life. I almost doubted whether they were human beings. Their hideous features were darkened by a terrible scowl; they mocked me, clapped their hands, and thumped upon a sullen drum; then with a loud and scornful laugh, the barbarians dashed their paddles into the water and went their way. This was a severe mortification; I felt confused and abashed; and my heart seemed to shrink within itself. I made no more such trials."

Seeing my brother swimming in the river, and people clinging on to what they could, I endeavored all in my power to induce the people of my canoe to go to him. But all I could do was in vain. Fearing that those in the water might upset the canoe by getting into her, or that she would be overloaded with them, they kept aloof and let them take their chance. My feelings at that moment were not to be described; I saw my brother nearly exhausted, and could render him no assistance, in addition to our luggage being plundered and sunk; and I had just formed the resolution of jumping into the water after him when I saw him picked up.

The canoes near me, as well as mine, hastened to a small sand island in the river, at a short distance from the market, and my brother arrived soon afterward. In a short time the Damuggoo people made their appearance, and also the chief of Bonny's messenger, having like ourselves lost every thing they had of their own property as well as their master's. This was in consequence of the confusion which had taken place; for these people, no doubt, had they been recognized, would not have been molested. We were all obliged to remain in our respective canoes, and made rather a sorry appearance in consequence

of the treatment we had received, which was increased by the tears and lamentations of our own canoe men, as well as those of Damuggoo, and neither my brother nor myself were in a condition to offer them any consolation.

We had been laying at the island ; but now the war canoes were all formed into a line and paddled into the market place before alluded to, which is called *Kirree*, and which likewise was the place of their destination. Here we were informed that a *palàver* would be held, to take the whole affair into consideration ; and about ten in the morning a multitude of men landed from the canoes, to "hold a council of war," if it may be so termed. For our parts we were not suffered to go on shore ; but constrained to remain in the canoes, without a covering for the head, and exposed to the heat of a burning sun. A person in a Mohammedan dress, who we learned afterward was a native of a place near Funda, came to us, and endeavored to cheer us, by saying that our hearts must not be sore,—that at the palàver which would be held, we had plenty of friends to speak for us. That all the people in the Mohammedan dresses who had come from Funda to attend the market were our friends, beside a great number of females who were well dressed in silk of different colors. These women wore large ivory anklets of about four or five pounds' weight, and bracelets of the same material, but not so large. About twenty canoes full of Damuggoo people had arrived from the various towns near Damuggoo. These persons, having heard how we had been treated, also became our friends, so that we now began to think there was a chance of our escaping, and this intelligence put us into better spirits.

A short time before noon, the river being pretty clear, several guns were fired as a signal for all the canoes to repair to the market and attend the palàver. Eager to learn the result of the discussion at the assembly, in which we were so intimately concerned, but without the means of gaining any intelligence, we passed the hours in fearful suspense, yielding by turns to the pleasing illusions of hope, and the gloomy forebodings of despair.

The heat of the sun, to which we were exposed, was excessive, and having no shirt on even to protect my shoulders from the scorching rays, I contrived to borrow an old cloth from one of the canoe men, who spoke a little English. Some of the market women came down to our canoe, and looked on us with much concern and pity, spreading their hands out, as much as to say, God has saved you from a cruel death. They then retired, and in a few minutes afterward returned, bringing with them a bunch of plantains and two cocoa-nuts. This was an acceptable offering, and we gladly took it and divided it among our people and ourselves.

A stir was now made in the market, and a search commenced through all the canoes for our goods, some of which were found, although the greater part of them were at the bottom of the river. These were landed and placed in the middle of the market place. We were now invited by the mallams to land, and told to look at our goods and see if they were all there. To my great satisfaction I immediately recognized the box containing our books, and one of my brother's journals. The medicine chest was by its side, but both were filled with water.

A large carpet bag, containing all our wearing apparel, was lying cut open, and deprived of its contents, with the exception of a shirt, a pair of trowsers, and a waistcoat. Many valuable articles which it had contained were gone. The whole of my journal, with the exception of a note book with remarks from Rabba to this place, was lost. Four guns, one of which had been the property of the late Mr. Park, four cutlasses, and two pistols were gone. Nine elephants' tusks, the finest I had seen in the country, which had been given me by the kings of Wowow and Boossa, a quantity of ostrich feathers, some handsome leopard skins, a great variety of seeds, all our buttons, cowries, and needles, which were necessary for us to purchase provisions with,—all were missing, and said to have been sunk in the river. The two boxes and the bag were all that could be found.

We had been desired to seat ourselves, which, as soon as we had done, a circle gathered round us, and began questioning us; but at that moment the sound of screams and the clashing of arms reached the spot; and the multitude, catching fire at the noise, drew their swords, and leaving us to ourselves they ran away to the place whence it proceeded. The poor women were hurrying with their little property toward the river from all directions, and imagining that we ourselves might be trampled under foot, were we to remain longer sitting on the ground, we joined the flying fugitives, and all rushing into the water, sprang into canoes, and pushed off the land, whither our pursuers dared not follow us. The origin of all this was a desire for more plunder on the part of the Eboe people. Seeing the few things of ours in the market place which had been taken from their canoes, they made a rush to the place to recover them. The natives, who were Kirree people, stood ready for them, armed with swords, daggers, and guns; and the savage Eboes, finding themselves foiled in the attempt, retreated to their canoes without risking an attack, although we fully expected to have been spectators of a furious and bloody battle. The noise and uproar which this produced were dreadful, and beyond all description.

This after all was a fortunate circumstance, inasmuch as my brother and I, having unconsciously jumped into the same canoe, found ourselves in each other's company, and were thus afforded, for a short time at least, the pleasure of conversing without interruption; and he then related to me all that had happened to him since the morning. Like me, he had no foresight of mischief, or apprehensions of danger, and therefore he took no means whatever of shunning the immense canoes which he perceived were approaching him with their large flags. But, on the contrary, these striking and uncommon appendages, to which neither of us had been accustomed, served to excite his curiosity and win his admiration rather than awaken any fear or suspicion of danger.' (*Ib.* pp. 181–194.)

After being detained here for a short time, and suffering every sort of vexation, they were conveyed to Eboe town, to be disposed of as the king should determine. After deliberating for a long time on their case, they were finally informed by the king—

'That circumstances having thrown us in the way of his subjects, by

the laws and usages of the country he was not only entitled to our own persons, but had equal right to those of our attendants; that he should take no farther advantage of his good fortune than by exchanging us for as much English goods as would amount in value to twenty slaves. In order to have the matter fairly arranged and settled, he should, of his own accord, prevent our leaving the town, till such time as our countrymen at Brass or Bonny should pay for our ransom, having understood from ourselves that the English at either of those rivers would afford us whatever assistance we might require, with cheerfulness and alacrity. Concerning the goods of which we had been robbed at Kirree, he assured us that he would use his utmost exertions to get them restored. He lamented that circumstance more than any one, but he denied that a single subject of his had any thing to do with it, and attributed the whole of that unfortunate affair to the rashness and brutality of a certain people that inhabited a country nearly opposite to his own, whose monarch was his particular friend, therefore he apprehended little difficulty in seeing justice done us; but then,' said he, 'it is necessary that you should wait here for an indefinite time till a council of that nation be held, when the plunderers will be examined, and your claims established. The Damuggoo people that have come with you have, like yourselves, suffered much loss; for my own part I shall make them a present of a slave or two as a compensation, and they have my permission to go along with you for the present, which I understand you have promised their monarch; but you must not expect them to be your guide to the sea, for their responsibility ends here.

When all this was interpreted to me by Antonio, I was thunderstruck. It was in vain that I assured Obie that there was not the slightest necessity for our detention in the town, that our countrymen would redeem us the moment they should see us, but not before; and equally unavailing were my solicitations for him to alter this arrangement and suffer us to depart; but the fears of his subjects, and the representations of the men of Brass, had made too deep an impression on his mind to be so easily eradicated: we found it too late either to implore or remonstrate.

This final decision of the king is a bitter stroke to us; for we fondly indulged the hope of a more favorable result from the deliberations of the savage council, at whose dissolution we expected to be sent to the sea coast without being perplexed with farther embarrassments. We have now to await the return of a messenger from thence, who has not yet been sent on his errand, and he is to bring back with him the value of twenty slaves ere we obtain our freedom. Heaven only knows whether the masters of English vessels at Bonny or Brass have the ability or will feel a disposition to ransom us. We only know that if disposed of at all, we shall be sold for infinitely more than we are worth.

As may naturally be supposed, I returned home much depressed and afflicted, to inform my brother of the result of the palàver, and he was as greatly surprised and affected as myself at the intelligence. But though we are full of trouble and uneasiness at our gloomy situation, yet we do not repine at the Divine dispensations of that almighty Providence which has comforted us in the hour of adversity, and re-

lieved us in times of pain and distress,—which has rescued us from the lap of danger, and snatched us from the jaws of death.' (*Ib.* pp. 225–227.)

On the 12th of November they took their departure from this miserable place, and on the 15th arrived at *Brass* town, where they were introduced to King Forday, whom they found to be a complacent, venerable looking old man. This they found to be a wretched and filthy place, more so than any they had seen. After much vexatious delay, they were finally informed by the king of the following conditions of release:—

'He gave me to understand, as well as he could, that it was customary for every white man who came to the river, to pay him four bars. I expressed my ignorance and surprise at this, but was soon silenced by his saying, "That is my demand, and I shall not allow you to leave this town until you give me a *book* for that amount." Seeing that I had nothing to do but to comply with his demand, I gave him a bill on Lake, the commander of the English vessel, after which he said, "To-morrow you may go to the brig, take one servant with you; but your mate" (meaning my brother) "must remain here with your seven people, until my son, King Boy, shall bring the goods for himself and me; after this they shall be sent on board without delay." Much as I regretted the necessity of parting with my brother, I was obliged to agree to this arrangement; and with the hopes of profiting by it, I told King Forday that we were all very hungry, and begged him to send us a fowl or two, which he promised to do.' (*Ib.* p. 257.)

Complying with these conditions Richard Lander left Brass town, and on the 18th came to an English brig, lying at anchor near the mouth of the *Niger*, or as it is here called, *Nun*. But what was his disappointment at finding the unfeeling captain as callous to his sufferings as any of the most hard-hearted Africans had been. After much difficulty, however, he succeeded in rescuing himself and brother from the hands of the African prince, though he was unable, in consequence of the unfeeling heart of the English captain, to satisfy the demands which had been made for his ransom, and which he had pledged should be given. The following account of the manner in which they escaped from this place, will show the dangerous navigation at the mouth of this mighty, and hitherto mysterious river:—

'At ten in the morning, the vessel was got under way, and we dropped down the river. At noon the breeze died away, and we were obliged to let go an anchor to prevent our drifting on the western breakers at the mouth of the river. A few minutes more would have been fatal to us, and the vessel was fortunately stopped, although the depth of water where she lay was only five fathoms. The rollers, as the large high waves are called, which came into the river over the bar, were so high, that they sometimes passed nearly over the bow of the vessel, and caused her to ride very uneasily by her anchor. We had been obliged to anchor immediately abreast of the Pilots'-town,

and expected every moment that we should be fired at from their battery. Time was of the greatest importance to us; we had made Boy our enemy, and expected, before we could get out of the river, he would summon his people and make an attack on us, while our party amounted only to twenty men, two-thirds of whom were Africans. The pilot also, whom Lake had offended so much, is known to be a bold and treacherous ruffian. He is the same person who steered the brig Susan among the breakers, by which that vessel narrowly escaped destruction, with the loss of her windlass and an anchor and cable. The fellow had done this merely with the hopes of obtaining a part of the wreck, as it drifted on shore. Another vessel, a Liverpool oil-trader, was actually lost on the bar by the treachery of the same individual, who, having effected his purpose by placing her in a situation from which she could not escape, jumped overboard and swam to his canoe, which was at a short distance. The treatment of the survivors of this wreck is shocking to relate: they were actually stripped of their clothes, and allowed to die of hunger. It would be an endless task to enumerate all the misdeeds that are laid to this fellow's charge, which have, no doubt, lost nothing by report; but, after making all reasonable allowances for exaggeration, his character appears in a most revolting light, and the fact of his running these vessels on the bar proves him to be a desperate and consummate villain. This same fellow is infinitely more artful and intelligent than any of his countrymen, and is one of the handsomest black men that we have seen.

Not long after we had dropped the anchor, we observed the pilot, with the help of a glass, walking on the beach and watching us occasionally. A multitude of half naked suspicious looking fellows were likewise straggling along the shore, while others were seen emerging from a grove of cocoa-trees and the thick bushes near it. These men were all armed, chiefly with muskets, and they subsequently assembled in detached groups to the number of several hundreds, and appeared to be consulting about attacking the vessel. Nothing less than this, and to be fired at from the battery, was expected by us; and there is no doubt that the strength and loftiness of the brig only deterred them from so doing. The same people were hovering on the beach till very late in the evening, when they dispersed; many of them could be seen even at midnight, so that we were obliged to keep a good look-out till the morning.

Thursday, November 25.—The vessel rode very uneasily all night, in consequence of the long heavy waves which set in from the bar; these are technically called by sailors *ground-swell*, being different from the waves which are raised while the wind blows; the latter generally break at the top, while the former are quite smooth, and roll with great impetuosity in constant succession, forming a deep furrow between them, which, with the force of the wave, is very dangerous to vessels at anchor. Our motions were still closely watched by the natives. About eleven we got under way, but were obliged to anchor again in the afternoon, as the water was not deep enough for the vessel to pass over the bar. The mate sounded the bar again, and placed a buoy as a mark for the vessel to pass over in the deepest water.

Friday, November 26.—The wind favoring us this morning, we made

another attempt at getting out of the river. We had already made some progress when the wind again died away, and the current setting us rapidly over to the eastern breakers, we were obliged to let go an anchor to save us from destruction. We could see nothing of the buoy, and have no doubt that it was washed away by the current; our anchorage was in three and a half fathoms water, and the ground-swell, which now set in, heaved the vessel up and down in such a frightful manner, that we expected every moment to see the chain cable break. As soon as we dropped our anchor, the tide rushed past the vessel at the rate of eight miles an hour. After the ebb tide had ceased running, the swell gradually subsided, and the vessel rode easily.

The mate was again sent to sound the bar, and in about three hours afterward returned with the information that two fathoms and three quarters was the deepest water he could find. The bar extends across the mouth of the river in the form of a crescent, leaving a very narrow and shallow entrance for vessels in the middle, which is generally concealed by the surf and foam of the adjacent breakers. When the wind is light and the tide high, and the surface of the water smooth, excepting in a few places, the bar is then most dangerous. We observed several fires made by the natives on the beach, which were supposed to be signals for us to return.

Saturday, November 27.—We passed a restless and most unpleasant night. The captain and the people were much alarmed for the safety of the brig. The heavy ground-swell which set in, increased by the strength of the tide, caused her to pitch and labor so hard, that a man was placed to watch the cable and give notice the moment it complained,—a technical expression, which meant the moment it gave signs of breaking. Daylight had scarcely dawned when the pall of the windlass broke. The purpose of this is to prevent the windlass from turning round on its axis against any strain to which it may be subjected, and consequently it was no sooner broken than the windlass flew round with incredible velocity, having nothing to resist the strain of the cable which was passed round it. The chain cable ran out so swiftly, that in half a minute the windlass was broken to atoms. My brother and I with our people rendered all the assistance in our power to prevent the ship from drifting. We succeeded in fastening the cable to ring-bolts in the deck, until we got sufficient of it clear to go round the capstan, which we had no sooner effected, than the ring-bolts were fairly drawn out of the deck by the strain on the cable.

About eight A. M. a terrific wave, called by sailors a *sea*, struck the vessel with tremendous force and broke the chain cable. "The cable is gone!" shouted a voice, and the next instant the captain cried out in a firm, collected tone, "Cut away the kedge!" which was promptly obeyed, and the vessel was again stopped from drifting among the breakers. The man who had been stationed to look out on the cable came running aft on deck as soon as he had given notice of the danger, calling out that all was over. "Good God!" was the passionate exclamation of every one, and a slight confusion ensued. But the captain was prepared for the worst; he gave his orders with firmness, and behaved with promptness and decision.

We were riding by the kedge, a small anchor, which, however, was

the only one left us, and on which the safety of the brig now depended. The breakers were close under our stern, and this was not expected to hold ten minutes,—it was a forlorn hope—every eye was fixed on the raging surf, and our hearts thrilled with agitation, expecting every moment that the vessel would be dashed in pieces. A few long and awful minutes were passed in this state, which have left an indelible impression on our minds. Never shall I forget the chief mate saying to me, "Now, sir, every one for himself; a few minutes will be the last with us." The tumultuous sea was raging in mountainous waves close by us, their foam dashing against the sides of the brig, which was only prevented from being carried among them by a weak anchor and cable. The natives, from whom we could expect no favor, were busy on shore making large fires, and other signals, for us to desert the brig and land at certain places, expecting, no doubt, every moment to see her a prey to the waves, and those who escaped their fury to fall into their hands. Wretched resource! the sea would have been far more merciful than they.

Such was our perilous situation, when a fine sea-breeze set in, which literally saved us from destruction. The sails were loosened to relieve the anchor from the strain of the vessel, and she rode out the ebb tide without drifting. At ten A. M. the tide had nearly ceased running out, and the fury of the sea rather abated, but it was quite impossible that the brig could ride out another ebb tide where she lay, with the kedge anchor alone to hold her: the only chance left us, therefore, was to get to sea, and the captain determined on crossing the bar, although there appeared to be little chance of success. At half past ten A. M. he manned the boat with two of our men, and two Kroomen belonging to the brig, and sent them to tow, while the anchor was got on board. This had no sooner been done than the wind fell light, and, instead of drifting over to the western breakers as yesterday and the day before, the brig was now set toward those on the eastern side, and again we had a narrow escape. With the assistance of the boat and good management, we at length passed clear over the bar on the edge of the breakers, in a depth of quarter less three fathoms, and made sail to the eastward. Our troubles were now at an end: by the protection of a merciful Providence we had escaped dangers, the very thoughts of which had filled us with horror; and with a grateful heart and tears of joy for all his mercies, we offered up a silent prayer of thanks for our deliverance.' (*Ib.* pp. 283–289.)

On the first of December they landed at the island of Fernando Po, on which the British had formed a small settlement for the convenience of trade on the coast of Africa, this island being situated within a few hours' sail of the Gold Coast. Here they were cordially received and hospitably entertained by the governor of the island. After remaining here for some time to refresh themselves, which, indeed, they much needed after such a fatiguing and suffering voyage, they set sail January 22d for Rio Janeiro, where they arrived on the 16th of March, and on the 9th of June arrived from thence to Portsmouth, in England, after an absence of one year and five months.

Thus has the problem, so long the object of pursuit by all European travellers and scientific men, been solved by the journey of the Messrs. Landers, respecting the source and termination of the Niger. It is to be regretted, however, that our tourists had not been better furnished by education for a more accurate survey of the countries through which they passed, and the exact distances from one city to another, that the length of this mighty river from Timbuctoo to its mouth might have been ascertained. It is true a map has been constructed from their journal; but whoever reads the journal must be convinced that the map cannot be depended upon for accuracy, either as to the particular course of the river in many places, its distance from one place to another, nor the depth of its channel. From the map, however, it appears that from Badágray, which is situated in 6° 20′ north latitude, they travelled a little east of north, passing through several populous villages, until they reached the Niger in the kingdom of Boossa, in about latitude 10° 20′ north, making a distance, on a straight line, of two hundred and seventy-six miles, but probably the zigzag course they travelled, it must have been nearly twice that distance. From thence they ascended the river, in the manner before described, about sixty miles, and entered the river Cubbie, which they ascended about seventy miles to a city of that name. Not being able to penetrate farther in a northern direction, they returned, and descended the Niger, or Quorra, as it is called by the natives, until they entered, as already mentioned, from the mouth of the river into the Gulf of Guinea, in latitude 4° 20′ north, and longitude 6° 10′ east from London. From the junction of the Cubbie river with the Niger, in the kingdom of Yàoorie, its course is nearly south, for about one hundred and twenty miles, receiving several tributary streams in the distance; here comes in the Moussa river from the west, and the Niger turns suddenly to the south-east for about twenty miles to the city of Rabba. The banks of the river along this distance are highly cultivated, and thickly populated. From Rabba the river runs in an easterly direction for about one hundred and twenty miles to the city of Kacunda, when it gradually turns in a direction a little west of south, and continues nearly the same course until it enters the Atlantic at Cape Formosa. The distance from Kacunda to Cape Formosa, according to the map, is about two hundred and seventy miles, and the width of the river is from three to six miles, the banks generally low and marshy, sometimes studded by thick jungles, behind which are numerous villages, thickly populated, and in many places the land is highly cultivated. About forty miles below Kacunda, the river Tshadda, a large stream from the north-east, empties into the Niger. It runs through the Funda country, which was conjectured by some former travellers to be the

termination of the Niger. About the sixth degree of north latitude, or about ninety miles from the sea, 'The Delta of the Quorra,' or Niger, begins; and the banks along the river are generally very low, often overflowed by the waters of the river, and the country is very unhealthy. It empties into the Gulf of Guinea, by several mouths, the principal of which is called *Nun*. It appears from the map that the whole distance of the river from Yàoorie to Cape Formosa is about six hundred miles.

In reading this journal one thing has struck us with force. It seems that in the neighborhood of the Delta of the Quorra, the natives were far more barbarous in their manners, more artful and intriguing, and much more quarrelsome among themselves, and unfeeling toward strangers, than they were in the more interior parts of the country. Is this owing to the more frequent intercourse with European traders? For it seems that among the inhabitants in the neighborhood of the mouths of the Niger, the Europeans, and particularly the English, have long carried on a traffic with the natives, and that on the island of Fernando Po, which is separated from the continent by a strait of only about twenty miles wide, a fort has been erected and a garrison established for the purpose of protecting this trade. It would seem, therefore, and more especially from the conduct of the unfeeling captain of the brig which the Landers found near the mouth of the river, that this intercourse, instead of mending the morals or bettering the condition of the Africans, has only tended to corrupt them and to make them worse.

Here also has been the great mart for the sale of captive slaves. Hence a spirit of war has been fostered among the native tribes, for the accursed purpose of making captives of each other that they might sell them as slaves to European traders. Several instances were witnessed by our travellers where the natives were carrying their captives to market that they might deliver them over to mercenary traders in everlasting bondage. Thus has the horrid traffic in human flesh, begun by the Portuguese when they first visited this continent, spread desolation and wo into the interior of Africa, and made the hearts of mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters, to wring with the bitterest anguish. Is it any wonder that these black men hate and dread the presence of a white man? Could it be expected otherwise than that their jealousies should be aroused whenever visited by European travellers, lest their intention should be first to penetrate their country, ascertain its geography, and then reduce them to perpetual bondage? Should foreigners visit our shores, and offer a price to the governors of our states and the authorities of our cities for their countrymen, and thus seduce away our sons and daughters into perpetual slavery, should we not hate them with an everlasting hatred, and slay them with as little

remorse as the butcher does his ox? And what if these merciless intruders upon our territories should succeed in provoking us to cruel and sanguinary wars among ourselves, for the purpose of seizing upon each other's persons that we might devote them to a degrading slavery in a foreign land? Would not every lover of virtue, every one in whose breast the feelings of natural love have not been extinguished by the love of gold, rise up with indignation to repel such cruel and bloodthirsty invaders of our soil, and destroyers of our social and individual rights? Whenever, therefore, we talk of African cruelty, let us remember with shame who and what have contributed to excite it. Let us only cast a look at the abominable traffic which has been carried on for more than four centuries, by every cruel artifice and intrigue, which a refined cunning, a selfish and mercenary spirit, and a domineering sense of superiority, could possibly invent—and then ask ourselves who has been most in fault in this merciless business.

Another thing which has contributed to facilitate and keep up those perpetual wars which have drenched and continue to drench the soil of Africa with human blood, and to entail upon its inhabitants so much misery, is the number of petty and despotic sovereigns by which it is governed. In Africa we see fulfilled the declaration of the wise king of Israel, 'For the transgression of the land, many are the princes thereof.' This vast continent is divided into numerous small kingdoms, each of which is under the control of a chief invested with absolute sway, who is generally honored by his subjects as a god. These are all jealous of their rights and prerogatives. Hence on the most frivolous pretence, more especially as he hopes to increase his wealth and influence by the number of his captives, whom he intends to sell into slavery to some European renegado, one of these chiefs makes war upon his neighbor, which is often prosecuted in the most sanguinary manner. By this means many parts of the country are nearly depopulated, while others are left to famish for the want of the necessaries of life, because none are left to cultivate the land. These wars have caused one of the greatest impediments to most of the travellers who have attempted to visit the interior of Africa, and our present tourists were often annoyed in consequence of them. And as one of the chief causes of these wars has been the degrading and wretched slave trade, let this be annihilated, and the destructive wars may be in a great measure discontinued.

In passing through the narrative before us, though we could not but admire the courage, the perseverance, the heroism, and the contempt of dangers and sufferings evinced by the Messrs. Landers, yet there are many parts of their conduct which we think highly censurable. Their attempts in some instances to bribe the natives, the rough man-

ner with which, according to their own account, they frequently treated those who, impelled by a curiosity natural to all human beings, were desirous to see the face of a white man, by violently thrusting them from their persons, even at the time they were enjoying their hospitality, were calculated to irritate and provoke the natives. Instead of conciliating their favor by a kind and courteous conduct, as they manifestly should have done, they often treated their visiters with a roughness of manner, more becoming the vulgarity of a common sailor, than of English gentlemen, who were travelling through the country for the benefit of science and humanity. We allow indeed that the natives were frequently repulsive in their manners, and abrupt and obtrusive in their visits; but what else could be expected from unpolished barbarians, totally ignorant of the etiquette of fashionable life, who were suddenly roused by the appearance of strangers, differing in the color of their skin, their dress and language from any persons that they had ever seen or perhaps heard of before? A desire to see, to examine closely, a human being so different from ourselves is natural to man, and excites a curiosity not to be easily repressed. Instead therefore of treating the manifestations of this curiosity with haughty contempt, though it might have been attended with some sacrifice of comfort and convenience, it should have been met with kindness, and have been gratified as far as practicable. We recollect hearing of a general of one of our armies during our last war, whose name had become somewhat famous, who was travelling through the country, and, stopping at a public house, the people in the village thronged around to obtain a sight of him. To gratify their curiosity he hoisted the window and exhibited himself to their view. How much more politic as well as kind was this line of conduct than it would have been to repulse them with angry looks and threatening language.

Though there are many highly interesting incidents related in these journals, and the topography of some parts of the country given with apparent accuracy, yet they are too much filled up with individual details and sufferings, conversations with the petty sovereigns, and others whom they visited. These things render them somewhat monotonous and tiresome. But notwithstanding these and other defects which might be pointed out, we can recommend the volumes to our readers as containing valuable information respecting many parts of the interior of Africa, and as affording a picturesque view of the banks of the Niger from the kingdom of Yàoorie to its entrance into the ocean at Cape Formosa in the Gulf of Guinea.

The success of this enterprise will doubtless open a way for British merchants to extend their commercial intercourse into the interior regions of Africa, as the Niger, though in some places rapid in its cur-

rent, is navigable by steam boats, at least as far as the kingdom of Boossa, where the rocky channel commences; and as this nation have nobly protested against the slave trade, should they succeed in establishing trading posts along the river, it is to be hoped that they will discourage and finally annihilate this abominable traffic in human flesh and blood. Indeed, an expedition, consisting of a brig of one hundred and seventy tons, and two steamers built expressly for the purpose, under the superintendence of Mr. Lander, has already sailed from Liverpool for a voyage up the Niger.

But a more important and lasting benefit may be expected to result from this expedition. Now that Christendom is on the alert for extending the empire of Jesus Christ by means of Bible and missionary operations, this extensive country offers a promising field for cultivation. From the account which the Landers have given of many of these native tribes, the people in general are docile and teachable, actuated by an eager curiosity to become acquainted with European customs and manners, and already are possessed with no little veneration for white men; and hence if men of God are sent among them, qualified by their intelligence, by their Christian meekness, zeal, and kindness, to conciliate their favor, and to instruct them in the great principles of Christianity, as well as to exhibit its purity and excellence in their lives, we may anticipate a successful issue of their labors. And why should not men of God be willing to suffer as much to rescue these African idolaters from their thraldom as the men of the world are to extend the empire of knowledge, to acquire human fame, or to enlarge the sphere of commerce? We have seen in the various travellers who have at different times penetrated into Africa with a view to ascertain its topography that they have subjected themselves to all sorts of hardships, to sleepless nights and wearisome days, to great bodily fatigues and privations, and even to death itself. What an example is this for the Christian missionary! Let but suitable means and men be employed for this grand enterprise, and the shores, the hills and valleys of Africa shall again resound with the high praises of God.

ON TEMPERANCE.

A review of the Address of the late General Conference on Temperance.

[We regret that the following article, which has been furnished by a correspondent, did not come to hand sooner. We trust, however, that it will receive that attention which its merits demand, and produce those practical results which it is intended to effect, and that the grand cause of temperance will be essentially aided in its forward march,

both by the address itself, and this brief but pertinent notice of it. Both heaven and earth are moving forward this mighty engine of reformation. God is speaking from heaven in a voice more alarming to inebriates than thunder, in the sweeping pestilence which is hurling them by thousands to a premature grave, while His servants are echoing His admonitory language by means of temperance operations.]

Among all the benevolent enterprises by which our age and country are distinguished, there is no one which in my humble view is less understood or less appreciated, than that which is known as the 'temperance cause.' I have watched its progress from the earliest efforts which have been made in the American nation and in the American Churches, with a solicitude more ardent than that felt on any other subject, and have hailed each period of its acceleration, and each triumph of its principles, with unmingled thanksgiving to the God of providence and grace, whose cause it unquestionably is, and under whose guidance and blessing I believe it is destined to revolutionize, if not evangelize the world.

High indeed has been my complacent gratulation, that I am honored by a connection with a Christian Church, in whose foundation the *principles* of the 'temperance reformation' have been so deeply laid, by the uncompromising and fearless avowal of them, on the part of our illustrious progenitor; at a time, too, when a 'moral courage' was required, to which modern reformers furnish no parallel. And the name of Wesley—though identified with every thing great and good, as a philosopher, scholar, Christian, and divine, in my earliest recollections—received an additional consecration, when I found among his writings the clear, forcible, and conclusive testimony against the *use, manufacture, and sale of all spirituous liquors*, which he ceased not to denounce as a gross immorality, a curse upon humanity, and a disgrace to the Church. Is it not passing strange, that the professed followers of this apostle of temperance, in Europe and America, should have so far forgotten the principles and practice of their founder, that thousands among them should habitually and daily indulge themselves in the use of spirituous liquors, by a latitudinarian interpretation of the ambiguous rule which allows the use of them 'in cases of necessity?' And is it not still more strange that thousands more, bearing the name of Wesley, should owe their support and fortunes to the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits, when he had affirmed of all such, and the deep tones of his voice are still echoing in the Churches, 'They are poisoners-general; they murder mankind by wholesale, and drive them to hell like sheep?'

I need not attempt to account for these discordant anomalies in the features and history of Methodism, on any other ground than referring them to the infirmity of our common nature, parallel cases of inconsistency between principles and practice being every where visible, in institutions merely human. It may be sufficient for my purpose to say, that these facts, proclaiming our departure as a people from primitive and original principles on this one topic, have been the subject of frequent and perpetual rebuke and denunciation from the pulpit and the press during every period of our history; and farther it will be acknow-

ledged that a large proportion of our ministry and people, both by precept and example, have adhered to the rigid interpretation of Mr. Wesley's rule and practice on this subject, viz. *total abstinence* from the '*manufacture, sale, and use of spirituous liquors, except in cases of* EXTREME *necessity.*' The existence of these evils in our Church has been *suffered*, as slavery and kindred evils are suffered; but never *authorized.*

While the followers of Wesley alone, with the exception of the society of Friends, have been so long and so zealously laboring to establish the principle and practice of total abstinence from the traffic and use of ardent spirits; deprecating it as an evil of fearful magnitude, and deploring the cruel mischiefs resulting to the cause of humanity from this parent of abominations; it will be recollected, that the whole weight of the authority and example of most other denominations has been, until within a few years, thrown into the other scale; and hence in publicly denouncing the traffic and use of spirituous liquors, we were not only contending against fearful odds, but when we proclaimed the one and the other to be immoral and anti-christian, we were accused of censoriously unchristianizing our neighbors; and alas for us, we were obliged to admit that many of our own communicants were under the same condemnation. Still, however, the mantle of Wesley has fallen on very many kindred spirits, and the deep tones of his rebukes have been continually re-echoed in our churches, and not without annual evidences of the gradual purification of our communion from this monstrous evil.

The process of reformation was, however, slow; for when interest and inclination are so largely implicated, as in the traffic and use of so tempting and so profitable a commodity, it has not been easy for ecclesiastical censures and pulpit rebukes to be heard, amid the noise of multitudes of professing Christians who surround us, and heed not to pursue the even tenor of their way, 'caring for none of these things.' And yet within a few years, our hands have been greatly strengthened, and our success increased, even in the work of purifying our own Church, by the mighty noise as 'the sound of many waters' which has burst forth from every part of the land through the laudable efforts of the American and other temperance societies. The nation and the Churches have awoke from their long sleep on this subject, and the sound has gone forth in every part of our country, the pulpits and the press have united to rouse the latent energies of the people to their danger and their remedy, and the impulse thus given to the ball of revolution on this subject has received an impetus of which eternity alone will disclose the results.

Meanwhile, in common with our Church, I have hailed every victory that has been gained as another triumph of principle over appetite and interest, and another herald of the extension and success of the other efforts designed to evangelize the world. And I have been waiting with anxious solicitude, for the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, numbering more than half a million of the population, to present one unbroken phalanx in defence and support of her original principles, by openly, publicly, and unitedly avowing them in the face of earth and heaven; and at the expense, if needs be, of every lover

of the *wages* of iniquity, or of *iniquity* itself in the Church or in the land.

I rejoice greatly that this has been done, and I will add, ably and nobly done in the 'Address of the General Conference,' adopted *unanimously* in May last, by the delegates of the several annual conferences, and since printed in the Christian Advocate and Journal, and also in the form of a *tract*, issued from our Book Room, according to the express direction of said General Conference. This address is from the pen of the Rev. Henry B. Bascom, professor of moral science in Augusta college, Kentucky; was 'read in the General Conference, and adopted *unanimously* as a *summary expression* of the views of that body on the subject of temperance;' and is at once a scientific and religious document, containing in itself a masterly argument, an eloquent remonstrance, and a forcible appeal; and is one, the effect of which cannot but be felt, wherever it is read.

The address begins by a declaration that the General Conference 'view the subject of temperance as a question of *intense and growing interest*,' and after a just tribute to the fact that 'much has been accomplished in preserving those immediately under our charge proverbially pure from the stain, and free from the curse of intemperance,' and also to the additional fact that '*strict and exemplary* abstinence from indulgence in the use of *ardent spirits and intoxicating liquors of every sort*, will be found to have been a part of the moral discipline of our Church from the earliest date of its existence and operations,' we have on the part of the General Conference the admission, that 'our success has not been entire, and that much remains to be done before we can realize the great object of our long-continued efforts in this very interesting department of Christian morals.'

The address next proceeds to show that the use of wine and strong drink is 'broadly and unsparingly condemned in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as directly *inconsistent with Christian* character, and fatally contravening all the hopes and claims of moral excellence.' And an array of the testimony of inspiration, presenting the varied warnings and denunciations of the sacred volume on this subject, both from the Old and New Testaments, follows in proof of this remark, which one would think would cause the drunkard to tremble over his glass, and harrow up the soul of every dealer in the accursed thing, who is not already, in the language of the address, 'utterly reckless both of the welfare of this life, and the more weighty interests of immortality in another.' And this mass of Scripture authority introduces a sentiment, which will not be controverted by any who believe the Bible, that 'the common use of alcoholic intoxicating liquors, of whatever kind, is strictly and unequivocally forbidden in the Scriptures, as plainly and fatally injurious to the best interests of man in time and in eternity.' It is thence conclusively and irrefragably argued that 'as the experience of all ages and nations has furnished indubitable proof that the *use of ardent spirits* is totally inconsistent with the *essential happiness* and *relative usefulness* of man, and being thus opposed to the benevolent intentions of Heaven and provisions of nature, must be considered as a transgression of the will of God.'

The address next demonstrates from the nature of alcohol, which

is the principle of inebriety in all intoxicating drinks, that it is not only unnatural and unnecessary, but absolutely poisonous whenever introduced into the stomach, in however small proportions, and hence urges the doctrine of total abstinence. The following paragraphs of the address especially deserve attention :—

'We are the more disposed to press the necessity of *entire abstinence*, because there seems to be no safe line of distinction between the *moderate* and *immoderate* use of intoxicating drinks,—the transition from a temperate to an intemperate use of them, is almost as certain as it is insensible ; indeed, with us *it is a question of great moral interest, whether a man can indulge in their use at all, and be considered temperate.* We have seen that the natural, unperverted appetite of man does not ask for them, and the only motive that can possibly determine such an indulgence, is to obtain from them a vivid impression upon the nerves, more or less agreeable at the time, but utterly oblivious of better, because more salutary feelings. This result is unnatural, and of course it offers violence to the constitutional order and functionary uniformity of nature, and we respectfully submit whether the means therefore must not be sinful ?

It has been already remarked, that the essential constituent in all intoxicating liquors, producing inebriety, is alcohol, and that this is found in large proportions, not only in the different kinds of distilled liquors, but also in most of the wines, and vinous, as well as malt preparations drank in this country. Who is not alarmed, not to say confounded, when he reflects upon the amount of this bewitching poison which is found in all our fashionable drinks! How can a Christian account to his conscience and his God for swallowing daily an amount of *carbon*, *oxygen*, and *hydrogen*, of which alcohol is compounded, and which if taken separately from other neutralizing ingredients, would deprive him of life perhaps in a few hours! In a bottle of brandy, for example, (we are guided in the estimate by Saussure and Brande,) there is more alcohol, by actual measurement, than water—in *our* best wines, say Port and Madeira, as received and used in this country, nearly one half is alcohol—about six ounces of this poison will be found in a quart of strong cider, and little less than four in a bottle of porter or ale! In a brief address, however, we can only bring these facts into view in a summary way. We propose them for examination and reflection, and we implore the thousands under our charge to bestow upon the whole subject the attention it so obviously and pressingly deserves and demands.

The great and increasing interest, the deep and lasting stake we must always have, as a Church, in preventing and curing the evils of intemperance, will furnish an obvious and commanding vindication of the course we have adopted, in making this appeal to the good sense and enlightened piety of the Methodist Episcopal Church. We consider all intemperance, whether in its incipient or more advanced stages, as an abuse of the physical force and vigor of man, and seriously deducting from the integrity of his mental powers and moral purposes ; and we therefore invoke the aid of our people in an attempt to banish the evil from our Church altogether.'

After a picture of the gloomy calamities under which our country is

groaning, and a touching description of the ruinous personal and domestic evils which the use of spirituous liquors has entailed upon human kind, it is gravely and religiously inquired, 'Can those be innocent who contribute to secure such results, whether by the pestilential example of *temperate* drinking as it is called, or the still *more criminal* means of furnishing the poisonous preparation by *manufacture or traffic* for the degradation and ruin of others?' And then follow the concluding paragraphs of this invaluable address, which, as they contain the language and sentiments of our own Wesley long before the present impulse on this subject was felt by others, will be regarded by every friend of the cause, and especially by every Methodist, as worthy at least of serious and candid consideration. At the same time it presents the cheering truth so welcome at this important crisis that these sons of Wesley have not degenerated from the principles or practice of our illustrious founder.

'The man who drinks intemperately ruins himself, and is the cause of much discomfort and inquietude, and perhaps actual misery in the social scene in which he moves; but the manufacturer, and those who are engaged in the traffic of ardent spirits and other intoxicating liquors, do the work of death by wholesale; they are devoted by misguided enterprise to the *ruin of human kind*, and become directly accessary, although not intended by them, to the present shame and final destruction of hundreds and thousands. And we gravely ask, with no common solicitude, Can God, who is just as well as good, hold that Church innocent which is found cherishing in her bosom so awful and universal an evil? We have seen this evil broadly and unequivocally denounced in the Scriptures, as an utter curse, and big with ruin to the best hopes of man. Nature and Providence unite their testimony, and award to it the same condemnation. Our Church has long borne a similar testimony, and this is especially true of the father and founder of Methodism.

He says, of ardent spirits *in general*, "First of all, sacredly abstain from all spirituous liquors; touch them not on any pretence whatever." On their *manufacture* and *sale* he remarks, "It is amazing that the preparation or selling of this poison should be permitted, I will not say in any Christian country, but in any civilized state!" He pronounces the *gain* of the trafficker in ardent spirits, "the price of blood," and adds, emphatically, "Let not any lover of virtue and truth say one word in favor of this monster. Let no lover of mankind open his mouth to extenuate the guilt of it. Oppose it as you would oppose the devil, whose offspring and likeness it is." Of *grocers* in this traffic he affirms, "They murder mankind by wholesale, and drive them to hell like sheep." He denounces both the manufacture and the sale of spirituous liquors, except for mechanical and medicinal purposes, as a gross immorality; declaring, "None can gain in this way by swallowing up his neighbor's substance, without gaining the damnation of hell!" And hence one of the original rules of the Methodist societies, as drawn up by John and Charles Wesley, precluded "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, *except* in cases of *extreme* necessity." And we cannot but fear that the alteration of this rule by the American Methodists, and the substitution of another

less unequivocal in its character, since 1790, have been attended with but little good to *any*, and perhaps with *direct injury* to thousands. And now that the engrossing question of total abstinence is arresting the attention of most of the evangelical Churches in the United States, and in many of them becoming a term of membership, we are fully convinced it would be criminal in us to remain silent, and not lend our aid and co-operation in purging the Churches and redeeming the nation from this insidious, yet alarming and desolating evil.

Finally, persuaded as we are that intemperance in all its aspects and gradations, is a physical evil, unmitigated by any mixture of good, and also a moral offence against the laws of God and the claims of Christian piety, unmodified by any indemnifying consideration whatever, we would at all times, but at this time especially, when such combined and powerful efforts are making to arrest the evil, cast in our dividend of social and moral aid, and do all in our power to accomplish an object as every way momentous as it is desirable. And we close by remarking, that we look upon all as implicated in the duty and the interest, and we shall cheerfully and promptly concur with all in an effort to expel the demon of intemperance, not only from our Churches, but from the nation, whose *welfare* and *fortunes* must always be viewed in intimate connection with its morals.'

That an expression of sentiment on the part of the General Conference was asked for and expected, by the thousands whose memorials filled the table of that body at their late session, is a fact which was known not only to the Church at large, but to the active and zealous friends of the temperance cause, many of whom were looking with intense interest to the result of their deliberations. And the appearance of this valuable document, containing the most decided and unequivocal approval of all the objects which the friends of the cause within and without our Church could even hope for, has been hailed as a pledge of what is to be expected from the zeal and influence of such men, and an earnest of the triumphant success of the memorials now before the several annual conferences, praying an alteration of our general rule in conformity to the principles of this address, and in accordance with a sentiment and practice that is rapidly pervading the evangelical Churches in this country and in Europe. Such testimony as this address affords, coming from the highest legislative authority of our Church, embodying a large proportion of the learning, age, experience, and piety of our ministry, is alike honorable to the sacred office they occupy and to the Church over whose interests they preside. May we not anticipate that the Church will be prepared at the next quadrennial session of that body, to restore the original rule of Mr. Wesley to our book of discipline, should the constitutional recommendation of the annual conferences be obtained, and thus enable us to stand forth as a Church before Christendom and before the world, redeemed and disenthralled from all participation either by the traffic or use in this soul-destroying and hell-populating poison? Thus may we hope, in the language of the address, 'to expel the demon of intemperance not only from our Church, but from the nation, whose *welfare* and *fortunes* must always be viewed in intimate connection with its morals.'

R.

REVIEW OF THE CIVIL AFFAIRS OF THE WORLD IN THEIR RELATION TO THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

The history of the world presents to the eye of the philosophic and critical observer a thousand objects and events on which he may dwell with both pleasure and profit. The rise and fall of empires, stats, and kingdoms, the alternate elevation and depression of distinguished individuals, form themes of speculation, of curious and deep interest to all who take delight in tracing the hand of Divine Providence, and observing its actions in the affairs of men; and he who studies this history without connecting in his view Him who 'worketh all things according to the counsel of his will,' must remain but half instructed in the lessons of wisdom which this sort of study is designed to impart. This world, indeed, without the presence of its Author and Upholder, as its august and adorable Ruler, presents but an incoherent mass of materials, the wild and confused uproar of elements, without any adequate hand to guide and control them. We may read the history of Bonaparte, and behold him with a mixture of wonder and admiration, careering among the nations of the earth, tossing about, at the mere command of his will, thrones and sceptres, and whirling, in the mighty sweep of his military prowess and civil despotism, the nations into the revolutionary vortex, as if they existed only to be sported with according to the dictates of human caprice; and yet see nothing at work in all these things but the stirrings of human passion, pride, or ambition, struggling for empire and dominion; but if we connect in our view, as we unquestionably should, the actings of an infinitely wise, powerful, and gracious Being, overruling all these mighty events for the accomplishment of His wise and benignant purposes, we rise in our contemplations from man to God, from earth to heaven, and behold the mists which were collected and are still collecting around the summit of truth, dissipated by the beams of light issuing from the throne of God. Who, indeed, that views the rapid and lofty elevation to which that wonderful man, the master spirit of his age, attained, and the grandeur which for a season surrounded his character, and then traces his downfall, so quick and precipitous, until it terminated in his confinement as the nations' prisoner on the contemptible rock of St. Helena, where he expired under the vexations produced by his merciless keeper, but must be struck with astonishment at beholding the wonderful events which were connected with his career through life, as well as the manner in which he disappeared from among men! While the faithful historian—though we fear none such has yet been found—may trace out the lines which marked the progress of his eventful life, and with the eye of philosophic inquiry, assign the causes which he supposes produced such astonishing effects, the devout Christian, equally well

instructed from the page of history and the school of philosophy, but taught also in the sublimer doctrines of Christianity; while he condemns those actions which offend against the laws of morality and religion, and exempts the God of the nations from having any active agency in the production of moral evil; will nevertheless find it his duty and privilege to acknowledge and adore His invisible hand, as being stretched out to overrule, check, and control all these things for the manifestation of His own glory, and the final good of those who love Him. This lesson he derives from revelation. And while it raises the Christian philosopher high on the mountain of truth, from whence he can survey the field of knowledge which lies stretched out at his feet, it furnishes him with a key to unlock the mysteries of nature and Providence, which are unknown and therefore unappreciated by those who reject this superior light.

It is from such a view of human affairs that we would now glance at the present aspect of things in the political, civil, and religious world.

In regard to some portions of the old world, we know but little of them, as it respects their civil and moral state, any farther than that they linger on, subjected to a despotism under which they have groaned for centuries, and from which they are not likely soon to be delivered. As if suffering under some chosen curse inflicted upon it for its sins, the guilt of which is augmented by a thousand repetitions, *Asia*, once the theatre of such mighty events, the birth place of man, of Abraham and Isaac, the patriarchs and prophets, and lastly of a greater than either, even the Prince of Peace, seems doomed still to linger out an existence of slavish subjection to its tyrannical masters—a slavery no less degrading to human beings, than it is blasting to intellectual and moral improvement. Nor is the religion of those kingdoms included in that part of the globe any the less blighting to the human character, than it is derogatory to the honor of the true God. And if here and there a solitary missionary is permitted to wander upon their shores, with a Bible in the one hand and a tract in the other, it is but to witness with pain and disgust the mass of corruption and superstition which had been accumulating for ages, and which still hangs in such dense folds around the human mind as completely to shut out almost every ray of Gospel light. The few exceptions to this general state of things only betray the utter recklessness of paganism and Mohammedanism in resisting the efforts of the Christian missionary to introduce a better system, and indeed the only system of religion which can materially benefit mankind.

Africa still groans under a bondage peculiar to those who are subjected to the rites of paganism or the delusions of Mohammedanism—rendered still more oppressive by the hand of a political tyranny, not indeed concentrated in a single dynasty, but divided among a number

of petty kings, who make war upon each other on the most frivolous pretexts, and in many instances with the accursed purpose of reducing to a slavery of the most execrable sort all that may be obtained by conquest. How sickening to the heart of the Christian philanthropist, to cast his eye over this land, many parts of which were once renowned for their wise statesmen, philosophers, and poets, for their bold and intrepid warriors, their Christian bishops and devoted martyrs, and now to behold it enveloped in moral darkness, subjected to all the evils of a semi-barbarism, and oppressed by a civil and religious despotism as odious as it is irksome and degrading.

But even in this 'shadow of death' here and there a glimmering light is seen flittering across the path of a few missionaries who have been sent to explore this land of darkness and desolation. And though it is but just enough to render the surrounding darkness the more visible, it affords a gleam of hope that the time is not far distant when not only *Ethiopia*, which forms so small a part of this vast continent, but the whole of *Africa shall stretch forth her hands to God*, and in this imploring posture shall *seek and find Jesus and Him crucified.* Then shall the sons of Ham be included among those who shall bow and kiss the Son of God as the Saviour of the world.

What shall we say for Europe? Shaken as it had been for a series of years, by 'wars and rumors of wars,' until many of its thrones were prostrated and its kingdoms convulsed, it still lives a monument of Divine forbearance, and in some of its kingdoms may be seen examples of Christian enterprise and benevolence worthy of all praise, as well as of the imitation of all virtuous minds. But has the revolutionary fire ceased to burn? Or shall it continue its ravages until a new heaven and new earth spring into being? Whatever may be the final issue of the present struggles between the people and their rulers, we cannot but hope, from what we have already witnessed in that interesting quarter of the globe, that all these things will be overruled by Him by 'whom kings reign and princes decree justice,' for the ultimate good of His Church, as well as of mankind generally. When the fire which has been so long raging shall have spent its fury on the combustible materials on which it has been preying, He who can quench it by the streams of His mercy, will bring the discordant materials together, form them into an edifice which shall hereafter resist the fury of the elements, and afford a safe and secure shelter for the wandering sons of men. There are, indeed, too many righteous ones here to admit of a doubt that God will spare the cities and kingdoms of Europe for their sakes. There is too much pure gold to permit the flames to do more than to refine away its dross. In a word, the spirit of ardent and liberal piety which actuates the hearts of so many of the distinguished sons of Europe, which breathes its purifying flame in their

pulpits, their desks, their writings, their numerous institutions of charity, as well as in their halls of legislation, forms a most active and redeeming quality in the mighty mass which composes the kingdoms and empires of Europe; and which must, we think, operate as a purifier of silver, and finally be a means of saving the nations from the moral putrefaction to which all old kingdoms tend, and yet present them in a more healthful and vigorous state than ever they were heretofore. This anticipation is founded upon no chimera of the imagination, but upon the actual state of things, at least in some of the kingdoms of Europe, in regard to civil, literary, and spiritual improvements. And if we should be deceived at last, though the deception would be painful indeed, the present indulgence of a hope which unveils such a cheering prospect, affords no small satisfaction—a satisfaction of which we do not wish to deprive ourselves by anticipating a contrary result.

'Europe is given a prey to sterner fates,
And writhes in shackles; strong the arms that chain
To earth her struggling multitude of states;
She too is strong, and might not chafe in vain
Against them, but shake off the vampire train,
That batten on her blood, and break their net;
Yes, she shall look on brighter days, and gain
The meed of worthier deeds; the moment set
To rescue and raise up, draws near,—but is not yet.'

What can be said of *America*, the land of our birth, the home of freedom, civil and religious? Would that we could say in truth that our improvements in knowledge, in morals and religion, are in proportion to our privileges. Here is an asylum for the oppressed, a refuge for the emigrant from the older continents, where the constitution of the United States, and the constitutions of the several states, secure to the citizen all the rights and immunities of freemen, without interfering with or at all infringing upon his religious privileges. If ever a nation under heaven were highly exalted in respect to both civil and religious means of improvement, it is the American nation. No odious taxation to burden the citizen; no haughty and tyrannical priesthood is legalized to bind the consciences of the people and rob them of their property, and reduce them as unwilling vassals to its despotic sway; no civil despotism to trample upon the liberties of the citizens, and deprive them of their unalienable rights; no dual-headed monster, combining in his person the sacred rights of the Church and the civil rights of the state, and thus wielding the temporal and spiritual sword for the double purpose of dictating to the Christian what is his duty to his God, and to the citizen what he must render to Cesar; these things, so odious in the features of most of the governments of the older continents, have no existence in our own happy land—and may they be for ever debarred an entrance here.

If, therefore, we are oppressed, it must be our own fault. If we are not protected in the enjoyment of our rights and privileges, it must be from malversation in our rulers, and not in the constitution and laws which bind us together, and guaranty to all alike their civil and religious privileges. If we are irreligious or wicked, it must be because we voluntarily transgress the laws of our God, abuse the privileges of the Gospel, and pervert our powers as rational and accountable beings. And should we or our posterity be deprived of the privileges we now enjoy, it will be because the anger of Jehovah shall become enkindled against us for our sins, for the abuse of our mercies, and not because He is either unjust or unkind, or delights in withholding good things from His creatures.

> 'But thou, my country, thou shalt never fall,
> But with thy children, thy maternal care,
> Thy lavish love, thy blessings shower'd on all,—
> These are thy fetters,—seas and stormy air
> Are the wide barrier of thy borders, where
> Among thy gallant sons that guard thee well,
> Thou laugh'st at enemies; who shall then declare
> The date of thy deep-founded strength, or tell
> How happy, in thy lap, the sons of men shall dwell?'

If indeed the prevalence of pure religion soften and subdue the hearts of the people to the *obedience of Christ*, and make the laws of justice and mercy of paramount authority among all classes of our countrymen, we may then say that our 'deep-founded strength' shall never become weakness, and of our country, 'Thou shalt never fall.'

But though in many places wickedness abounds, and the love of some may wax cold, we have abundant reason for thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies for the manifest tokens of His loving kindness. Though it be the almost unavoidable consequence of the character of our government, that party is arrayed against party, and one Christian sect against another, yet hitherto we have been preserved from being torn asunder by political factions, or entirely alienated from each other as Christians. In addition to these things, for some years past God has in a most merciful manner visited our Churches with the outpourings of His Spirit, with extensive revivals of His blessed work; and the hand of Christian charity is extended to our Indian neighbors, many of whom are bowing their necks to the yoke of Christ.

These things, together with the exertions which are making in this and other nations to evangelize the world by means of Bible, missionary, Sunday school, and tract societies, give us reason to hope, that however furious the storms may rage in the political horizon, the Sun of righteousness will yet shine on all lands and illuminate all hearts. The signs of the times indeed indicate that our Immanuel is even now riding forth, 'with his sword girt upon his thigh,' to conquer the na-

tions, to subdue the kingdoms to himself, and finally to 'make all things new.' But ere this desirable event shall arrive, a great work must be done. Three fifths of the world are yet in the hands of the 'false prophet,' and of the gods of paganism; and what proportion of the remaining two fifths is infidel or semi-infidel, baffles human calculation, because we are forbidden to scan the human heart. It is, however, encouraging to believe and know that the number of true, hearty believers in Christ, is increasing—that the number of evangelical ministers is also increasing—that more zeal, love, and faith, are exemplified among both ministers and people—and that consequently the exertions which are made for the conversion of sinners are becoming more and more successful.

From this slight survey of the present state of the world, we may encourage ourselves in the anticipation of a yet more speedy and extensive spread of pure and undefiled religion among the nations. The ripplings in the political ocean which have succeeded to the storms and tempests with which it was so violently agitated during the period of the late destructive wars, are, we humbly hope, but the precursors of a smoother sea, on which the Church may be wafted along by the breath of Christian benevolence toward the desired haven of a safer and more permanent repose. The mind of the public is sinking down into that calm and deliberate state which is favorable for sober and accurate investigation; and the principles of civil and religious freedom are becoming better understood, while religion itself, stripped of the meretricious robes with which its glories had been hid from human view, is no longer viewed by the thinking portion of community as an enemy, but as a friend to human improvement and happiness; and though sectarian jealousies and rivalships still exist, and operate, so far as they spring from pride and unholy ambition, as a check to the progress of truth and righteousness, yet a brighter era seems dawning upon the Church and upon the world; and we hope that the day is not far distant when the only inquiry shall be, *What shall we do by which the most good may be accomplished?*

Allowing the accuracy of these remarks, who does not perceive that the present state of the world—even the political world—is highly favorable to the progress of Christianity—that even the revolutions of states, kingdoms, and empires, by which so many portions of the world have been convulsed, involving so much of national and individual suffering, have been so overruled and managed by the hand of that God 'whose mercies are over all His works,' as to make them subserve the purposes of His love to men, and on the whole promotive of their highest interests?

But the mighty workings of His Spirit are yet more visible in the projects of benevolent enterprises by which the Church is at present

distinguished. While 'Satan and his angels' were at work to flood the world with desolation and wo, the Lord Jesus, from the throne of His excellent glory, beheld His struggling Church with pity. To relieve it from its bondage, and finally to emancipate the world from its thraldom, He inspired His servants with an uncommon degree of wisdom to devise plans for the melioration of human society, with zeal to execute them, and with faith to trust in Him for their success.

They have not been disappointed. Bible, missionary, Sunday school, and tract societies, are like so many angels of mercy, 'flying through the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to them that dwell on the earth.' Their voices are heard in the four quarters of the globe. And though but few, comparatively speaking, have yet heard 'the joyful sound,' 'many are running to and fro, and knowledge is increasing'—and increasing with a rapidity hitherto unknown. Has not the time therefore nearly arrived when God 'shall shake all nations,' and when 'the Desire of all nations shall come,' and reign universal King in the earth?

If these fond anticipations shall not be realized, the responsibility of the failure will rest on the Church. God's goodness is clearly manifest—the rainbow of His promise is seen half circling the heavens in the far east, and while the cloud of His mercy is hanging over all the west, the north and the south are becoming illuminated by the rays of the Sun of righteousness. Let us but 'work while it is day,' and we shall assuredly possess the land in peace.

OUR DUTY TOWARD THE AGED.

'I have been young, and *now* am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread,' Psa. xxxvii, 25.

THERE is a parallel text in the seventy-first psalm, 'Cast me not off in my OLD AGE; forsake me not when my strength faileth.' Both psalms were penned by David; and in writing under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, the psalmist had one object in view, a tender regard for the *aged*; and we may add the watchful care of God over them.

The language is consoling, '*Fret* not thyself because of evil doers.' Rise above the fleeting, momentary afflictions of this present life. '*Trust* in the Lord,' 'and thou shalt be fed:' '*Delight* thyself in the Lord, and He shall give thee the desires of thy heart:' '*Commit thy way* unto the Lord, trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass:' '*Rest* in the Lord, and wait patiently for Him.' Whether in a storm or tempest, hold fast thine integrity; cast not away thy confidence, which hath great recompense of reward; as if a person's life was compared to a tempestuous or stormy voyage. Confide in thy *Guide*, thy *Pilot*, thy *Captain*. He will steer the vessel and conduct thee safe into port!

In the seventy-first psalm there is exultation, as if the suffering

saint had endured the conflict, passed the fiery trial, had obtained the promise, and realized the blessing, even in *old age*. Verses 17, 18, 'O God, Thou hast taught me from my youth; and hitherto have I declared Thy wondrous works:' 'Now also when I am old and gray headed, O God, forsake me not until I have showed Thy strength unto this generation, and Thy power to every one that is to come:' verses 19, 22, 23, 'Thy righteousness also, O God, is very high, who hast done great things; O God, who is like unto Thee!' 'I will also praise Thee with the Psaltery, even Thy truth, O my God; O thou Holy One of Israel:' 'My lips shall greatly rejoice when I sing unto Thee, and my soul which Thou hast redeemed.' This exaltation seems to proceed from the answer to the prayer, verse 9, 'Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth.' The thirty-seventh psalm is very appropriately preceded by the thirty-sixth, which sets forth the grievous state of the wicked, and the excellency of God's mercy: 'I have been young, and now am old,' &c.

The following suggestions are well worthy our very serious consideration:—

1. That God in His word, on all occasions, has manifested a very tender regard for His aged servants.

2. That the aged, in the pristine state of the Church, were the strong hold of the believers, and the way marks to life and glory; holding fast their integrity and steadfastness in the faith even down to old age, they became living witnesses and practical epistles of Divine truth.

3. Although we have now the surer word of *prophecy* or *revelation*, and the experience of thousands of saints before us, yet we are bound by Christian obligations to regard the aged with tenderness, and with the deepest veneration and respect.

1. God honored the aged; His delight has ever been with the faithful in the decline of life. Abraham was faithful and obtained a promise in his old age, and became the father of the *righteous*. 2. This promise was confirmed to his son Isaac in his old age. 3. It was realized by Jacob, the father of Israel, after *trying his faith*; and blessings were showered down upon him in his old age. Isaiah applies the promises to Jacob's posterity, who loved God, 'But thou Israel, art my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham my friend. Fear not; for I am with thee: be not dismayed: for I am thy God: I will strengthen thee; yea, I will help thee; yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness. When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee: when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.' The same consolation which was manifested to the *patriarchs* was extended to Elijah, Elisha, Samuel, and David, and to all the aged saints of God down to good old Simeon; who, having lived to see the fulfilment of all the predictions of the prophets as to the appearance of the Redeemer on earth, 'took him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy SALVATION, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.'

God manifests a tender regard for the aged. This is manifest, in granting them grace according to the season of affliction: when the members of the body begin to fail; when the senses begin to be locked up by the infirmities of age, when the powers of the mind begin to fail, He pours out upon them at such a season the consolations of His Holy Spirit. The long Scriptural account of the triumphs of such through life and in death we need not now repeat. We need not present an aged John whispering to his little flock, 'Little children, love one another!' We may come down to our own days and period of life, and tell of some who have lived until they had forgotten the names of their own children, the names and persons of their own sons and daughters, yet when spoken to respecting the tender mercy of God, with a countenance beaming with delight, a recollection never lost, they have raised their hands and clapped them in holy ecstasy, and shouted the Redeemer's praise! Here then are the triumphs of a *living faith!* It extends to all circumstances and afflictions of life; God gives grace to meet death, to conquer, to triumph, and to shout 'victory' in and through the name of the Holy One of Israel!

2. The aged, in the pristine state of the Church, were the strong hold of the believers, &c.

It has been a language often repeated by aged saints, 'Why does God let me live? Why do I yet suffer? I have outlived my generation; there are but few of my friends now alive; I am old and forsaken, and almost forgotten; I do not desire life; I stand like a useless tenement, beaten almost to pieces by the storms of life; I desire to lay my wearied and trembling limbs low in the grave. Having been long looking out for the coming of the chariot of my Master to convey me to my desired home, I am ready to say, O why does He delay His coming?' I have seen the aged servants of God lift up their languid eye and look toward the hills of Zion, and seem to have a longing desire to be loosed from their prison of clay. To one thus anxious to depart, I freely expressed my opinion. I told this old saint that it was probable that God protracted many lives of His aged servants to try the patience and Christian virtues of the rising generation—the duty toward the aged was well understood—that the performance of this duty from children was expected by the Lord even under a darker dispensation!—that on the other hand they stood as in times of old, in place of the old patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, as *guides*, as way marks, to direct the rising generation the way to heaven. Then said she, 'The Lord's time is my time!' and this some years afterward was her dying expression. Let this be the language of the *aged!*

I have often thought that it might be made to appear, that the aged servants of God were like the mounds or monuments, or heaps of stones thrown together to direct the way through a *desert* or unsettled country. Such monuments were used in the hilly country of old in Judea. By such means the traveller is led on from *point* to *point;* and though it may be said it is often a *rough road*, yet it leads up to JERUSALEM! Though often difficult, by those way marks we may be making our direct approaches to a delightful city. Old veterans of the cross! stand to your posts a few fleeting years, and combat a few more difficulties; stand fast until a few more beating storms shall pass over,

and as living witnesses you may be the means of saving souls, and of adding many stars to your crown in glory. I never cast my eye on an aged minister of the Gospel without the strongest sensations. During the last year, I witnessed what I had not done for many years, namely, the state of one of these men of God, and when about to depart, offered the last prayer before he bid the world adieu. How thankful I felt that God had given me grace to treat him as an aged father in the Gospel! God himself has pronounced old age, if found in the way of righteousness, to be honorable, and has commanded us to reverence the aged!

3. We are bound by Christian obligations to regard the aged with tenderness and with the deepest veneration and respect.

It is probable that my own peculiar situation in youth has impressed this subject on my mind with more force, than it would have otherwise been, had it not have fallen to my lot to be as a speckled bird in my early day. And that was in relation to the old professors of religion. When I became a member of the Church, at the age of about twenty-one, I have no distinct recollection of but one youth, about my age, who was then taken in as a member of the Church north-west of the river Ohio! and the *young man* who forms this exception is now a preacher, and my mind was waked up to this subject by an unexpected call to *see me this day!* Then in the bloom of youth, old fathers and mothers in Israel were my companions at the house of prayer; and ah! solemn thought! they have nearly all gone, having entered *through* the *gates* into that holy and happy city. From this early association with the *aged*, I have experienced the most lasting benefits.

We live in an evil day; and although it is a season for mental improvement, and a period of a great and glorious enlargement of Christian experience, yet there is much danger of losing sight of our proper way mark. If there is much light spread abroad, there is much ignorance, and many false systems are propagated through the world. There is a strong propensity manifested by the present generation to inquire what our forefathers have been doing? And in an attempt to separate truth from error, the good from the evil, we are too often disposed to listen to the counsel of our own desires, and for the want of a practical experience and a thorough knowledge of mankind and of the depravity of our own hearts, we are too apt to set at nought and wholly to disregard the experience and admonition of the old servants of God.

If *we* have more *light* and knowledge than they possessed in their day, it is because they were the giants, and we the dwarfs on their shoulders; and a dwarf, by being placed on a *giant's* shoulders, can see farther than the giant himself.

But let us turn our attention to our duty toward the aged. There is something in regard to the aged servants of God which excites our attention and awakens our sympathies. It is like looking on one from another stage of being! It is like conversing with the preceding generation! There stands an aged disciple of Jesus before me, which causes me to reflect on ages past. Do I desire to speak of events beyond the flood? Then *speak* and *learn* of NOAH! Do I wish to learn *meekness* and *perseverance?* Then speak to Moses, he was forty years with the children of Israel in the wilderness! Do I desire to

learn patience? Then turn about and converse with Job! Hear his doleful tale—stripped of every thing but his confidence in God, and though condemned by friends and enemies, he holds to his integrity; and God calls him *four times* '*my servant Job!*' Do I wish to learn lessons of submission, in waiting patiently for God's time? Then ask good old Simeon if he was wearied in *well doing!* Ask him if there was not more real joy and gladness in his heart when he took 'Jesus in his arms,' than amply compensated him for all his sorrows and afflictions in waiting so long! If we wish to learn lessons of Christian humility, look to Jesus in the garden, and hear Him say, 'Father, not my will, but thine be done!' Hear John in the decline of life preaching to his little flock, 'Little children, love one another!' If you wish to learn lessons of experience, and how God wrought with generations now past and gone, go to that aged father and mother in Israel. Their hoary heads, their furrowed cheeks, their trembling limbs and faltering voice, mark them out as sufficiently ancient to speak of those things. They will tell you that in their day it was a hard struggle—that it was a great conflict—that it was through much tribulation, after much prayer and the shedding of many tears, before they found the pearl of great price; and nothing short of *abiding grace*, and daily *bread*, could have sustained them! But O! the duty to aged parents; my pen trembles; my parents are now in glory. I often reflect on my own neglect of duties, and almost envy the sister that bore the larger share of duty in smoothing their sorrows and afflictions in life. I shall never forget the expressions of Rev. A. W. E. in 1827. Having led to the house of worship an aged father (near one hundred years old) and a servant of the most high God, and conducted him to his seat in the congregation —my two sisters bearing forward the pious old mother in like manner, it appeared as if the two had been brought forward from beyond the flood. The preacher in closing his discourse looked around him, and in a flood of tears remarked, 'Had I an aged father and mother alive, I would take them to my bosom; I would wipe away every trickling tear from their furrowed cheeks; I would cheer them as to the prospect of another and a better world. Yes, I would take them in my arms and carry them to the house of prayer; I would bow down at their feet in the morning and in the evening, and ask God to bear them as lambs in his own bosom through the dark and gloomy valley of the shadow of death!' No one can conceive, but those who were there, and heard and felt the force of the expression, the powerful impression this made. May the Lord so remember all his old servants in the decline of life.

THEOPHILUS ARMINIUS.

EDUCATION.

COMPARATIVE STATE OF INSTRUCTION IN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES.

IN the July number of the Annals of Education and Instruction, there are some interesting observations upon the condition of the literary institutions of this country, compared with those of Europe. The

article was communicated to the American Lyceum by Mr. Woodbridge, the editor of the Annals. The opportunities for the profound study of every branch of science and literature in Europe, are greatly superior to those in our own country. The princes of many of the smaller states of Europe, whose power or talents do not permit them to become conspicuous by their conquests or political influence, find a wide field for distinguishing themselves, by becoming the patrons of the arts and literature. How striking and painful the contrast is in our own country, need not here be mentioned. 'An unhappy jealousy,' remarks Mr. Woodbridge, 'exists against the attempt to elevate the standard of science and literature, lest they should be made the instruments of establishing a literary aristocracy. It is forgotten, that even in despotic governments, *the nation of literary men* has ever remained *a republic.*' Another encouragement to the profound studies to which the scholars of Europe devote themselves, arises from the fact, that in many countries it is the *surest*, if not the *only* road to distinction.—'The offices of state are assigned by inheritance or patronage, in such a manner that most of the community are for ever excluded from the hope of becoming statesmen.' 'But in the United States, the road to distinction and wealth is through an active or political life. Every citizen is called upon to take a part in the political, social, and religious concerns of the community, and every one, who possesses high intellectual power, is called upon to an extent, which absorbs all the time and strength which is not demanded by the labors necessary for subsistence.' At the close of the preliminary observations, of which we have given a slight sketch, Mr. Woodbridge presents the following tabular statement of the number of students in the universities and colleges of the respective states of this country, and of the principal nations of Europe. The materials for the former, were derived from the American Quarterly Register, and for the latter, from the Weimar Statistical Almanac for 1831—a work of high authority.

It is a matter of regret, that our government do not embrace in the decennial enumeration of the inhabitants, statements respecting the common schools, and the number of pupils, academies, high schools, colleges, and professional schools. In this way, a literary census of great value might be taken, with very little trouble or expense. From period to period it would furnish a most satisfactory exposition of the state and progress of literature and education, and materials for comparison between the several divisions of the country, and between this country and Europe.—*Am. Quarterly Register.*

Comparison of the number of students in the United States with that of the countries of Europe.

The number of *academical* students in the United States is here estimated at 3,475; theological students, 663; legal, 88; medical, not far from 2,000. They belong to the several states as here apportioned. For want of data, however, the medical and legal students were divided among the various states according to their population.

AMERICAN STATES.	No. Stud	Prop. to Inhab.		EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.	No. of Studs.	Prop. to Inhab.	
				Scotland	3,249	1	683
Massachusetts	770	1	792				
				Baden	1,399	1	816
Connecticut	327	1	960				
				Saxony	1,360	1	1,040
New-Hampshire	241	1	1,118	England	10,549	1	1,132
				Hanover	1,203	1	1,303
				Bavaria	2,593	1	1,312
				Tuscany	909	1	1,402
				Spain	9,867	1	1,414
				Prussia	6,236	1	1,470
Vermont	186	1	1,509				
Maine	238	1	1,611				
New-Jersey	193	1	1,661				
				Wurtemburg	887	1	1,731
South-Carolina	325	1	1,789	Sweden & Norway.	2,687	1	1,732
				Portugal	1,604	1	1,879
Pennsylvania	688	1	1,928				
New-York	986	1	1,940				
Rhode Island	50	1	1,944				
				Netherlands	2,998	1	1,979
Maryland	175	1	2,554	Sardinia	1,722	1	2,420
Virginia	457	1	2,650				
Kentucky	249	1	2,766	Switzerland	767	1	2,655
Georgia	173	1	2,985				
Mississippi	45	1	3,040				
North Carolina	233	1	3,170				
Tennessee	211	1	3,245				
Ohio	285	1	3,290				
Louisiana	46	1	3,335				
Delaware	23	1	3,336				
				Denmark	578	1	3,342
Alabama	84	1	3,634	Naples and Sicily	2,065	1	3,590
				Austria	8,584	1	3,786
Missouri	28	1	5,003				
Indiana	65	1	5,101	France	6,196	1	5,140
Illinois	28	1	5,624				
				Ireland	1,254	1	5,767
				Russia	3,626	1	15,455

SECTIONS OF THE U. S.				EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.			
Eastern States	1748	1	1,118	England	10,549	1	1,132
Middle States	1995	1	1,844	Portugal	1,604	1	1,879
Southern States	1485	1	2,612	Switzerland	767	1	2,655
Western States	957	1	3,516	Naples and Sicily	2,065	1	2,285
United States	6185	1	2,078	Western Europe	69,634	1	3,500

In reviewing this table, we shall perceive, that in accordance with an opinion often expressed, Scotland gives more of her youth a collegiate education than any other country in the world. Baden, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, fall little short of this standard; and these are the only countries in the world, according to these estimates, which have one collegiate pupil for less than 1,000 inhabitants. New-Hampshire, according to the calculation of the American Quarterly Register, is the only American state beside, in which there is more than one for 1,500; while in Europe, Saxony, England, Hanover, Bavaria, Tuscany, Spain, and Prussia, all have a proportion greater

than this. It must not be forgotten, however, that the universities and colleges of Spain furnish nothing which deserves to be called a truly liberal education. Vermont, Maine, New-Jersey, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New-York, and Rhode Island, composing all the eastern, and three of the middle states, and one of the southern, have one student for less than 2,000 inhabitants, in which they are rivalled by Wurtemberg, Sweden, Portugal, and the Netherlands. Most of the southern and western states have from 2,000 to 4,000 inhabitants to a student. In this proportion, the highest compare with Switzerland, and the rest with Denmark, Naples, and Austria. The most recent western states have only one to every 5,000 inhabitants; and still are placed on a level with France and Ireland. Russia stands alone among the civilized countries of the world, and only gives a liberal education to one person in 15,000 of her population.

As a mass, it would appear that the eastern states provide the advantages of a collegiate education, such as they are in the United States, for a greater proportion of their population than England, or any European countries except Scotland, Baden, and Saxony. The middle states are as well provided as Wurtemburg, Sweden, and the Netherlands. The southern states will compare with Switzerland in this respect; and the western states, with all their destitution, are as well supplied with liberally educated men, so far as *numbers* are concerned, as Denmark and Austria.

The comparative state of common school instruction is very different from that of collegiate instruction. In this, the United States have the pre-eminence, whether we compare them with the mass of European countries or select individual examples. The Edinburgh Review admitted many years since, that 'the great body of the American people is better educated (instructed) than the mass of *any European community*.' The following table, derived from the best sources, shows the proportion of children who receive common school instruction to the whole population, in several European countries, and in several of the United States, and furnishes statistical evidence of the truth of this remark:—

Proportion of pupils in common schools to the whole population.

European Countries.	Pupil. Inhab.
Wurtemburg	1 to 6
Canton Vaud, Switz.	1 to 6.6
Bavaria	1 to 7
Prussia	1 to 7
Netherlands.	1 to 9.7
Scotland	1 to 10
Austria	1 to 13
England	1 to 15.3
France	1 to 17.6
Ireland	1 to 18
Portugal	1 to 88
Russia	1 to 367

United States.	Pupil. Inhab.
New-York	1 to 3.9
Massachusetts, Maine, Connecticut, estimated	1 to 4
All New-England at least	1 to 5
Pennsylvania, New-Jersey	1 to 8
Illinois	1 to 13
Kentucky	1 to 21

It will be seen, in examining this table, that the proportion of children, receiving common school instruction in New-York and the eastern states, is greater than in any country of the civilized world. So unusual is the proportion in New-York, that Schwartz, the distinguished German historian of education, could scarcely believe it correct. In

Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, whose destitution is the subject of so much well founded regret and anxiety, the mass are still better taught than in most countries of Europe, better than in Scotland itself; and even the western states will soon have as much of common instruction as France. Still we should feel, that the neglect, which may be for the time safe in a despotism, is ruinous in a republic; for it undermines the basis of free institutions.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Thoughts on African Colonization: or an impartial exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the 'American Colonization Society;'—together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the free people of color. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Boston, 1832, pp. 236.

While we have ever felt and expressed our horror and repugnance at the enormities of the slave trade, and deplored the evils entailed upon our beloved country by the extent, increase, and mischiefs, of the slave population; we have uniformly given our unqualified support to every effort of philanthropy and Christianity to arrest the former, or to mitigate or remove the evils of the latter. Accordingly we have frequently sustained, by our feeble means, every *humane and judicious* project aiming at the abolition of the slave trade and of mitigating the evils of slavery itself, in this and in every country; and devoutly wished success to every well directed effort to accomplish these objects. To this course we have been impelled by a sense of civil and religious duty; and no considerations, we humbly trust, shall ever seduce us from a consistent and unwavering avowal of our testimony against the whole system of slavery in the abstract, and particularly of the slave trade, as impolitic, unchristian, and unjust.

But at the same time we hope ever to be found at an infinite remove from the spirit and temper of those wild enthusiasts, whose visionary and inflammatory speeches, harangues, printed pamphlets, and tracts, have, by a mistaken policy and misguided zeal, been employed in our country by wily politicians and factious demagogues, for the purpose of raising a popular clamor against that portion of our fellow citizens who are alike sensible of the evil and its present perpetuation, entailed upon them by the act of others, in which they could have no agency, and for which they are in no wise directly criminated, either legally or morally. And we deprecate such policy and conduct, not so much because the motives and character of such factious zealots are so often obviously equivocal; but because such publications have ever produced evils little short of those they condemned, and must necessarily add to the sufferings, both physical and moral, under which our 'Afric-Americans' are groaning in many portions of our land. While the exasperations and heart burnings thus occasioned between the different sections of our country, in relation to each other, are so fatal to the concord, harmony, and union among our citizens, which should be preserved inviolable in order to the ultimate success of any emancipa-

tion or abolition effort, our motto, and that of every friend of the African race, should ever be, 'Our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.'

It was by reason of such views and feelings, that we hailed the 'American Colonization Society' as the friend of the country, the friend of Africa, and the friend of our whole colored population, whether free or slaves. An intimate acquaintance with its origin, its organization, its constitution, its early history, and the deservedly distinguished citizens, in point of intellectual and moral worth, who became its patrons and friends, protected us from any of those fears by which different political and sectarian partizans seemed at first to be agitated. And we have never lost our confidence that as the plans and operations of the society were developed, the real friends of the country would unite in its full support, impelled thereto, alike by patriotism and Christianity. And our own close observation of the effect upon the public mind, produced by every year of its history, convinces us, that our confidence has not been misplaced, and the real friends of the country, in the south as well as the north, and the true friends of our colored population, are now rallying around the standard of the American Colonization Society, as presenting a scheme infinitely superior to the evanescent declamations of political fanatics, because supported on the immovable basis of liberty, humanity, and religion.

We have thus introduced our brief notice of the pamphlet before us, that our motives may not be misrepresented, and that we may not be suspected of being the advocates or apologists of the slave trade, nor the enemies of African freedom. And yet we fearlessly proclaim ourselves the advocates of the American Colonization Society, notwithstanding the censorious, vulgar, and abusive epithets, employed by Mr. Garrison, in this bitter tirade against many of the noblest and most benevolent men in the land, and against an institution which has been justly styled 'a circle of philanthropy, every segment of which tells and testifies to the beneficence of the whole.' And indeed we confess we have never perused a publication with such unmingled sensations of indignation and disgust; scarcely modified indeed by that pity and commiseration, ordinarily felt for those whom ignorance, sophistry, and prejudice, have so miserably duped. Such a compound of egotism, vulgarity, cant, bordering even on profanity, we have seldom seen, disfiguring so much clean white paper, and deforming the regular proportions of a volume so well printed and gotten up in its mechanical execution. ''Tis true, a pity; and pity 'tis, 'tis true.'

Of the author we confess we know but little, and with him we have little to do, since the book, and not Mr. Garrison, is the subject of our review; and yet he *himself* makes so prominent a part of his book, that it would be unpardonable to withhold him a passing tribute. The first paragraph in his book almost petrifies the reader; we will therefore insert it, after this admonition, which is kindly given, and, as will be perceived, is called for.

'In attacking the system of slavery, I clearly foresaw all that has happened to ME. I knew at the commencement, that MY motives would be impeached, MY warnings ridiculed, MY person persecuted, MY sanity doubted, MY life jeoparded:—but the clank of the prisoner's

chains broke upon MY ear—it entered deeply into MY soul—I looked up to heaven for strength to sustain ME in the perilous work of emancipation—and MY resolution was taken.'

To parse this sentence syntactically, it will be perceived that little else is necessary than to understand the first person singular, and to repeat the rule thirteen times over in seven lines, and a similar peculiarity, to a greater or less extent, will be found to characterize almost every original paragraph in the book. And it will be seen that not merely the verbiage, but the sentiment, is thus egotistic throughout.

The sentence thus quoted, which introduces the whole, may be translated thus:—The author publishes a newspaper which is circulated extensively among our colored population, called the *Liberator*; and in delivering his testimony against slavery and the slave trade, he happened to violate the laws of the state and of the country, either in his paper, or some other kindred publication, and subjected himself to imprisonment therefor; whether justly or unjustly, the American Colonization Society has no more to do with it than the Anti-Slavery Society of Mr. Garrison's own projecting. It is therefore difficult to discover what this touching narrative has to do with 'Thoughts on African Colonization.' But as we progress in the 'thoughts' we shall be struck with their monotonous and synonomous character, thus, 'I! have counted the cost.' 'I! shall deal with the society.' 'MY! warfare is against the American Colonization Society.' 'I! formerly approved of it, but MY! approval was the offspring of ignorance and credulity.' 'So much for MY! marvellous apostasy.' But we forbear, after selecting these from among fifty others in the first two or three pages of this marvellously important personage, from whose claims, distinction, worth, and persecutions, the readers of his book must be all the while inseparable, for the personal pronoun I is used no less than sixty times in the first five pages of the book, beside me, my, mine, &c, too frequently to be worth estimating, and so for the most part throughout the book.

The dedication is to '*my* countrymen, in whose *intelligence, magnanimity, and humanity*, I place the utmost reliance,' and after this smooth compliment the author adds, 'They have long suffered themselves to be *swayed by a prejudice as unmanly* as it is *wicked*,' notwithstanding the 'utmost reliance' was just placed in their *intelligence, magnanimity, and humanity!* Who his countrymen are, possessing these varied attributes, this description does not enable us to say. We presume, therefore, that the dedication is to the personage, whose prominence in the book has been already adverted to, and who himself compares to Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, Clarkson, Paul, and even to Jesus Christ, and declares that in this 'momentous investigation' he has sought that 'knowledge which cannot err.' Such arrogance and profanity must shock every reader of the book, whether white or colored.

In the introductory remarks, which occupy thirty-eight pages of this meagre book, the author commences his attack upon the American Colonization Society, by declaring that 'the superstructure of the society rests upon the following pillars:—1. *Persecution.* 2. *Falsehood.* 3. *Cowardice.* 4. *Infidelity*; and in allusion to the present pamphlet he says, 'If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature,

without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless and unjust, then let me be covered with confusion of face.' And again, after calling the society a CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS, who are *unanimous* in *abusing* their victims, *unanimous* in proclaiming *absurdities*, propagating *libels*, exciting *prejudice*, *apologizing for slavery*, using *hollow pretences*, and after declaring that it is based upon *falsehood and duplicity*, and is at once *dangerous* and *implacable*, he adds, 'These are my accusations, and if I do not substantiate them I am willing to be covered with reproach.'

To prove these heinous charges of *unanimity* among the 'clergy, Christian professors, judges, lawyers, senators, representatives, and editors,' in a conspiracy so glaring, absurd, and wicked, against all that is sacred in humanity and religion, he then divides his subject into ten sections, entitled as follows :—

1. The American Colonization Society is *not hostile* to slavery.
2. The A. C. S. *apologizes for slavery and slave holders.*
3. The A. C. S. *recognizes slaves as property.*
4. The A. C. S. *increases the value of slaves.*
5. The A. C. S. is the *enemy of immediate abolition.*
6. The A. C. S. is nourished by *fear and selfishness.*
7. The A. C. S. aims at the *utter expulsion of the blacks.*
8. The A. C. S. is the *disparager* of the *free blacks.*
9. The A. C. S. *prevents the instruction* of the blacks.
10. The A. C. S. *deceives and misleads the nation.*

Then follow seventy-six pages containing the sentiments of the people of color who have been collected together for the purpose, in various parts of the country ; and have otherwise expressed their views in the Liberator and elsewhere ; together with much of the author's own views and feelings, in perfect consonance with theirs.

We have neither space nor inclination to give each of these topics the criticism and rebuke they deserve, nor do we deem it important minutely to examine in detail a publication so essentially slanderous in all its parts. Indeed the spirit in which the book is written, as exhibited in the brief extracts already made, will be its own refutation with every candid and liberal mind. The author writes as though goaded by a feeling of malevolence and revenge, which is utterly unaccountable, when the mild and pacific character of this colonization scheme is considered ; but which probably arises from his supposed persecutions being attributed by himself and friends to the American Colonization Society, or its prominent patrons, and which supposition of obliquity of principle and morbidity of feeling is no compliment to his intelligence, nor even to his integrity. His attempt to hold the society and its objects accountable for every thing that has been said by slave holders and others in their pamphlets, tracts, speeches, and other publications, is neither just nor liberal, nor is the insertion of detached sentences, from such documents, consistent with moral honesty, particularly when it is found that the book is more than half filled with such perversions of what their authors said, from the meaning distinctly recognized in the documents from which they have been taken. This is eminently the case with most of the extracts from the society's reports and periodical.

It is fit that this Mr. Garrison should see how he will stand before the public by a few extracts from his own words, promiscuously chosen.

Speaking of *himself* and his book, he says thus, 'To rebuke great and good men, is the highest effort of *moral courage!*' p. 6. 'I should *oppose* this society, even were its doctrines *harmless!*' p. 18. 'Should the *slave holders* become instantly metamorphosed into *angels*, they would still hold the rational creatures of God as their property, and yet *commit no sin.*' p. 92. 'Many of the *colored* people, I *proudly* rank among my *most familiar* friends.' p. 131. 'Some of the *finest men* I met with, during a residence in London and Paris, were the offspring of *African mothers.* I have repeatedly seen *black* gentlemen sitting on the sofas conversing with the *white ladies*—and there were no persons present who appeared more respectable, or who were more respected.' p. 45.

Without multiplying these extracts, sufficient has been said to show Mr. Garrison the iniquity and illiberality of his crusade against the American Colonization Society; and if he object to these precious morceaus of his book, let him remember that he himself has set the example by his garbled perversion of language and sentiment in the extracts he has made from published documents, and that his 'rule should work both ways.' And he will also recollect that many of his remarks on the amalgamation of Africans with the whites, which seems with him not only admissible, but desirable and essential to his favorite scheme of immediate abolition, are too obscene to permit the pollution of our pages, either with their sentiment or language.

For ourselves, much as we condemn the design, character, and tendency of his whole book, there is no part of it more disgraceful to himself, nor more offensive to the true friends of emancipation and abolition, than the avowal expressed in so many forms, that he expects and demands an *amalgamation* of the American and *African races*, as an essential feature of his scheme. This he has before taught in the Liberator, and for this the free colored people, who are his '*most familiar friends*,' highly applaud his liberality of sentiment, and patronize his paper because it aims at this noble and praiseworthy result! If Mr. Garrison would consent to take to himself an *African wife*, or betroth his daughters to the 'black gentlemen who sit on the sofas conversing with white ladies,' we apprehend he will find few even among the enemies of the Colonization Society who are such thorough-going abolitionists as himself. The idea is as absurd and visionary, as it is wicked in itself, and the hopelessness of such a project is as manifest as the laws of nature, and the author of such a proposition, if it were feasible, would deserve and receive the execration of his species. As it is, however, the proposition demands for its author our commiseration rather than our censures, and his appeal in confirmation of his views, to the iniquitous and abominable licentiousness of southern libertines, is too shocking to receive or require refutation, and we may say after all he has ever written on this topic,

> 'It is a monster of such hideous mien,
> That to be hated, needs but to be seen.'

We have thus devoted a much larger space to this mischievous production than we designed, but when it is remembered that this is the

boasted effort of a man who, although of our own color, professes to be the champion of the African race in this country, and is aimed at the foundation and character of the noblest charity now in existence in any country; we deem it proper to give this early notice of the publication and its author, especially as the whole is presented to the public under a garb of sanctity broader than the phylacteries of the ancient Pharisees; and a profession of reverence for humanity, justice, and truth, which may gain for it access to many who would otherwise be in no danger from its cunning and vulgar sophistry.

We believe that the American Colonization Society offers the only and last hope for the regeneration of bleeding Africa, and doubt not but God in his providence and grace designs, by means of its operations, to civilize and Christianize that vast continent. In common with other evangelical denominations, our Church has commenced the work to which even Mr. Garrison does not object. One missionary of the cross has already sailed, and two others are preparing to embark for the colony, and with the Christian band already there, they purpose to devote their lives to the great work of dispensing the light and power of the Gospel to the tribes in the interior, to whom the colony has already opened a great and effectual door. And although not sanguine that all the wishes of the friends of the children of Africa in our country, who conduct the operations of the society, will be speedily accomplished; yet we believe much *will be done*, and all that *can be done* for their emancipation, and that in a very few years the accursed slave trade on the coast of Africa will be for ever abolished by means of the colony. And experience has demonstrated that more has been done toward preparing the way for freeing the blacks of our land, by this reviled colonization scheme, than has ever been effected by all the abolition societies, or ever will be done by all the 'Liberators' in the country. Let the philanthropists of America only combine their energies, in the north and in the south, in the east and in the west, in favor of the colony, and a few years will wipe off the slanders of all its enemies, and write the epitaph of Mr. Garrison and his book. God almighty will put his seal upon the society and its operations, and our country shall yet be disenthralled, and Africa's sons shall yet be free and independent in their own land.

LUTHER'S TABLE TALK.

How much the world is indebted, under the blessing of God, to Luther, who can tell? Little did he think, when he began to oppose the decrees of the pope in respect to the sale of indulgences, what a mighty work he was commencing. Nor did the veneration which he felt for his holiness prevent him from persevering in his attempts to correct the abuses which he saw every where existing, though he seemed little conscious at the time that he was undermining the foundation of the papal hierarchy. From such small beginnings do great events date their origin.

Having, however, launched forth into the sea of reformation, he fearlessly buffeted the waves and billows, until he had the satisfaction to witness his trembling bark moored in a safe and secure harbor. Here, secluded from the tempests which were raging about him, he could converse with his friends in tranquillity. Among other conversations with which the pages of his history abound, we select the following, in which we behold the same bold sentiments and ardent feelings of mind, by which this servant of God was ever distinguished, as well as the same abhorrence of the pope and his adherents with which Luther became inspired when he first clearly and fully saw into the true character of that lordly prelate.

'God,' said Luther, 'could be exceeding rich in money and in temporary wealth, if He pleased; but He will not. If He were but to come to the pope, to the emperor, to a king, a prince, a bishop, to a rich merchant, a citizen, or a farmer, and were to say, "Except thou givest me a hundred thousand crowns, thou shalt die this instant,"—then every one would presently say, "I will give it with all my heart, if I may but live." But now we are such unthankful slovens that we give Him not so much as a *Deo gratias*, although we receive from Him richly, and overflowing, so great benefits, merely out of His goodness and mercy. Is not this a shame? Yet, notwithstanding such our unthankfulness, our Lord God and merciful Father doth not suffer Himself thereby to be scared away, but continually doth show to us all manner of goodness. But,' said Luther, 'if, in His gifts and benefits, He were more sparing, and in imparting the same to us were more close-handed, then might we learn to be thankful. If, for example, He caused every human creature to be born into the world with only one leg or foot, and seven years afterward gave him the other leg; or, in the fourteenth year gave one of the hands, and in the twentieth the other, then we should better acknowledge God's gifts and benefits; we should then also value them at a higher rate, and be thankful to almighty God for the same. But now, since God heaps upon us these and the like His blessings, we never regard the same, nor show ourselves thankful to Him.'

'Then again,' said Luther, 'God hath given to us in these days a whole sea full of His word; He giveth unto us all manner of language, and good, free, liberal arts: we buy, at this time, for a small price, all manner and sorts of good books; moreover, He giveth unto us learned people, that do teach well and orderly, insomuch that a young youth (if he be not altogether a dunce) may learn and study more in one year now, than formerly in many years. Arts are now so cheap that they almost go begging for bread. Wo be to us,' said Luther, 'that we are so lazy and improvident, so negligent and unthankful. But God, I fear, will shut up his liberal hand and mercy again, and will give unto us sparingly enough, so that we shall have again sects, schisms, prenchers of lies, and scoffers of God, and then we shall adore and carry them upon our hands, seeing that now we do contemn His word and servants.'

'The greater God's corporeal gifts and wondrous works are, the

less,' said Luther, 'they are regarded. The greatest and most precious treasure of this kind that we receive of God is, that we can speak, hear, see, &c. Yet who is there that feels these to be God's gifts, or gives Him thanks for them? Men value such things as wealth, honor, power, and other things of less worth: but what costly things can they be that so soon vanish away? A blind man (if he be in his right wits) would willingly miss of all these, if he might but see. The reason,' said Luther, 'why the corporeal gifts of God are so much undervalued, is this, that they are so common, and God bestows them on the senseless beasts, as well as upon us people, and often in greater perfection. But what shall I say? Christ made the blind to see. He drove out devils, raised the dead, &c, yet must he be upbraided by the ungodly hypocrites who gave themselves out for God's people, and must hear from them that He was a Samaritan, and had a devil. Ah!' said Luther, 'the world is the devil's, wheresoever it be. How then can it acknowledge God's gifts and benefits? It is with God almighty, as it is with parents and their children which are young: they regard not so much the daily bread, as an apple or a pear, or other toys.'

How to preach before a prince.—'As Dr. Erasmus Albert was called Mark of Bradenburg, he desired Luther to set down a method of preaching before a prince elector. Luther said, "Let all your preaching be in the most simple and plainest manner; look not to the prince, but to the plain, simple, gross, unlearned people, of which cloth the prince also himself is made. If I," said Luther, "in my preaching, should have regard to Philip Melancthon, and other learned doctors, then should I work but little goodness. I preach in the simplest manner to the unskilful, and that giveth content to all. Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, I spare, until we learned ones come together; then we make it so curled and finical, that God himself wondereth at us."'

The kingdom of love.—'In ceremonies and ordinances, the kingdom of love must have the precedence and govern, and not tyranny. It must be a willing love, not a halter love; it must be altogether directed and managed for the good and profit of one's neighbor; and the greater he is that doth govern,' said Luther, 'the more he ought to serve according to love.'

How necessary patience is.—'I,' said Luther, 'must be patient with the pope; I must have patience with heretics and seducers; I must have patience with the roaring courtiers; I must have patience with my servants; I must have patience with Kate, my wife: to conclude, the patiences are so many, that my whole life is nothing but patience.'

MOUNT ETNA.

This famous mountain has been often described by adventurous and scientific travellers. It is situated on the eastern side of Sicily.

Various conjectures have been formed respecting the etymology of the name Etna. It being usually written in the Itineraries, *Ethana*, some have traced its origin from αἰθειν, which signifies to *burn*, and others from אתונא, (*athuna*,) a *furnace*; either of which seems to be a very probable derivation, when it is considered that this mountain

so much resembles a furnace, by its perpetual burning, and so often sends forth its streams of burning lava.

Its immense size and elevation, the beauty and magnificence of the surrounding scenery, and the terrific grandeur of its convulsive struggles when trembling under its internal efforts to throw out its burning entrails, as well as the changes it has undergone, have afforded abundant matter for the pen of the poet and the historian. According to the mythology of the ancient heathen, here were erected the forges of the Cyclops, where, under the direction of Vulcan, they prepared the thunderbolts of Jupiter. A temple was built here for Vulcan himself, in which the fire never ceased to burn; and here the giant Enceladus was condemned by Jupiter to expiate his impious rebellion by perpetual imprisonment.

The distance from near the city of Catania, which is situated on the south side of the mountain, to the mouth of the great crater, is said to be about thirty miles. Its height from the level of the sea is about eleven thousand feet, and its circumference at its base sixty-two miles. Its first eruption on record is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, but he does not fix the period; the second, recorded by Thucydides, was in the year 784 B. C. Since that period there have been thirty-four, one of which lasted fourteen years; and the one in 1763, which was attended with an earthquake, overturned the town of Catania, and buried eighteen thousand persons in its ruins.

This astonishing mountain has often been ascended by scientific and enterprising travellers, though the ascent is fatiguing and attended with some danger. The following account of a recent visit to the top of Etna we have copied from the New-York Messenger:—

'Some travellers who have recently been to the top of Etna, have given one of the most graphic descriptions of the scene that we have ever read. The same immense mountain, that has been ever since the memory of man alternately the funeral pile of cities, and the awful beacon of the world, still rolls its volumes of vapor to heaven, and still throbs with internal agony, or growls in hoarse thunders through its infernal caverns. Say the travellers:—

At length, after somewhat more than an hour's walk, the most harassing that can be imagined, we arrived at the top just as the day began to dawn. To paint the feelings at this dizzy height, requires the pen of poetic inspiration; or to describe the scene presented to mortal gaze, when thus looking down with fearful eye on the almost boundless prospect beneath! The blue expanded ocean, fields, woods, cities, rivers, mountains, and all the wonted charms of the terrestrial world, had a magic effect, when viewed by the help of the nascent light; while hard by yawned that dreadful crater of centuries untold, evolving thick sulphurous clouds of white smoke, which, rolling down the mountain's side in terrific grandeur, at length formed one vast column for many miles in extent across the sky. Anon the mountain growled awfully in its inmost recesses, and the earth was slightly convulsed! We now attempted to descend a short distance within the crater; the guides, timid of its horrors, did not relish the undertaking, but were induced at length, and conducted the party

behind some heaps of lava, from whence was a grand view of this awful cavern. The noise within the gulf resembled loud continuous thunderings, and after each successive explosion, there issued columns of white, and sometimes of black smoke.

Our senses were entranced for a while, unused to such an awful display of nature, in this one of her wildest abodes. On our exit from the crater, the glorious god of day was beginning to peep from behind the mountains of Calabria, and the wondrous vision, hitherto undefined and vague, was soon spread out distinctly to the admiring eye. What hand could paint, what tongue express, or pen transcribe, the transcendently glorious scene? As he advanced in his golden path, the whole of Sicily, the coast of Italy, and the Faro of Messina, seemed gathered round the base of Etna; while the giant shade of the mountain could be distinctly traced on the face of the island, and even over a portion of the sea. Every city, every river in all its windings, was depicted on this mighty map of nature.

To many, the most interesting part of the view is the mountain itself. The Regione Deserta, or desolate region of Etna, first attracts the eye, marked in winter by a circle of ice and snow, but now (July) by cinders and black sand. In the midst the great crater rears its burning head, and the regions of intense heat and extreme cold shake hands together. The eye soon becomes satiated with its wildness, and turns with delight on the Sylvana region, which, with its magnificent zone of forest trees, embraces the mountain completely round: in many parts of this delightful tract are seen hills, now covered with the most luxuriant vegetation, that have been formed by different eruptions of Etna. This girdle is succeeded by another still richer, called the Regione Culta, abundant in every fruit or grain that man can desire; the small rivers Semetus and Alcantara intersect these fertile fields; beyond this the whole of Sicily, with its cities, towns, and villages, its corn fields and vineyards in almost endless perspectives, charm and delight the senses. There was a certain degree of dread, mingled with intense delight, when thus elevated above the nether world. It was impossible to forget that we were standing on the bank of that horrid gulf, out of which had issued a thousand lavas, spreading desolation and death in their pestiferous course, changing the whole face of the country, and burying towns and villages beneath them.'

DEATH OF THE REV. DR. ADAM CLARKE.

Perhaps it might be expected by our readers that some account of the life and death of this venerated servant of God should be given in this number. The editor, indeed, had some thoughts of printing the discourse on the death of Dr. Clarke in the present number, but has declined to do so for two reasons:—

1. The pages of this number were nearly filled before that discourse was prepared.

2. Notwithstanding much pains were taken to collect authentic information, it is highly probable that some of the facts are incorrectly detailed; and as it is very desirable that whatever is recorded here of him should be in all respects accurate, and as it is expected that an authentic biography of Dr. Clarke will soon be issued from the press, it was concluded most prudent to wait until that shall make its appearance, the substance of which can then very properly be given in a subsequent number.

HENRY HOMMES,

of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

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LIFE AND TIMES OF RICHARD BAXTER.

The Life and Times of the Rev. Richard Baxter; with a critical Examination of his Writings. By the Rev. William Orme. *Two volumes*, 8vo.

Who has not heard the name of Richard Baxter! Entering upon the career of his public life at a time of violent civil and religious commotion in England—taking a deep interest and frequently a very active part in the various transactions which at that eventful period agitated the kingdom—possessing naturally a bold and penetrating mind—having his heart deeply imbued with religious truth and richly laden with the graces of the Holy Spirit—an intellect highly cultivated by various reading and close observation—Baxter occupied a high and commanding position in society and made a very conspicuous figure in the age in which he lived; and likewise did much toward softening the rigor of the times and in diffusing among his countrymen the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Our earliest recollections of religious impressions are associated with the writings of Baxter, particularly his Saints' Everlasting Rest. It was, therefore, with no small gratification that we saw announced the work placed at the head of this article. There is, indeed, no period of English history more replete with incidents of an interesting character, or more prolific with important events, than the age in which Baxter flourished; and perhaps no one man in the religious world at that time stamped the image of his own mind on a great variety of subjects more impressively than he did. Active, conscientious, deeply religious, bold and fearless, acute and penetrating, he turned his attention to every subject which then agitated the public mind, and employed his pen in defence of whatever he considered important in the cause of civil and religious emancipation.

The tide of the reformation which ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of Protestant influence in the civil government—commencing

its flow in upon the kingdom during the reign of the haughty and libidinous Henry VIII., and advancing gradually and smoothly through the few days of Edward VI.—ebbing back again during the bigoted reign of "bloody Mary"—then rising higher with the elevation of Elizabeth to the throne of the Tudors—standing nearly still throughout the reign of James I. of England—and rather receding during the misrule of the first days of Charles I.—but contending with a strong counter current toward the end of his reign; which was checked by the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the commonwealth:—Amidst these contending fluxes and refluxes arose Richard Baxter out of the troubled waters. He was no indifferent spectator of the contending elements. And though baffled in his attempts to hush the tempest, which was still raging with violence, by the wand of his tongue and pen, his indefatigable efforts did much in tempering down the fury of the blast and calming the raging of the foaming billows.

It is indeed consoling to reflect that amidst so much turmoil and animosity as characterized that factious age—amidst such a vast variety of religious and political sects and opinions as sprung into existence during that period of strife and vexation,—such a man as Baxter should have been raised up—a man whose soul was elevated so far above the level of most of his cotemporaries, and who was equal to the task of grappling with all those jarring interests, and patiently enduring 'the contradiction of sinners against himself,' and of steering a steady course along the channel of truth and holy obedience.

The present work consists of two octavo volumes, the first of which is devoted chiefly to a narration of the events of Baxter's life, and the second to a review of his voluminous writings. The narration embraces a great variety of events in which Baxter had less or more to do, the details of which, in the volume before us, are very instructive and interesting.

It seems that Richard Baxter was born on the 12th of November, in the year 1615, in Rowton, near High-Ercall, where he spent the first ten years of his life with his grandfather. The following account of the parish in which Baxter was born and educated will show the low and degraded state of religion at that time, and teach us how highly we ought to prize the privileges which we now enjoy:—

'There was little preaching of any kind, and that little was calculated to injure, rather than to benefit. In High-Ercall, there were four readers in the course of six years; all of them ignorant, and two of them immoral men. At Eaton-Constantine, there was a reader of eighty years of age, Sir William Rogers, who never preached; yet he had two livings, twenty miles apart from each other. His sight failing, he repeated the prayers without book, but to read the lessons, he employed a common laborer one year, a tailor another; and, at last, his

own son, the best stage player and gamester in all the country, got orders and supplied one of his places. Within a few miles round were nearly a dozen more ministers of the same description: poor, ignorant readers, and most of them of dissolute lives. Three or four, who were of a different character, though all conformists, were the objects of popular derision and hatred, as puritans. When such was the character of the priests, we need not wonder that the people were profligate, and despisers of them that were good. The greater part of the Lord's day was spent by the inhabitants of the village in dancing round a maypole, near Mr. Baxter's door, to the no small distress and disturbance of the family.' (p. 10.)

Notwithstanding the general prevalence of this sort of profligacy among almost all orders of people, it appears that the father of young Baxter was religious, and that from him Richard received his first religious convictions which, though he was addicted to those vices so incident to youth, made lasting impressions upon his young and flexible mind. But the following account of his education will reflect no credit on the age in which he lived, much less on those to whom such an important charge was committed :—

'His early education was very imperfectly conducted. From six to ten years of age, he was under the four successive curates of the parish, two of whom never preached, and the two who had the most learning of the four drank themselves to beggary, and then left the place. At the age of ten he was removed to his father's house, where Sir William Rogers, the old blind man of whom we have already spoken, was parson. One of his curates, who succeeded a person who was driven away on being discovered to have officiated under forged orders, was Baxter's principal schoolmaster. This man had been a lawyer's clerk, but hard drinking drove him from that profession, and he turned curate for a piece of bread. He only preached once in Baxter's time, and then was drunk! From such men what instruction could be expected? How dismal must the state of the country have been, when they could be tolerated either as ministers or teachers. His next instructor, who loved him much, he tells us was a grave and eminent man, and expected to be made a bishop. He also, however, disappointed him; for during no less than two years, he never instructed him one hour; but spent his time, for the most part, in talking against the factious puritans. In his study, he remembered to have seen no Greek book but the New Testament; the only father was Augustine de Civitate Dei; there were a few common modern English works, and for the most of the year, the parson studied Bishop Andrew's Sermons.' (p. 11.)

Baxter was afterward put under the tuition of Mr. John Owen, master of the free school at Wroxeter, of whom he speaks very respectfully; but his education on the whole was much neglected through the culpable carelessness of those to whom it was committed. Hence says his biographer :—

'Considering the great neglect of suitable and regular instruction,

both secular and religious, which Baxter experienced in his youth, it is wonderful that he ever rose to eminence. Such disadvantages are very rarely altogether conquered. But the strength of his genius, the ardor of his mind, and the power of his religious principles, compensated for minor defects, subdued every difficulty, and bore down with irresistible energy every obstacle that had been placed in his way. As the progress of his religious character is of more importance than that of his learning, it is gratifying that we are able to trace it very minutely.

The convictions of his childhood were powerfully revived when about fifteen years of age, by reading an old torn book, lent by a poor man to his father. This little work was called "Bunny's Resolution," being written by a jesuit of the name of Parsons, but corrected by Edmund Bunny. Previously to this he had never experienced any real change of heart, though he had a sort of general love for religion. But it pleased God to awaken his soul, to show him the folly of sinning, the misery of the wicked, and the inexpressible importance of eternal things. His convictions were now attended with illumination of mind, and deep seriousness of heart. His conscience distressed him, led him to much prayer, and to form many resolutions; but whether the good work was then begun, or only revived, he never could satisfactorily ascertain. This is a circumstance of little importance. Regeneration can take place but once, but more conversions than one are required in many an individual's life. If we are assured that the great change has really been effected, the time and circumstances in which it occurs are of small moment.

Another work, which was very useful to him at this time, is better known; "The Bruised Reed," by Dr. Richard Sibbs; a book which has passed through many editions, and has been honored to do good to many. Here he discovered more clearly the nature of the love of God, and of the redemption of Christ; and was led to perceive how much he was indebted to the Redeemer. Till these things are understood, and their influence felt, no man can be considered as converted. The works of Perkins "On Repentance," on "Living and Dying well," and "On the Government of the Tongue," also contributed to instruct and improve him. Thus by means of books, rather than of living instruments, God was pleased to lead him to Himself. His connections with men tended to injure and to stumble him rather than to do him good. Among the things he mentions which had no tendency to promote his spiritual profit, was his confirmation by Bishop Morton, to whom he went when about fourteen, with the rest of the boys. He asked no questions, required no certificate, and hastily said, as he passed on, three or four words of a prayer, which Baxter did not understand. The careless observance of the forms of religion, whether these forms be of human or Divine ordination, is never defensible: and must always have a hardening effect on the mind.' (pp. 12, 13.)

As he was early led to turn his thoughts to the Christian ministry, he directed his attention to that course of study which should best qualify him for this holy work. The following account of those early studies, and of the defectiveness of his general education, will be read with lively interest:—

In consequence of these things, divinity was not merely carried on with the rest of his studies,—it had always the first and chief place. He was led to study practical theology in the first place, in the most practical books, and in a practical order. He did this for the purpose of instructing and reforming his own soul. He read a multitude of the best English theological works, before he read any foreign systems of divinity. Thus his affections were excited, while his judgment was informed; and having his own benefit chiefly in view, he pursued all his studies with the greater ardor and profit. It is matter of regret that theology is often studied more with a view to the benefit of others than of the student himself. It is pursued as a profession, rather than as belonging to personal character and enjoyment. Hence it frequently produces a pernicious instead of a salutary effect on the mind, and debases rather than elevates the character. Familiarity with Divine things, which does not arise from personal interest in them, is to be dreaded more than most evils to which man is liable.

The broken state of his health, the irregularity of his teachers, and his never being at any university, materially injured his learning and occasioned lasting regrets. He never acquired any great knowledge of the learned languages. Of Hebrew he scarcely knew any thing; his acquaintance with Greek was not profound; and even in Latin, as his works show, he must be regarded by a scholar as little better than a barbarian. Of mathematics he knew nothing, and never had a taste for them. Of logic and metaphysics he was a devoted admirer, and to them he dedicated his labor and his delight. Definitions and distinctions were in a manner his occupation; the *quod sit*, the *quid sit*, and *quotuplex—modes*, *consequences*, and *adjuncts*, were his vocabulary. He never thought he understood any thing till he could anatomize it, and see the parts distinctly; and, certainly, very few have handled the knife more dexterously, or to so great an extent. His love of the niceties of metaphysical disquisition plunged him very early into the study of controversial divinity. The schoolmen were the objects of his admiration; Aquinas, Scotus, Durandus, Ockham, and their disciples, were the teachers from whom he acquired no small portion of that acuteness for which he became so distinguished as a disputer, and of that logomachy by which most of his writings are more or less deformed.

Early education exerts a prodigious power over the future pursuits and habits of the individual. Its imperfections or peculiarities will generally appear, if he attempt to make any figure in the scientific or literary world. The advantages of a university or academical education will never be despised except by him who never enjoyed them, or who affects to be superior to their necessity. It cannot be denied, however, that some of our most eminent men in the walks of theology, as well as in other departments, never enjoyed these early advantages. The celebrated Erasmus, "that great honored name," and Julius Cæsar Scaliger, had neither of them the benefit of a regular early education. As theological writers, few men, among our own countrymen, have been more useful or respected than Andrew Fuller, Abraham Booth, and Archibald Maclean, yet none of them received much education in his youth. Dr. Carey is a prodigy, as an oriental scholar,

and yet never was twelve months at school in his life. Among these and many other men of eminence, who never walked an academic porch, Richard Baxter holds a prominent place. In answer to a letter of Anthony Wood, inquiring whether he was an Oxonian, he replied, with beautiful and dignified simplicity,—"As to myself, my faults are no disgrace to any university, for I was of none; I have little but what I had out of books, and inconsiderable helps of country tutors. Weakness and pain helped me to study how to die; that set me on studying how to live; and that on studying the doctrine from which I must fetch my motives and comforts: beginning with necessities, I proceeded by degrees, and now am going to see that for which I have lived and studied."

Academical education is valuable, when it excites a taste for learning, sharpens the natural powers, and smooths the path of knowledge; but when it is substituted in after life for diligent application, and is supposed to supply the lack of genius or industry, it renders comparatively little service to its possessor. Those who have not enjoyed it, frequently make up the deficiency by the greater ardor of their application, and the powerful energy of natural talent. This was eminently the case with Baxter. Conscious of the imperfections of his early education, he applied himself with indefatigable diligence; and though he never attained to the elegant refinements of classical literature, in all the substantial attainments of sound learning he excelled most of his cotemporaries. The regrets which he felt at an early period, that his scholarship was not more eminent, he has expressed with a great degree of feeling, if not with the highest poetical elegance.

"Thy methods cross'd my ways: my young desire
To academic glory did aspire.
Fain I'd have sat in such a nurse's lap,
Where I might long have had a sluggard's nap;
Or have been dandled on her reverend knees,
And known by honored titles and degrees;
And there have spent the flower of my days
In soaring in the air of human praise.
Yea, and I thought it needful to *thy* ends,
To make the prejudiced world my friends;
That *so my praise* might go before *thy grace*,
Preparing men thy message to embrace;
Also my work and office to adorn,
And to avoid profane contempt and scorn.
But these were not thy thoughts; thou didst foresee
That such a course would not be best for me,
Thou mad'st me know that men's contempt and scorn
Is such a cross as must be daily borne."

Referring to what had once been his feelings, he expresses himself with great indignation, and then gives utterance to the high satisfaction he felt in the enjoyments God had bestowed on him—better far than titles and learning.

"My youthful pride and folly now I see,
That grudged for want of titles and degree;
That blush'd with shame when this defect was known;
And an inglorious name could hardly own.
Forgive this pride, and break the serpent's brain;
Pluck up the poisonous root till none remain.

Honors are shadows, which from seekers fly,
But follow after those who them deny.
I brought none with me to thy work; but there
I found more than I easily could bear:
Although thou would'st not give me what I would,
Thou gavest me the promis'd hundred fold.
O my dear God! how precious is thy love!
Thy ways, not ours, lead to the joys above." ' (pp. 15-17.)

After contending with a variety of difficulties, overcoming some scruples of conscience respecting the terms of subscription, and furnishing himself with the needful information, Baxter was ordained a minister of the establishment, by Bishop Thornborough, in the year 1638, and at the same time received a license to teach, as head master, the school at Dudley, a situation which afforded him opportunities of preaching to perishing sinners.

Soon after he commenced his ministry, Baxter turned his attention to the interesting but perplexing controversy which so long agitated the Church of England, respecting conformity and nonconformity; and though he was satisfied that episcopacy did exist in the primitive Church, yet he could by no means identify the Scriptural episcopacy with that which was established in England, nor reconcile to his judgment and conscience, the high-handed measures and the pompous display which were exhibited in the conduct of the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Church. And although we cannot justify all the scruples of his mind and the minds of those who acted with him in this perplexing and long-continued controversy, we cannot but admire the flexibility of his mind in yielding to convictions, and the honesty of his intentions in searching after the truth. Instead, however, of pertinaciously adhering to a party, and vindicating them in all their little scruples about kneeling at the sacrament, administering in a surplice, and using a form of prayer, Baxter seems to have attempted to steer a middle course between the contending parties; and he often threw himself into the breach with a view to arrest the onsets of the furious champions on both sides; by which means he was frequently exposed to the raking fire of each contending party. The weight of his influence, however, was always preponderating on the side of the nonconformists.

The first thing which gave him any considerable trial, and which brought him into the most direct collision with the government of his country so as to provoke open hostility, was the *Et-cætera* oath. This formed a part of certain canons or constitutions enacted by a convocation held in London and York in the year 1640. In this famous oath was the following absurd clause:—'Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, &c, as it stands now established and

ought to stand.' This oath, which completely debarred any farther reformation in the Church and all improvement in any of its rites or ceremonies, liturgy or canons, was ordered to be taken by all ecclesiastical persons on pain of suspension and deprivation.

After hearing the subject debated by able men on both sides, in which he took an active part himself, Baxter came to the resolution never to take this oath, and also to a determination more thoroughly to examine the nature of that government which could impose such unreasonable restrictions upon the consciences of the people, the pressure of which he began so sensibly to feel. The resistance which was made to this oath and other things enjoined by the ritual of the Church of England, caused much individual suffering, by fines, confiscations, and imprisonments, and Baxter himself did not wholly escape the rage of his enemies.

In 1641 he accepted of an invitation from the inhabitants of Kidderminster to become their pastor, for whom he contracted the strongest and most tender attachment, and which continued through the whole course of his active and eventful life. This attachment he expressed in the following lines, which he wrote several years after his residence among them :—

'But among all, none did so much abound
With fruitful mercies, as that barren ground,
Where I did make my best and longest stay,
And bore the heat and burden of the day.
Mercies grew thicker there than summer flowers,
They over-numbered my days and hours.
There was my dearest flock and special charge,
Our hearts with mutual love Thou didst enlarge:
'Twas there Thy mercy did my labors bless,
With the most great and wonderful success.'

He continued his pastoral labors in this place about two years, when the civil wars compelled him to separate himself for several years from the people he so tenderly loved. The following is Baxter's description of the state of things at the commencement of those civil commotions which overthrew the monarchy of England, and eventuated in the establishment of the commonwealth in the hands of Cromwell :—

'Where I was bred, before 1640, which was in divers places, I knew not one Presbyterian clergyman or layman, and but three or four nonconforming ministers. Till Mr. Ball wrote in favor of the liturgy, and against Canne, Allen, &c, and till Mr. Burton published his "Protestation Protested," I never thought what presbytery or independency was, nor ever spake with a man who seemed to know it. In the place where I first lived, and the country about, the people were of two sorts. The generality seemed to mind nothing seriously, but the body and the world : they went to church, and could answer the parson in responses, and thence to dinner, and then to play. They never prayed in their families ; but some of them, on going to bed, would say over

the creed and the Lord's prayer, and some of them the Hail Mary. They read not the Scriptures, nor any good book or catechism: few of them indeed could read, or had a Bible. They were of two ranks; the greater part were good husbands, as they called them, and minded nothing but their business or interest in the world: the rest were drunkards. Most were swearers, though they were not all equally gross; both sorts seemed utter strangers to any more of religion than I have named, though some hated it more than others.

The other sort were such as had their consciences awakened to some regard for God and their everlasting state, and, according to the various measures of their understanding, did speak and live as serious in the Christian faith, and would inquire what was duty, and what was sin, and how to please God and make sure of salvation; and make this their business and interest, as the rest did the world. They read the Scriptures, and such books as "The Practice of Piety," "Dent's Plain Man's Pathway," and "Dodd on the Commandments," &c. They used to pray in their families, and alone; some with the book, and some without. They would not swear, nor curse, nor take God's name lightly. They would go to the next parish church to hear a sermon when they had none at their own; and would read the Scriptures on the Lord's day, when others were playing. There were, where I lived, about the number of two or three families in twenty, which, by the rest were called puritans, and derided as hypocrites and precisians, that would take on them to be holy; yet hardly one, if any, of them ever scrupled conformity; and they were godly, conformable ministers whom they went from home to hear. These ministers being the ablest preachers, and men of serious piety, were also the objects of vulgar obloquy, as puritans and precisians.

This being the condition of the vulgar where I was, when I came into the acquaintance of many persons of honor, and power, and reputed learning, I found the same seriousness in religion as in some few before described, and the same daily scorn of that sort of men in others, but differently clothed; for these would talk more bitterly, but yet with a greater show of reason, against the other, than the ignorant country people did. They would, also, sometimes talk of certain opinions in religion, and some of them would use part of the common prayer in their houses; others of them would swear, though seldom, and these small oaths, and lived soberly and civilly. But serious talk of God or godliness, or that which tended to search and reform the heart and life, and prepare for the life to come, they would at least be very averse to hear, if not deride as puritanical.

This being the fundamental division, some of those who were called puritans and hypocrites, for not being hypocrites, but serious in the religion they professed, would sometimes get together; and, as drunkards and sporters would meet to drink and play, they would, in some very few places where there were many of them, meet after sermon on the Lord's days, to repeat the sermon, and sing a psalm, and pray. For this, and for going from their own parish churches, they were first envied by the readers and dry teachers, whom they sometimes went from, and next prosecuted by apparitors, officials, archdeacons, commissaries, chancellors, and other episcopal instruments. In former

times there had been divers Presbyterian nonconformists, who earnestly pleaded for parish discipline: to subdue whom, divers canons were made, which served the turn against these meetings of the conformable puritans, and against going from their own parish churches, though the old Presbyterians were dead, and very few succeeded them. About as many nonconformists as counties were left; and those few stuck most at subscription and ceremonies, which were the hinderance of their ministry, and but few of them studied, or understood, the Presbyterian or Independent, disciplinary causes.

But when these conformable puritans were thus prosecuted, it bred in them hard thoughts of bishops and their courts, as enemies to serious piety, and persecutors of that which they should promote. Suffering induced this opinion and aversion; and the ungodly rabble rejoiced at their troubles, and applauded the bishops for it, and were every where ready to set the apparitors on them, or to ask them, "Are you holier and wiser than the bishops?" So that by this time the puritans took the bishops to be captains; and the chancellors, archdeacons, commissaries, officials, and apparitors, their officers, and the enemies of serious godliness; and the vicious rabble to be as their army to suppress true conscientious obedience to God, and care of men's salvation. The censured clergy and officers, on the other hand, took the censurers to be schismatics, and enemies to the Church, unfit to be endured, and fit to be prosecuted with reproach and punishment; so that the said puritans took it to be but the common enmity that, since Cain's days, hath been in the world, between the serpent's and the woman's seed. When the persons of bishops, chancellors, officials, apparitors, &c. were come under such repute, it is easy to believe what would be said against their office. And the more the bishops thought to cure this by punishment, the more they increased the opinion that they were persecuting enemies of godliness, and the captains of the profane.

When such sinful beginnings had prepared men, the civil contentions arising, those called puritans, were mostly against that side to which they saw the bishops and their neighbors enemies. And they were for their punishment the more, because it seemed desirable to reform the bishops, and restore the liberty of those whom they prosecuted for the manner of their serving God. Yet they desired, wherever I was, to have lived peaceably at home; but the drunkards and rabble that formerly hated them, when they saw the war beginning, grew enraged: for if a man did but pray and sing a psalm in his house, they would cry, "Down with the Roundheads!" (a word then new made for them,) and put them in fear of sudden violence. Afterward they brought the king's soldiers to plunder them of their goods, which made them fain to run into holes to hide their persons: and when their goods were gone, and their lives in continual danger, they were forced to fly for food and shelter. To go among those that hated them, they durst not, when they could not dwell among such at home. And thus thousands ran into the parliament's garrisons, and, having nothing there to live upon, became soldiers.' (pp. 33–36.)

The elements of which society was composed at that time were such that nothing short of a civil convulsion could have been apprehended

by those who carefully watched the 'signs of the times.' The king and his party adhered to the system of episcopacy as established by law, with all those obnoxious features which were so offensive to the taste and judgment of truly enlightened Christians. On the other hand, the Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, and various other sectarists, all just emerging from the darkness and despotism of popery, seeing the Episcopal Church leagued with monarchy, by which it was protected and supported, waged a war against both with a perseverance urged on by an implacable hatred—a hatred engendered by various oppressions and persecutions—until they succeeded in prostrating the throne and nearly extirpating episcopacy from the land.

Baxter was a friend to the monarchy. He likewise believed in episcopacy, provided it could be so modified as to be identified with the civil and religious rights of the people. But he also sided from principle and conscience with the puritans, while he disapproved of the Presbyterians, the Anabaptists, and Quakers. In a word, he chose and acted for himself, guided by a laborious and conscientious research into the records of the Church as it existed in the primitive days of Christianity. This threw him into a position in which he was compelled to receive the blows of each opposing party. He vainly thought he could successfully repel the onsets of all, and reconcile them together. Vain thought indeed! How erroneously did he estimate the strength of human passions, the pride of opinion, the obstinacy of sectarian jealousy, and the insatiable character of ambition, as well as the little that conscience and judgment had to do in regulating and adjusting the jarring sentiments and interests of that turbulent period! His pious labors, however, were not lost. For though he found the strength of his adversaries an overmatch for the potency of his arm, his efforts tended in some measure to check the fury of headlong zealots, and posterity have appreciated his labors, and profited by the tears, the prayers, and the writings of Richard Baxter, the son of peace. Let none therefore despair, however fruitless their efforts may be for the present. 'In due time they shall reap, if they faint not.'

But though Baxter felt the principle of loyalty in his heart, such were the corruptions which surrounded the king and his profligate court; and such the unchristian conduct of most of the prelates who rallied around the throne, that he sided with the parliament as the least of two evils, and as being more likely to subserve the general interests of religion and the cause of liberty and humanity. He accordingly attached himself to the parliament, in which were found a number of distinguished individuals no less eminent for their civil virtues than they were for their religious principles and literary attainments. With a view also of diffusing among the soldiers correct religious and civil

principles, Baxter entered the army, not as a combatant, but as a minister of Jesus Christ. His account of his disputes with the various sects which composed Cromwell's army is curious in itself, and affords a striking evidence of the enthusiasm of the times, as well as the vain hope of introducing into such discordant materials any thing like uniformity in religious sentiment, or even of regularity in Christian conduct. We admire, indeed, the motive which induced the pious and indefatigable Baxter to embark in such a hazardous enterprise, as well as the zeal and fidelity with which he executed his high trust as an ambassador of Jesus Christ; but we at the same time have additional evidence of the tenacity with which the human mind, especially when ignorance and fanaticism hold dominion over it, will cleave to a favorite theory, however absurd and ridiculous it may be in the estimation of common sense. We give the following extract from Baxter's own account of his reasons for entering the army and of his employment while there:—

'Naseby being not far from Coventry, where I was, and the noise of the victory being loud in our ears, and I having two or three who had been my intimate friends in Cromwell's army, whom I had not seen for above two years, I was desirous of seeing whether they were dead or alive; so to Naseby field I went two days after the fight, and thence by the army's quarters before Leicester, to seek my acquaintance. When I found them, I stayed with them a night; and understood from them the state of the army much better than ever I had done before. We that lived quietly in Coventry kept to our old principles, and thought all others had done so too. Except a very few inconsiderable persons, we were unfeignedly for king and parliament; we believed that the war was only to save the parliament and kingdom from papists and delinquents, and to remove the dividers, that the king might again return to his parliament; and that no changes might be made in religion, but by the laws which had his free consent. We took the true happiness of king and people, Church and state, to be our end, and so we understood the covenant, engaging both against papists and schismatics; and when the court news-book told the world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our armies, we thought it had been a mere lie, because it was not so with us, nor in any of the garrisons or county forces about us. But when I came to the army, among Cromwell's soldiers, I found a new face of things which I never dreamt of; I heard the plotting heads very hot upon that which intimated their intention to subvert both Church and state. Independency and Anabaptistry were more prevalent; Antinomianism and Arminianism were equally distributed; and Thomas Moor's followers (a weaver of Wisbitch and Lynn, of excellent parts) had made some shifts to join these two extremes together.

Abundance of the common troopers, and many of the officers, I found to be honest, sober, orthodox men; others were tractable, ready to hear the truth, and of upright intentions. But a few proud, self-conceited, hot-headed sectaries had got into the highest places, and were Crom-

well's chief favorites; and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them. These were the soul of the army, though much fewer in number than the rest, being indeed not one to twenty in it; their strength being in the generals, in Whalley's and in Rich's regiments of horse, and among the new-placed officers in many of the rest.

I perceived that they took the king for a tyrant and an enemy, and really intended absolutely to master him or to ruin him. They thought if they might fight against him, they might also kill or conquer him; and if they might conquer, they were never more to trust him farther than he was in their power. They thought it folly to irritate him either by war or contradiction in parliament, if so be they must needs take him for their king, and trust him with their lives when they had thus displeased him. "What were the lords of England," said they, "but William the conqueror's colonels; or the barons, but his majors; or the knights, but his captains!" They plainly showed that they thought God's providence would cast the trust of religion and the kingdom upon them as conquerors; they made nothing of all the most wise and godly in the armies and garrisons, that were not of their way. *Per fas aut nefas*, By law or without it, they were resolved to take down, not only bishops, and liturgy, and ceremonies, but all who did withstand them. They were far from thinking of a moderate episcopacy, or of any healing method between the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians; they most honored the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians; but Cromwell and his council took on them to join themselves to no party, but to be for the liberty of all. Two sorts, I perceived, they did so commonly and bitterly speak against, that it was done in mere design, to make them odious to the soldiers, and to all the land; and these were the Scots, and with them all Presbyterians, but especially the ministers; whom they called priests, and priestbyters, dryvines, and the dissemblymen, and such like. The committees of the several counties, and all the soldiers that were under them, that were not of their mind and way, were the other objects of their displeasure. Some orthodox captains of the army partly acquainted me with all this, and I heard much of it from the mouths of the leading sectaries themselves. This struck me to the very heart, and made me fear that England was lost by those that it had taken for its chief friends.

Upon this I began to blame other ministers and myself. I saw that it was the ministers that had lost all, by forsaking the army, and betaking themselves to an easier and quicter way of life. When the earl of Essex went out first, each regiment had an able preacher; but at Edghill fight, almost all of them went home; and as the sectaries increased, they were the more averse to go into the army. It is true, I believe now, that they had little invitation; and it is true, that they could look for little welcome, and great contempt and opposition, beside all other difficulties and dangers; but it is as true, that their worth and labor, in a patient, self-denying way, would probably have preserved most of the army, and have defeated the contrivances of the sectaries, saved the king, the parliament, and the land. And if it had brought reproach upon themselves from the malicious, who called them

Military Levites, the good which they had done would have wiped off that blot, much better than the contrary course would have done.

I reprehended myself also, who had before rejected an invitation from Cromwell, when he lay at Cambridge with that famous troop with which he began his army. His officers purposed to make their troop a gathered Church, and they all subscribed an invitation to me to be their pastor, and sent it me to Coventry. I sent them a denial, reproving their attempt, and told them wherein my judgment was against the lawfulness and convenience of their way, and so I heard no more from them; but afterward meeting Cromwell at Leicester, he expostulated with me for denying them. These very men, that then invited me to be their pastor, were the men that afterward headed much of the army, and some of them were the forwardest in all our changes; which made me wish that I had gone among them, however it had been interpreted; for then all the fire was in one spark.

When I had informed myself, to my sorrow, of the state of the army, Captain Evanson (one of my orthodox informers) desired me yet to come to their regiment, which was the most religious, most valiant, and most successful of all the army; but in as much danger as any one whatsoever. I was unwilling to leave my studies, and friends, and quietness, at Coventry, to go into an army so contrary to my judgment; but I thought the public good commanded me, and so I gave him some encouragement. Whereupon he told his colonel, (Whalley,) who also was orthodox in religion, but engaged by kindred and interest to Cromwell; who invited me to be chaplain to his regiment. I told him I would take but a day's time to deliberate, and would send him an answer or else come to him.

As soon as I came home to Coventry, I called together an assembly of ministers; Dr. Bryan, Dr. Grew, and many others. I told them the sad news of the corruption of the army, and that I thought all we had valued was likely to be endangered by them; seeing this army having first conquered at York, and now at Naseby, and having left the king no visible army but Goring's, the fate of the whole kingdom was likely to follow the disposition and interest of the conquerors. We had sworn to be true to the king and his heirs in the oath of allegiance. All our soldiers here think that the parliament is faithful to the king, and have no other purpose themselves. If the king and parliament, Church and state, be ruined by those men, and we look on and do nothing to hinder it, how are we true to our allegiance and to the covenant, which bindeth us to defend the king, and to be against schism, as well as against popery and profaneness? For my part, said I, I know that my body is so weak, that it is likely to hazard my life to be among them; I expect their fury should do little less than rid me out of the way; and I know one man cannot do much among them: but yet, if your judgment take it to be my duty, I will venture my life; perhaps some other minister may be drawn in, and then some more of the evil may be prevented.

The ministers finding my own judgment for it, and being moved with the cause, did unanimously give their judgment for my going.—Hereupon, I went straight to the committee, and told them that I had an invitation to the army, and desired their consent to go. They con-

sulted awhile, and then left it wholly to the governor, saying, that if he consented they should not hinder me. It fell out that Colonel Barker, the governor, was just then to be turned out, as a member of parliament, by the self-denying vote. And one of his companions (Colonel Willoughby) was to be colonel and governor in his place. Hereupon Colonel Barker was content, in his discontent, that I should go out with him, that he might be missed the more; and so gave me his consent.

I then sent word to Colonel Whalley that to-morrow, God willing, I would come to him. As soon as this was done, the elected governor was much displeased; and the soldiers were so much offended with the committee for consenting to my going, that the committee all met again in the night, and sent for me, and told me I must not go. I told them that, by their consent, I had promised, and therefore must go. They told me that the soldiers were ready to mutiny against them, and they could not satisfy them, and therefore I must stay. I told them that I would not have promised, if they had not consented, though, being no soldier of chaplain to the garrison, but only preaching to them, I took myself to be a free man, and I could not break my word, when I had promised by their consent. They seemed to deny their consent, and said they only referred me to the governor. In a word, they were so angry with me, that I was fain to tell them all the truth of my motives and design, what a case I perceived the army to be in, and that I was resolved to do my best against it. I knew not, till afterward, that Colonel William Purefoy, a parliament man, one of the chief of them, was a confident of Cromwell's; and as soon as I had spoken what I did of the army, magisterially he answereth me, "Let me hear no more of that: if Nol Cromwell should hear any soldier but speak such a word, he would cleave his crown: you do them wrong. It is not so." I told him what he would not hear, he should not hear from me: but I would perform my word though he seemed to deny his. And so I parted with those that had been my very great friends, in some displeasure. The soldiers, however, threatened to stop the gates and keep me in; but, being honest, understanding men, I quickly satisfied the leaders of them by a private intimation of my reasons and resolutions, and some of them accompanied me on my way.

As soon as I came to the army, Oliver Cromwell coolly bade me welcome, and never spake one word to me more while I was there; nor once, all that time, vouchsafed me an opportunity to come to the head quarters, where the councils and meetings of the officers were; so that most of my design was thereby frustrated. His secretary gave out that there was a reformer come to the army to undeceive them, and to save Church and state, with some such other jeers; by which I perceived that all I had said the night before to the committee, had come to Cromwell before me, I believe by Colonel Purefoy's means: but Colonel Whalley welcomed me, and was the worse thought of for it by the rest of the cabal.

Here I set myself, from day to day, to find out the corruptions of the soldiers, and to discourse and dispute them out of their mistakes, both religious and political. My life among them was a daily contending against seducers, and gently arguing with the more tractable; but another kind of warfare I had than theirs.

I found that many honest men, of weak judgments and little acquaintance with such matters, had been seduced into a disputing vein, and made it too much of their religion to talk for this opinion and for that; sometimes for state democracy, and sometimes for Church democracy; sometimes against forms of prayer, and sometimes against infant baptism, which yet some of them did maintain; sometimes against set times of prayer, and against the tying of ourselves to any duty before the Spirit move us; and sometimes about free grace and free will, and all the points of Antinomianism and Arminianism. So that I was almost always, when I had opportunity, disputing with one or other of them; sometimes for our civil government, and sometimes for Church order and government; sometimes for infant baptism, and oft against Antinomianism, and the contrary extreme. But their most frequent and vehement disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it; that is, that the civil magistrate had nothing to do to determine any thing in matters of religion, by constraint or restraint; but every man might not only hold, but preach and do, in matters of religion, what he pleased: that the civil magistrate hath nothing to do but with civil things, to keep the peace, protect the Church's liberties, &c.

I found that one half almost, of the religious party among them, were such as were either orthodox, or but very slightly touched with heterodoxy; and almost another half were honest men, that stepped farther into the contending way than they could well get out of again, but who, with competent help, might be recovered. There were a few fiery, self-conceited men among them, who kindled the rest, and made all the noise and bustle, and carried about the army as they pleased: for the greatest part of the common soldiers, especially of the foot, were ignorant men, of little religion; abundance of them were such as had been taken prisoners, or turned out of garrisons under the king, and had been soldiers in his army. These would do any thing to please their officers, and were ready instruments for the seducers, especially in their great work, which was to cry down the covenant, to vilify all parish ministers, but especially the Scots and Presbyterians; for the most of the soldiers that I spoke with never took the covenant, because it tied them to defend the king's person, and to extirpate heresy and schism.

When I perceived that it was a few, then, who bore the bell, and did all the hurt among them, I acquainted myself with those men, and would be oft disputing with them, in the hearing of the rest. I found that they were men who had been in London, hatched up among the old separatists, and had made it all the matter of their study and religion to rail against ministers, parish Churches, and Presbyterians; and who had little other knowledge or discourse of any thing about the heart, or heaven. They were fierce with pride and self conceitedness, and had gotten a very great conquest over their charity, both to the Episcopalians and Presbyterians: whereas many of those honest soldiers who were tainted but with some doubts about liberty of conscience or Independency, were men who would discourse of the points of sanctification and Christian experience very seriously. I so far prevailed in opening the folly of these revilers and self-conceited men, as that some of them became the laughing stock of the soldiers before I left

them; and when they preached, for great preachers they were, their weakness exposed them to contempt. A great part of the mischief was done among the soldiers by pamphlets, which were abundantly dispersed, such as Overton, Martin Mar-Priest, and more of his; and some of J. Lilburn's, who was one of the preaching officers; and divers against the king, and against the ministry, and for liberty of conscience, &c. The soldiers being usually dispersed in quarters, they had such books to read, when they had none to contradict them.

But there was yet a more dangerous party than these among the soldiers, who took the direct jesuitical way. They first most vehemently declaimed against the doctrine of election, and for the power of free will, and all other points which are controverted between the Jesuits and Dominicans, the Arminians and Calvinists. They then as fiercely cried down our present translation of the Scriptures, and debased their authority, though they did not deny them to be Divine.—They cried down all our ministry, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Independent, and all our Churches. They vilified almost all our ordinary worship; they allowed of no argument from Scripture, but what was brought in its express words; they were vehement against both king and all government, except popular: and against magistrates meddling in matters of religion. All their disputing was with as much fierceness as if they had been ready to draw their swords upon those against whom they disputed. They trusted more to policy, scorn, and power, than to argument. They would bitterly scorn me among their hearers, to prejudice them before they entered into dispute. They avoided me as much as possible; but when we did come to it, they drowned all reason in fierceness, and vehemency, and multitude of words. They greatly strove for places of command; and when any place was due by order to another that was not of their mind, they would be sure to work him out, and be ready to mutiny if they had not their will. I thought they were principled by the Jesuits, and acted all for their interest, and in their way. But the secret spring was out of sight.—These were the same men that afterward were called *Levellers*, who rose up against Cromwell, and were surprised at Burford, having then deceived and drawn to them many more. Thompson, the general of the levellers, who was slain then, was no greater a man than one of the corporals of Bethel's troop; the cornet and others being much worse than he.' (pp. 46–53.)

Despairing of success in reforming the turbulent spirits which composed Cromwell's army, and being much reduced in his physical strength by reason of his excessive labors, privations, and mental anxiety, Baxter quitted the army, and returned to the bosom of his friends in Coventry. While here the celebrated Westminster assembly, who composed the famous confession of faith and catechism, which have given origin to such a long-continued and fiery controversy, was convened by order of the parliament. The following is Baxter's account of it:—

'This synod was not a convocation, according to the diocesan way of government; nor was it called by the votes of the ministers, ac-

cording to the Presbyterian way: for the parliament, not intending to call an assembly which should pretend to a divine right to make obligatory laws or canons, but an ecclesiastical council, to be advisers to itself, thought it best knew who were fittest to give advice, and therefore chose them all itself. Two were to be chosen from each county, though some counties had but one, that it might seem impartial, and give each party liberty to speak. Over and above this number, it chose many of the most learned Episcopal divines; as, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Holdsworth, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Wincop, Bishops Westfield and Prideaux, and many more; but they would not come, because the king declared himself against it. Dr. Featly, and a few more of that party, however, came; but at last he was charged with sending intelligence to the king, for which he was imprisoned. The divines there congregated were men of eminent learning, godliness, ministerial abilities, and fidelity: and being not worthy to be one of them myself, I may the more freely speak the truth, even in the face of malice and envy; that, as far as I am able to judge by the information of all history of that kind, and by any other evidences left us, the Christian world, since the days of the apostles, had never a synod of more excellent divines than this and the synod of Dort.

Yet, highly as I honor the men, I am not of their mind in every part of the government which they would have set up. Some words in their catechism, I wish had been more clear: and, above all, I wish that the parliament, and their more skilful hand, had done more than was done to heal our breaches, and had hit upon the right way, either to unite with the Episcopalians and Independents, or, at least, had pitched on the terms that are fit for universal concord, and left all to come in upon those terms that would.' (pp. 67, 68.)

After lingering some time under great debility, he accepted the pressing invitation of the people at Kidderminster to return among them as their pastor.

After a description of the general state of things in Kidderminster, he gives the following account of the manner in which they were instructed in religious things, which, if it may be considered as characteristic of those times generally in the Church, affords a melancholy spectacle of the state of religion. After speaking of the old vicar as being altogether unqualified for the sacred duties of his office, Baxter says:

'Beside this ignorant vicar, there was a chapel in the parish, where was an old curate as ignorant as he, that had long lived upon ten pounds a year and the fees of celebrating unlawful marriages. He was also a drunkard and a railer, and the scorn of the country. I knew not how to keep him from reading, though I judged it a sin to tolerate him in any sacred office. I got an augmentation for the place, and an honest preacher to instruct them, and let this scandalous fellow keep his former stipend of ten pounds for nothing; yet could never keep him from forcing himself upon the people to read, nor from celebrating unlawful marriages, till a little before death did call him to his account. I have examined him about the familiar points of religion; and he could not say half so much to me as I have heard a child say.

These two in this parish were not all: in one of the next parishes, called "The Rock," there were two chapels, where the poor ignorant curate of one got his living by cutting faggots, and the other by making ropes. Their abilities being answerable to their studies and employments.' (pp. 95, 96.)

That Baxter should have contributed in any measure to reform such manifest abuses in the Church, to raise the tone of piety among the people, and to elevate the clerical character, is matter of sincere congratulation among the real friends of pure religion, and affords motives of encouragement to all devoted servants of Christ to persevere in their work, with whatever discouragements they may meet. We now look back with amazement to that stormy period when the principles of civil and religious liberty were so little understood, and much less acted upon, and when the tone of true piety was at so low a pitch as to sanction such unchristian proceedings in the Christian Church; but we look also with gratitude to God, and with religious veneration to the men who were the happy and honored instruments of setting the ball of reformation in motion which is still rolling on and producing its appropriate results. That we may perceive the means which were used by Baxter for the production of this moral revolution, and thereby be led duly to appreciate the blessing which God conferred on His Church through Baxter's instrumentality, we give his own account of the manner in which he labored, and the success of his efforts :—

'I shall next record, to the praise of my Redeemer, the comfortable employment and success which he vouchsafed me during my abode at Kidderminster, under all these weaknesses. And 1. I will mention my employment. 2. My successes. And 3. Those advantages by which, under God, they were procured.

Before the wars, I preached twice each Lord's day; but after the war, but once, and once every Thursday, beside occasional sermons. Every Thursday evening, my neighbors who were most desirous, and had opportunity, met at my house, and there one of them repeated the sermon; afterward they proposed what doubts any of them had about the sermon, or any other case of conscience; and I resolved their doubts. Last of all, I caused sometimes one and sometimes another of them to pray, to exercise them; and sometimes I prayed with them myself: which, beside singing a psalm, was all they did. Once a week, also, some of the younger sort, who were not fit to pray in so great an assembly, met among a few more privately, where they spent three hours in prayer together. Every Saturday night, they met at some of their houses, to repeat the sermon of the former Lord's day, and to pray and prepare themselves for the following day. Once in a few weeks, we had a day of humiliation on one occasion or other.—Every religious woman that was safely delivered, instead of the old feastings and gossippings, if she was able, did keep a day of thanksgiving with some of her neighbors, with them praising God, and singing psalms, and soberly feasting together. Two days every week, my

assistant and myself took fourteen families between us, for private catechising and conference; he going through the parish, and the town coming to me. I first heard them recite the words of the catechism, and then examined them about the sense; and, lastly, urged them, with all possible engaging reason and vehemency, to answerable affection and practice. If any of them were stalled through ignorance or bashfulness, I forbore to press them any farther to answers, but made them hearers, and either examined others, or turned all into instruction and exhortation. I spent about an hour with each family, and admitted no others to be present; lest bashfulness should make it burthensome, or any should talk of the weaknesses of others: so that all the afternoons on Mondays and Tuesdays I spent in this way, after I had begun it, (for it was many years before I did attempt it,) and my assistant spent the morning of the same day in the same employment.—Before that, I only catechised them in the church, and conferred occasionally with an individual.

Beside all this, I was forced, five or six years, by the people's necessity, to practise physic. A common pleurisy happening one year, and no physician being near, I was forced to advise them to save their lives; and I could not afterward avoid the importunity of the town and country round about. Because I never once took a penny of any one, I was crowded with patients; so that almost twenty would be at my door at once: and though God, by more success than I expected, so long encouraged me, yet, at last, I could endure it no longer; partly because it hindered my other studies, and partly because the very fear of miscuring and doing any one harm, did make it an intolerable burden to me. So that, after some years' practice, I procured a godly diligent physician to come and live in the town, and bound myself, by promise, to practise no more, unless in consultation with him, in case of any seeming necessity; and so with that answer I turned them all off, and never meddled with it again.

But all these my labors, (except my private conference with the families,) even preaching and preparing for it, were but my recreation, and, as it were, the work of my spare hours; for my writings were my chief daily labor; which yet went the more slowly on, that I never one hour had an amanuensis to dictate to, and especially because my weakness took up so much of my time. All the pains that my infirmities ever brought upon me, were never half so grievous an affliction as the unavoidable loss of time which they occasioned. I could not bear, through the weakness of my stomach, to rise before seven o'clock in the morning, and afterward not till much later; and some infirmities I labored under, made it above an hour before I could be dressed. An hour, I must of necessity have to walk before dinner, and another before supper; and after supper I could seldom study: all which, beside times of family duties, and prayer, and eating, &c, left me but little time to study: which hath been the greatest external personal affliction of all my life.

Every first Wednesday in the month was our monthly meeting for parish discipline; and every first Thursday of the month, was the ministers' meeting for discipline and disputation. In those disputations it fell to my lot to be almost constant moderator; and for every such

day, I usually prepared a written determination; all which I mention as my mercies and delights, and not as my burdens. Every Thursday, beside, I had the company of divers godly ministers at my house, after the lecture, with whom I spent that afternoon in the truest recreation, till my neighbors came to meet for their exercise of repetition and prayer.

For ever blessed be the God of my mercies, who brought me from the grave, and gave me, after wars and sickness, fourteen years' liberty in such sweet employment! How strange that, in times of usurpation, I had all this mercy and happy freedom; when under our rightful king and governor, I, and many hundreds more, are silenced and laid by as broken vessels, and suspected and vilified as scarce to be tolerated to live privately and quietly in the land! How mysterious, that God should make days of licentiousness and disorder under an usurper so great a mercy to me, and many a thousand more, who under the lawful governors which they desired, and in the days when order is said to be restored, do sit in obscurity and unprofitable silence, or lie in prisons; while all of us are accounted as the scum and sweepings, or offscourings of the earth.

I have mentioned my secret and acceptable employment; let me, to the praise of my gracious Lord, acquaint you with some of my success; and I will not suppress it, though I foreknow that the malignant will impute the mention of it to pride and ostentation. For it is the sacrifice of thanksgiving which I owe to my most gracious God, which I will not deny him, for fear of being censured as proud; lest I prove myself proud, indeed, while I cannot undergo the imputation of pride in the performance of my thanks for such undeserved mercies.

My public preaching met with an attentive, diligent auditory.—Having broke over the brunt of the opposition of the rabble before the wars, I found them afterward tractable and unprejudiced. Before I entered into the ministry, God blessed my private conference to the conversion of some, who remain firm and eminent in holiness to this day: but then, and in the beginning of my ministry, I was wont to number them as jewels; but since then I could not keep any number of them. The congregation was usually full, so that we were fain to build five galleries after my coming thither; the church itself being very capacious, and the most commodious and convenient that ever I was in. Our private meetings, also, were full. On the Lord's days there was no disorder to be seen in the streets; but you might hear a hundred families singing psalms and repeating sermons as you passed through them. In a word, when I came thither first, there was about one family in a street that worshipped God and called on his name, and when I came away, there were some streets where there was not one poor family in the side that did not so; and that did not, by professing serious godliness, give us hopes of their sincerity. And in those families which were the worst, being inns and alehouses, usually some persons in each house did seem to be religious.

Though our administration of the Lord's Supper was so ordered as displeased many, and the far greater part kept away, we had six hundred that were communicants; of whom there were not twelve that I had not good hopes of as to their sincerity; those few who consented

to our communion, and yet lived scandalously, were excommunicated afterward. I hope there were also many who had the fear of God, that came not to our communion in the sacrament, some of them being kept off by husbands, by parents, by masters, and some dissuaded by men that differed from us. Those many that kept away, yet took it patiently, and did not revile us as doing them wrong: and those unruly young men who were excommunicated, bore it patiently as to their outward behavior, though their hearts were full of bitterness.

When I set upon personal conference with each family, and catechising them, there were very few families in all the town that refused to come; and those few were beggars at the town's ends, who were so ignorant, that they were ashamed it should be manifest. Few families went from me without some tears, or seemingly serious promises for a godly life. Yet many ignorant and ungodly persons there were still among us: but most of them were in the parish, and not in the town, and in those parts of the parish which were farthest from the town. And whereas one part of the parish was impropriate, and paid tithes to laymen, and the other part maintained the Church, a brook dividing them, it fell out that almost all that side of the parish which paid tithes to the Church, were godly, honest people, and did it willingly, without contestation, and most of the bad people of the parish lived on the other side. Some of the poor men did competently understand the body of divinity, and were able to judge in difficult controversies. Some of them were so able in prayer, that very few ministers did match them in order and fulness, and apt expressions, and holy oratory, with fervency. Abundance of them were able to pray very laudably with their families, or with others. The temper of their minds, and the innocency of their lives, were much more laudable than their parts. The professors of serious godliness were generally of very humble minds and carriage; of meek and quiet behavior unto others; and of blamelessness and innocency in their conversation.

God was pleased also to give me abundant encouragement in the lectures I preached about in other places; as at Worcester, Cleobury, &c, but especially at Dudley and Sheffnall. At the former of which, being the first place that ever I preached in, the poor nailers, and other laborers, would not only crowd the church as full as ever I saw any in London, but also hang upon the windows and the leads without.

In my poor endeavors with my brethren in the ministry, my labors were not lost; our disputations proved not unprofitable. Our meetings were never contentious, but always comfortable; we took great delight in the company of each other; so that I know that the remembrance of those days is pleasant both to them and me. When discouragements had long kept me from motioning a way of Church order and discipline, which all might agree in, that we might neither have Churches ungoverned, nor fall into divisions among ourselves, at the first mentioning of it, I found a readier consent than I could have expected, and all went on without any great obstructing difficulties.—When I attempted also to bring them all conjointly to the work of catechising and instructing every family by itself, I found a ready consent in most, and performance in many.

I must here, then, to the praise of my dear Redeemer, set up this pillar of remembrance, even to His praise who hath employed me so many years in so comfortable a work, with such encouraging success. O what am I, a worthless worm, not only wanting academical honors, but much of that furniture which is needful to so high a work, that God should thus abundantly encourage me, when the reverend instructers of my youth did labor fifty years together in one place, and could scarcely say they had converted one or two in their parishes! and the greater was the mercy, because I was naturally of a discouraged spirit; so that if I had preached one year, and seen no fruits of it, I should hardly have forborne running away, like Jonah; but should have thought that God called me not to that place.

Having related my comfortable success in this place, I shall next tell you by what and how many advantages this was effected, under that grace which worketh by means, though with a free diversity. I do it chiefly for their sakes who would know the means of other men's experiments in managing ignorant and sinful parishes.

One advantage was, that I came to a people who never had any awakening ministry before, but a few formal cold sermons from the curate; for if they had been hardened under a powerful ministry, and been sermon proof, I should have expected less.

I was then, also, in the vigor of my spirits, and had naturally a familiar moving voice, (which is a great matter with the common hearers,) and doing all in bodily weakness as a dying man, my soul was the more easily brought to seriousness, and to preach as a dying man to dying men. For drowsy formality and customariness doth but stupify the hearers, and rock them asleep. It must be serious preaching, which will make men serious in hearing and obeying it.

Another advantage was, that most of the bitter enemies of godliness in the town, who rose in tumults against me before, in their hatred of puritans, had gone out into the wars, into the king's armies, and were quickly killed, and few of them ever returned again; and so there were few to make any great opposition to godliness.

The change that was made in the public affairs also by the success of the wars, which, however it was done, and though much corrupted by the usurpers, was such as removed many and great impediments to men's salvation. Before, the rabble had boldness enough to make serious godliness a common scorn, and call them all puritans and precisians who cared not little for God, and heaven, and their souls, as they did; especially if a man was not fully satisfied with their undisciplined, disordered Churches, or lay-chancellor's excommunications, &c. Then, no name was bad enough for him; and the bishops' articles inquiring after such, and their courts, and the high commission grievously afflicting those who did but fast and pray together, or go from an ignorant, drunken reader, to hear a godly, able preacher at the next parish, kept religion among the vulgar under either continual reproach or terror; encouraging the rabble to despise and revile it, and discouraging those that else would own it. Experience telleth us that it is a lamentable impediment to men's conversion when it is a "way every where spoken against," and persecuted by superiors, which they must embrace; and when at their first approaches, they must go

through such dangers and obloquy as is fitter for confirmed Christians to be exercised with, than unconverted sinners or young beginners.—Though Cromwell gave liberty to all sects among us, and did not set up any party alone by force, yet this much gave abundant advantage to the Gospel, removing the prejudices and the terrors which hindered it; especially considering that godliness had countenance, and reputation also, as well as liberty. Whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it was the common way to shame and ruin. Hearing sermons abroad, when there were none or worse at home; fasting and praying together; the strict observation of the Lord's day, and such like, went under the dangerous name of puritanism, as much as opposing bishops and ceremonies.

I know you may now meet with men who confidently affirm that all religion was then trodden down, and heresy and schism were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages by the experience of this incredible age, that they take heed how they believe any, whoever they be, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions, against those that were their real or supposed adversaries.

For my part I bless God, who gave me, even under an usurper whom I opposed, such liberty and advantage to preach his Gospel with success, as I cannot have under a king to whom I have sworn and performed true subjection and obedience; yea, such as no age, since the Gospel came into this land, did before possess, as far as I can learn from history. I shall add this much more for the sake of posterity, that as much as I have said and written against licentiousness in religion, and for the magistrates' power in it; and though I think that land most happy whose rulers use their authority for Christ, as well as for the civil peace; yet, in comparison of the rest of the world, I shall think that land happy which hath but bare liberty to be as good as the people are willing to be. And if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and sects be but forced to keep the peace, and not to oppose the substantials of Christianity, I shall not hereafter much fear such toleration, nor despair that truth will bear down its adversaries.

Another advantage which I found, was the acceptation of my person among the people. Though, to win estimation and love to ourselves only, be an end that none but proud men and hypocrites intend, yet it is most certain that the gratefulness of the person doth ingratiate the message, and greatly prepareth the people to receive the truth. Had they taken me to be ignorant, erroneous, scandalous, worldly, self seeking, or such like, I could have expected small success among them.

Another advantage which I had, was the zeal and diligence of the godly people of the place. They thirsted after the salvation of their neighbors, and were in private my assistants, and being dispersed through the town, were ready in almost all companies to repress seducing words, and to justify godliness, convince, reprove, and exhort men according to their needs; as also to teach them how to pray; and to help them to sanctify the Lord's day. For those people who had none in their families who could pray, or repeat the sermons, went to their next neighbor's house who could do it, and joined with them; so

that some of the houses of the ablest men in each street, were filled with them that could do nothing, or little, in their own.

Their holy, humble, blameless lives were also a great advantage to me. The malicious people could not say, Your professors here are as proud and covetous as any; but the blameless lives of godly people did shame opposers, and put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, and many were won by their good conversation.

Our unity and concord were a great advantage to us; and our freedom from those sects and heresies, with which many other places were infected. We had no private church, and though we had private meetings we had not pastor against pastor, or church against church, or sect against sect, or Christian against Christian.

Our private meetings were a marvellous help to the propagating of godliness, for thereby, truths that slipped away, were recalled, and the seriousness of the people's minds renewed, and good desires cherished. Their knowledge, also, was much increased by them, and the younger sort learned to pray by frequently hearing others. I had also the opportunity of knowing their case; for if any were touched and awakened in public, I should frequently see them drop into our private meetings. Idle meetings and loss of time were greatly prevented; and so far were we from being by this in danger of schism, or divisions, that it was the principal means to prevent them: for here I was usually present with them, answering their doubts, silencing objections, and moderating them in all.

Another thing which advantaged us, was some public disputations which we had with gainsayers, which very much confirmed the people. The Quakers would fain have got entertainment, and set up a meeting in the town, and frequently railed at me in the congregation; but when I had once given them leave to meet in the church for a dispute, and, before the people, had opened their deceits and shame, none would entertain them more, nor did they get one proselyte among us.

Another advantage, was the great honesty and diligence of my assistants. Another was the presence and countenance of honest justices of peace, who ordinarily were godly men, and always such as would be thought so, and were ready to use their authority to suppress sin and promote goodness.

Another help to my success, was the small relief which my low estate enabled me to afford the poor; though the place was reckoned at near two hundred pounds per annum, there came but ninety pounds, and sometimes only eighty pounds to me. Beside which, some years I had sixty, or eighty pounds a year of the booksellers for my books: which little dispersed among them, much reconciled them to the doctrine that I taught. I took the aptest of their children from the school, and sent divers of them to the universities; where, for eight pounds a year, or ten at most, by the help of my friends, I maintained them.—Some of these are honest, able ministers, now cast out with their brethren; but, two or three, having no other way to live, turned great conformists, and are preachers now. In giving the little I had, I did not inquire whether they were good or bad, if they asked relief; for the bad had souls and bodies that needed charity most. And this truth I will speak to the encouragement of the charitable, that what little money

I have now by me, I got it almost all, I scarce know how, at that time when I gave most, and since I have had less opportunity of giving, I have had less increase.

Another furtherance of my work, was the books which I wrote, and gave away among them. Of some small books I gave each family one, which came to about eight hundred; and of the bigger, I gave fewer: and every family that was poor, and had not a Bible, I gave a Bible to. I had found myself the benefit of reading to be so great, that I could not but think it would be profitable to others.

It was a great advantage to me, that my neighbors were of such a trade, as allowed them time enough to read or talk of holy things.—For the town liveth upon the weaving of Kidderminster stuffs; and, as they stand in their looms, the men can set a book before them, or edify one another; whereas, ploughmen, and many others, are so wearied, or continually employed, either in the labors, or the cares of their callings, that it is a great impediment to their salvation. Freeholders and tradesmen are the strength of religion and civility in the land; and gentlemen, and beggars, and servile tenants, are the strength of iniquity. Though among these sorts, there are some also that are good and just, as among the other there are many bad. And their constant converse and traffic with London, doth much promote civility and piety among tradesmen.

I found also that my *single life* afforded me much advantage: for I could the easier take my people for my children, and think all that I had too little for them, in that I had no children of my own to tempt me to another way of using it. Being discharged from most of family cares, and keeping but one servant, I had the greater vacancy and liberty for the labors of my calling.

God made use of my practice of physic among them also as a very great advantage to my ministry; for they that cared not for their souls, did love their lives, and care for their bodies; and, by this, they were made almost as observant, as a tenant is of his landlord. Sometimes I could see before me in the church, a very considerable part of the congregation, whose lives God had made me a means to save, or to recover their health; and doing it for nothing so obliged them, that they would readily hear me.

It was a great advantage to me, that there were at last few that were bad, but some of their own relations were converted: many children did God work upon, at fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen years of age; and this did marvellously reconcile the minds of the parents and elder sort to godliness. They that would not hear me, would hear their own children. They that before could have talked against godliness, would not hear it spoken against, when it was their children's case. Many who would not be brought to it themselves, were proud that they had understanding, religious children; and we had some old persons of eighty years of age, who are, I hope, in heaven, and the conversion of their own children was the chief means to overcome their prejudice, and old customs, and conceits.

Another great help to my success at last, was the formerly described work of personal conference with every family apart, with catechising and instructing them. That which was spoken to them personally, and

which put them sometimes upon answers, awakened their attention, and was easier applied than public preaching, and seemed to do much more upon them.

The exercise of Church discipline was no small furtherance of the people's good: for I found plainly, that without it, I could not have kept the religious sort from separation and division. There is something generally in their dispositions, which inclineth them to dissociate from open ungodly sinners, as men of another nature and society; and if they had not seen me do something reasonable for a regular separation of the notorious, obstinate sinners from the rest, they would irregularly have withdrawn themselves. It had not been in my power with bare words to satisfy them, when they saw we had liberty to do what we would. And so, for fear of discipline, all the parish kept off except about six hundred, when there were in all above sixteen hundred at an age to be communicants. Yet because it was their own doing, and they knew they might come in when they would, they were quiet in their separation; for we took them for the Separatists. Those that scrupled our gesture at the sacrament, I openly told that they should have it in their own. Yet did I baptize all their children, but made them first, as I would have done by strangers, give me privately, or publicly if they had rather, an account of their faith; and if any father was a scandalous sinner, I made him confess his sin openly, with seeming penitence, before I would baptize his child. If he refused it, I forbore till the mother came to present it; for I rarely, if ever, found both father and mother so destitute of knowledge and faith, as in a Church sense to be incapable hereof.

Another advantage which I found to my success, was, by ordering my doctrine to them in a suitableness to the main end, and yet so as might suit their dispositions and diseases. The things which I daily opened to them, and with greatest importunity labored to imprint upon their minds, were the great fundamental principles of Christianity contained in their baptismal covenant, even a right knowledge and belief of, and subjection and love to, God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; love to all men, and concord with the Church and one another. I did so daily inculcate a knowledge of God our Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, love and obedience to God, unity with the Church catholic, and love to men and the hope of life eternal, that these were the matter of their daily cogitations and discourses, and, indeed, their religion.

Yet, I did usually put in something in my sermon, which was above their own discovery, and which they had not known before; and this I did that they might be kept humble, and still perceive their ignorance, and be willing to keep in a learning state. For when preachers tell their people of no more than they know, and do not show that they excel them in knowledge, and scarcely overtop them in abilities, the people will be tempted to turn preachers themselves, and think that they have learned all that the ministers can teach them, and are as wise as they. They will be apt to contemn their teachers, and wrangle with all their doctrines, and set their wits against them, and hear them as censurers, and not as disciples, to their own undoing, and to the disturbance of the Church; and thus they will easily draw disciples after

them. The bare authority of the clergy will not serve the turn, without overtopping ministerial abilities. I did this, also, to increase their knowledge, and to make religion pleasant to them, by a daily addition to their former light, and to draw them on with desire and delight.—But these things which they did not know before, were not unprofitable controversies which tended not to edification, or novelties in doctrine contrary to the universal Church: but either such points as tended to illustrate the great doctrines before mentioned, or usually about the right methodizing of them. The opening of the true and profitable method of the creed or doctrine of faith; the Lord's prayer, or matter of our desires; and the ten commandments, or the law of practice.

Another thing that helped me, was, my not meddling with tithes or worldly business, whereby I had my whole time, except what sickness deprived me of, for my duty, and my mind more free from entanglements than else it would have been; and, also, I escaped the offending of the people, and contending by any law suits with them. Three or four of my neighbors managed all those kind of businesses, of whom I never took account; and if any one refused to pay his tithes, if he was poor, I ordered them to forgive it him. After that, I was constrained to let the tithes be gathered, as by my title, to save the gatherers from law suits. But if the parties were able, I ordered them to seek it by the magistrate, with the damage, and give both my part and the damages to the poor; for I resolved to have none of it myself that was recovered by law, and yet I could not tolerate the sacrilege and fraud of covetous men. When they knew that this was the rule I went by, none of them that were able would do the poor so great a kindness as to deny the payment of their tithes. In my own family, I had the help of my father and stepmother, and the benefit of a godly, understanding, faithful servant, an ancient woman, near sixty years old, who eased me of all care, and laid out all my money for house keeping; so that I never had one hour's trouble about it, nor ever took one day's account of her for fourteen years together, as being certain of her fidelity, providence, and skill.

Finally, it much furthered my success, that I stayed still in this one place, near two years before the wars, and above fourteen years after; for he that removeth oft from place to place, may sow good seed in many places, but is not likely to see much fruit in any, unless some other skilful hand shall follow him to water it. It was a great advantage to me to have almost all the religious people of the place, of my own instructing and informing; and that they were not formed into erroneous and factious principles before; and that I stayed to see them grow up to some confirmedness and maturity.

Our successes were enlarged beyond our own congregations, by the lectures kept up round about. To divers of them I went as oft as I was able; and the neighboring ministers, oftener than I; especially Mr. Oasland of Bewdley, who, having a strong body, a zealous spirit, and an earnest utterance, went up and down preaching from place to place, with great acceptance and success. But this business, also, we contrived to be universally and orderly managed. For, beside the fixed lectures set up on week days, in several places, we studied how to have them extend to every place in the county that had need. For when

the parliament purged the ministry, they cast out the grosser sort of insufficient and scandalous ones, such as gross drunkards and the like; and also some few civil men that had assisted in the wars against the parliament, or set up bowing to altars, or such innovations; but they had left in nearly one half the ministers, that were not good enough to do much service, or bad enough to be cast out as utterly intolerable. There were many poor, weak preachers who had no great skill in divinity, or zeal for godliness; but preached weakly that which is true, and lived in no gross, notorious sin. These men were not cast out, but yet their people greatly needed help; for their dark, sleepy preaching did but little good. We, therefore, resolved that some of the abler ministers should often voluntarily help them; but all the care was how to do it without offending them.

It fell out seasonably that the Londoners of that county, at their yearly feast, collected about thirty pounds, and sent it me by that worthy man, Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Bread-street, to set up a lecture for that year. We, therefore, covered all our designs under the name of the Londoners' Lecture, which took off the offence. We chose four worthy men, Mr. Andrew Tristram, Mr. Henry Oasland, Mr. Thomas Baldwin, and Mr. Joseph Treble, who undertook to go, each man his day, once a month, which was every Lord's day among the four, and to preach at those places which had most need twice on the Lord's day. To avoid all ill consequences and offence, they were sometimes to go to abler men's congregations; and wherever they came, to say something always to draw the people to the honor and special regard of their own pastors, that, how weak soever they were, they might see that we came not to draw away the people's hearts from them, but to strengthen their hands, and help them in their work.

This lecture did a great deal of good; and though the Londoners gave their money but that one year, when it was once set on foot, we continued it voluntarily, till the ministers were turned out, and all these works went down together.

So much of the way and helps of those successes, which I mention, because many have inquired after them, as willing, with their own flocks, to take that course which other men have by experience found to be effectual.' (pp. 108–122.)

We have inserted this long extract for the purpose of letting our readers see the faithful manner in which this eminent man of God labored for the salvation of souls. In the private meetings for conference and prayer, in which the converted members of his congregation mutually edified each other, may be seen the germ of those prayer meetings and class meetings afterward established by John Wesley, and which have since produced such beneficial, experimental, and practical results. Baxter also benefited his people by the distribution of small tracts, and the Bible among the poor. Little did he then think that he was commencing a work that would eventuate in such gigantic efforts and such comprehensive and systematic plans for the diffusion of religious truth, as we have lived to witness in the organiza-

tion of Bible, missionary, and tract societies. Baxter, however, may be considered as the forerunner in these noble charities; for though he worked single handed, we see, in the means which he employed, the seeds of that mighty tree which has since become so thrifty and fruitful, and which is now extending its branches over the four quarters of the globe, and affording a shelter for thousands of the perishing sons and daughters of want, all of whom may now recline under its shadow with great delight, and find its fruit 'sweet to their taste.'

We have already remarked that Baxter, though strongly attached to the royal family from principle, not being able to brook the many abuses which he witnessed in the high-handed measures of the court and its adherents, lent the weight of his influence to build up the adverse interest, and thereby strengthened the hands of Cromwell, whom he very much disliked, and whose character has been very differently estimated, according as the writers have been prepossessed for or against him. In the estimation of the adherents of royalty and high-toned episcopacy, Cromwell has been considered as possessing in himself almost every thing that is bad; he has been called an artful and corrupt demagogue, a hypocrite, an aspiring usurper, and a tyrant trampling upon the rights of the people, in despite of all laws, Divine and human. On the other hand, he has been eulogized by the Independents, and other sectaries of those times, as well as by the Congregationalists of this country, as the restorer of the civil and religious rights of the people, a saint of rare attainments, to be admired alike for the vigor of his administration and the purity of his motives and conduct. Amidst these discordant views, it is somewhat difficult to come to a satisfactory opinion respecting the intrinsic merits of Cromwell's character. One thing, however, seems quite evident, that he was a friend to civil liberty, and that he labored much, and with some degree of success, to elevate the character of the Christian ministry, and to raise the spirit of true piety in the land. It is not to be wondered at, however, that he should have looked upon Baxter with some suspicion, knowing, as Cromwell undoubtedly did, that Baxter considered him a usurper, unlawfully encroaching upon those royal prerogatives which Baxter considered to be sacred.

We have been led to make these remarks with a view to introduce to our readers the judgment which Baxter formed of this mysterious and extraordinary man. After narrating the manner in which the king was beheaded, and some personal interviews which Baxter himself had, not much to his satisfaction, with the Lord Protector of England, Cromwell, he thus describes his character:—

'I come now to the end of Cromwell's reign, who died of a fever before he was aware. He escaped the attempts of many, who thought

to have despatched him sooner, but could not escape the stroke of God when his appointed time was come.

Never man was highlier extolled, and never man was baselier reported of, and reviled, than this man. No mere man was better and worse spoken of than he, according as men's interests led their judgments. The soldiers and sectaries most highly magnified him, till he began to seek the crown and the establishment of his family; and then there were so many who would be half kings themselves, that a king did seem intolerable to them. The royalists abhorred him as a most perfidious hypocrite; and the Presbyterians thought him little better, in his management of public matters.

If, after so many others, I may speak my opinion of him, I think that having been a prodigal in his youth, and afterward changed to a zealous religionist, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscientious in the chief course of his life, till prosperity and success corrupted him. At his first entrance into the wars, being but a captain of horse, he took special care to get religious men into his troop. These were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the war; and, making not money, but that which they took for the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant; for he that maketh money his end, doth esteem his life above his pay, and therefore is likely enough to save it by flight when danger comes, if possibly he can. But he that maketh the felicity of Church and state his end, esteemeth it above his life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his life for it. Men of parts and understanding know how to manage their business. They know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many that usually fall in flight, for one that falls in valiant fighting.

These things, it is probable, Cromwell understood; and that none could be engaged, such valiant men as the religious. Yet, I conjecture that, at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those disorders, mutinies, plunderings, and grievances of the country, which debauched men in armies are commonly guilty of. By this means he indeed sped better than he expected. Aires, Desborough, Berry, Evanson, and the rest of that troop, did prove so valiant, that, as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an enemy. Hereupon he got a commission to take some care of the associated counties, where he formed this troop into a double regiment of fourteen troops; and all these as full of religious men as he could get. These having more than ordinary wit and resolution, had more than ordinary success; first in Lincolnshire, and afterward in the earl of Manchester's army at York fight. With their successes, the hearts both of captains and soldiers secretly rose both in pride and expectation: and the familiarity of many honest, erroneous men, as Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c, withal, began quickly to corrupt their judgments. Hereupon Cromwell's general religious zeal gave way to the power of that ambition which increased as his successes increased. Both piety and ambition concurred in countenancing all whom he thought godly, of what sect soever; piety pleaded for them as godly, and charity as

men; and ambition secretly told him what use he might make of them. He meant well in all this at the beginning, and thought he did all for the safety of the godly, and the public good; but not without an eye to himself.

When success had broken down all considerable opposition, he was then in the face of his strongest temptations, which conquered him when he had conquered others. He thought that he had hitherto done well, both as to the *end* and *means*; that God, by the wonderful blessing of His providence, had owned his endeavors, and that it was none but God who had made him great. He thought, that if the war was lawful, the victory was lawful; and that if it were lawful to fight against the king, and conquer him, it was lawful to use him as a conquered enemy, and a foolish thing to trust him when they had so provoked him. He thought that the heart of the king was deep, that he had resolved upon revenge, and that if he were once king, he would easily, at one time or other, accomplish it; that it was a dishonest thing of the parliament to set men to fight for them against the king, and then to lay their heads upon the block, and be at his mercy; and that if this must be their case, it was better to flatter or please him than to fight against him.

He saw that the Scots and the Presbyterians in the parliament did, by the covenant and the oath of allegiance, find themselves bound to the person and family of the king; and that there was no hope of changing their minds in this. Hereupon he joined with that party in the parliament who were for the cutting off the king and trusting him no more; and consequently he joined with them in raising the Independents to make a faction in the synod at Westminster, and in the city; in strengthening the sectaries in the army, city, and country; and in rendering the Scots and ministers as odious as he could, to disable them from hindering the change of government.

In the doing of all this, which distrust and ambition persuaded him was well done, he thought it lawful to use his wits, to choose each instrument and suit each means, unto its end; and accordingly he modelled the army, and disbanded all other garrisons, forces, and committees, which were likely to have hindered his design. As he went on, though he had not resolved into what form the new commonwealth should be moulded, he thought it but reasonable that he should be the chief person who had been chief in their deliverance; for the Lord Fairfax, he knew, had but the name. At last, as he thought it lawful to cut off the king, because he thought he was lawfully conquered, so he thought it lawful to fight against the Scots that would set him up, and to pull down the Presbyterian majority in the parliament, which would else, by restoring the king, undo all which had cost them so much blood and treasure. He accordingly conquered Scotland, and pulled down the parliament: being the easier persuaded that all this was lawful, because he had a secret bias and eye toward his own exaltation. For he and his officers thought, that when the king was gone, a government there must be, and that no man was so fit for it as he himself; yea, they thought that God had called them by successes to govern and take care of the commonwealth, and of the interest of all his people in the land; and that if they stood by and suffered the parliament to do that which they thought was dangerous, it would be required at

their hands, whom they thought God had made the guardians of the land.

Having thus forced his conscience to justify all his cause, cutting off the king, setting up himself and his adherents, putting down the parliament, and the Scots; he thought that the end being good and necessary, the necessary means could not be bad. He accordingly gave his interest and cause leave to tell him, how far sects should be tolerated and commended, and how far not; how far the ministry should be owned and supported, and how far not; yea, and how far professions, promises, and vows, should be kept or broken; and therefore the covenant he could not away with, nor the ministers, farther than they yielded to his ends, or did not openly resist them.

He seemed exceedingly open hearted, by a familiar, rustic, affected carriage, especially to his soldiers, in sporting with them; but he thought secrecy a virtue, and dissimulation no vice; and simulation, that is, in plain English, a lie, or perfidiousness, to be a tolerable fault in a case of necessity: being of the same opinion with the Lord Bacon, who was not so precise as learned—"that the best composition and temperature is to have openness in fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in seasonable use, and a power to feign if there be no remedy." He therefore kept fair with all, saving his open or irreconcilable enemies. He carried it with such dissimulation, that Anabaptists, Independents, and Antinomians, did all think he was one of them; but he never endeavored to persuade the Presbyterians that he was one of them; but only that he would do them justice, and preserve them, and that he honored their worth and piety: for he knew that they were not so easily deceived. In a word, he did as our prelates have done, begin low, and rise higher in his resolutions as his condition rose. The promises which he made in his lower condition, he used as the interest of his higher following condition did require, and kept up as much honesty and godliness in the main as his cause and interest would allow. But there they left him, and his name standeth as a monitory pillar to posterity, to tell them the instability of man in strong temptations, if God leave him to himself; what great success and victories can do to lift up a mind that once seemed humble: what pride can do to make men selfish, corrupt the judgment, justify the greatest errors and sins, and set against the clearest truth and duty; what bloodshed and enormities of life, an erring, deluded judgment may execute. An erroneous sectary, or a proud self seeker, is oftener God's instrument than an humble, lamb-like, innocent saint.' (pp. 136–140.)

In this character of Cromwell we cannot but admire the candor with which Baxter speaks, notwithstanding he had reason, on many accounts, to be dissatisfied with the man. We judge of men's motives by their actions. To do otherwise is to contravene all the right rules of just and candid judgment of men's characters, and subject the best of men to the capricious censures of interested and invidious competitors. This rash and cruel method of deciding upon the character of individuals is alike condemned by the sacred Scriptures, which teach us to judge of men by their fruits, and those laws which limit the knowledge

of the human mind to outward actions. The *heart*, and consequently the *motives*, only so far as they are declared, or made obvious from concurring circumstances, are known to God alone. Those captious minds, therefore, who can find no other cause of censure in any individual, because of the blamelessness of his conduct, than to impugn the purity of the motive by which he is actuated, evince a malevolence of disposition against which the most holy and irreproachable cannot stand.

This, we apprehend, is one reason, at least, why such varying estimates have been made respecting the character of many distinguished individuals, and Oliver Cromwell among the rest. That in the commencement of his career, he was actuated by an ardent desire to promote the welfare of his nation, we think ought not to be questioned; and that when elevated by the voice of his countrymen to the first station in the kingdom, he evinced great vigor of intellect, and a sincere regard for the civil and religious welfare of the people, is equally undeniable; and it is furthermore manifest that the government of the commonwealth was so administered as to insure tranquillity and prosperity at home and to command respect abroad. These were results for which the British nation ought to be thankful to the agency of Cromwell and those who aided him in his work, and to which they are in a great measure indebted for those principles of liberty which were embodied in the act of settlement at the memorable era of the revolution in 1688, on the elevation of Prince William of Orange to the throne of England; for the reign of Cromwell was the precursor of those events which led to the downfall of the despotism of the Stuarts, and the introduction of those more Scriptural and rational principles of freedom which have followed the establishment of the present royal family in the government of that country.

How far, indeed, the force of circumstances, over which he could not exercise a controlling influence, may have compelled Cromwell to act in opposition to his better feelings and judgment, it is difficult to determine. Nor do we see any thing unreasonable in the supposition of Baxter and others, that prosperity may have corrupted his mind, and that having continually to contend with factious demagogues, with hireling priests, and with furious fanatics and sectarian zealots, Cromwell may have been led to adopt a cautious and cunning policy incompatible with those honest principles and sober views which a strict morality and religious integrity so decidedly recommend. Whatever truth and propriety there may be in these remarks, it is certain that both England and America, and perhaps some other portions of the world, are greatly indebted to the spirit of freedom which checked the audacity of Charles and his court, and set Cromwell at the head of affairs in England, and

which was afterward fostered, fed, and strengthened among the nonconformists and puritans, for those civil and religious institutions which we now so happily enjoy. And we should never forget that among all those who labored assiduously for the accomplishment of these objects, none were more active and zealous, more Scriptural and rational in their views, nor more piously and ardently devoted to the work of civil and religious emancipation, than the Rev. Richard Baxter. He labored and suffered much and long in this sacred cause; and the world is now reaping the reward of his pious labors and patient sufferings. His name and character will therefore ever stand identified with the fifty years of hard struggling which distinguishes and so emphatically characterizes that period of English history.

Our limits will not allow us to trace him through every step of his eventful life, the most stormy and troublesome part of which was after the subversion of the commonwealth, and the restoration of the kingly authority. Although Baxter labored sincerely for the return of the king to the throne of his ancestors, he soon found that a love of despotism and a hatred of all puritanical measures were so predominant in the profligate court of the king, and so unrelenting the episcopacy as established by law, that there was no peace to those who dissented from the dominant party either in the Church or state. His labors, therefore, to effect an agreement between the moderate Presbyterians and Episcopalians, though urged by all the pathos of the sincerest zeal and a powerful eloquence, were entirely unavailing. The manner, however, with which Baxter pressed upon the king the necessity and utility of such a compromise as should secure the rights and privileges of all, and injure no one, shows him off to such advantage as a man of piety and peace, and of such peculiar boldness in the cause of God, that we are persuaded our readers will be pleased to see the following extract from his address to his monarch:—

'We exercised more boldness, at first, than afterward would have been borne. When some of the rest had congratulated his majesty's happy restoration, and declared the large hope which they had of a cordial union among all dissenters by his means, I presumed to speak to him of the concernments of religion, and how far we were from desiring the continuance of any factions or parties in the Church, and how much a happy union would conduce to the good of the land, and to his majesty's satisfaction. I assured him that though there were turbulent, fanatic persons in his dominions, those whose peace we humbly craved of him were no such persons; but such as longed after concord, and were truly loyal to him, and desired no more than to live under him a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. But that as there were differences between them and their brethren, about some ceremonies or discipline of the Church, we humbly craved his majesty's favor for the ending of those differences; it being easy for him to

interpose, that so the people might not be deprived of their faithful pastors, and ignorant, scandalous, unworthy ones obtruded on them.

I presumed to tell him, that the people we spoke for were such as were contented with an interest in heaven, and the liberty and advantages of the Gospel to promote it; and that if these were taken from them, and they were deprived of their faithful pastors, and liberty of worshipping God, they would take themselves as undone in this world, whatever else they should enjoy: that thus the hearts of his most faithful subjects, who hoped for his help, would even be broken; and that we doubted not but his majesty desired to govern a people made happy by him, and not a broken-hearted people. I presumed to tell him, that the late usurpers so well understood their own interest, that to promote it, they had found the way of doing good to be the most effectual means; and had placed and encouraged many thousand faithful ministers in the Church, even such as detested their usurpation; and that so far had they attained their ends hereby, that it was the principal means of their interest in the people: wherefore, I humbly craved his majesty, that as he was our lawful king, in whom all his people were prepared to centre, so he would be pleased to undertake this blessed work of promoting their holiness and concord; and that he would never suffer himself to be tempted to undo the good which Cromwell, or any other, had done, because they were usurpers that did it; or discountenance a faithful ministry, because his enemies had set them up; but that he would rather outgo them in doing good, and opposing and rejecting the ignorant and ungodly, of what opinion or party soever; that the people whose cause we recommended to him, had their eyes on him as the officer of God, to defend them in the possession of the helps of their salvation; which if he were pleased to vouchsafe them, their estates and lives would be cheerfully offered to his service.

I humbly besought him that he would never suffer his subjects to be tempted to have favorable thoughts of the late usurpers, by seeing the vice indulged which they suppressed; or the godly ministers or people discountenanced whom they encouraged; and that all his enemies' conduct could not teach him a more effectual way to restore the reputation and honor of the usurpers than to do worse than they, and destroy the good which they had done. And, again, I humbly craved that no misrepresentations might cause him to believe, that because some fanatics have been factious and disloyal, therefore the religious people in his dominions, who are most careful of their souls, are such, though some of them may be dissatisfied about some forms and ceremonies in God's worship, which others use: and that none of them might go under so ill a character with him, by misreports behind their backs, till it were proved of them personally, or they had answered for themselves: for we, that better knew them than those that were likely to be their accusers, did confidently testify to his majesty, on their behalf, that they are resolved enemies of sedition, rebellion, disobedience, and divisions, which the world should see, and their adversaries be convinced of, if his majesty's wisdom and clemency did but remove those occasions of scruple in some points of discipline and worship.

I farther humbly craved, that the freedom and plainness of these expressions to his majesty might be pardoned, as being extorted by the

present necessity, and encouraged by our revived hopes. I told him also, that it was not for Presbyterians, or any party, as such, that we were speaking, but for the religious part of his subjects in general, than whom no prince on earth had better. I also represented to him how considerable a part of that kingdom he would find them to be; and of what great advantage their union would be to his majesty, to the people, and to the bishops themselves, and how easily it might be procured—by making only things necessary to be the terms of union—by the true exercise of Church discipline against sin,—and by not casting out the faithful ministers that must exercise it, and obtruding unworthy men upon the people: and how easy it was to avoid the violating of men's solemn vows and covenants, without hurt to any others. And finally, I requested that we might be heard speak for ourselves, when any accusations were brought against us.' (pp. 158–160.)

But what can move the heart of a profligate prince to any act for the mere promotion of piety! More especially when he is dissuaded from listening to pleas of this sort by a powerful adverse party in religion, as unrelenting in their dispositions as the lion of the forest is toward his prey! The just and reasonable demands of Baxter, though laid before the court in the most respectful, pathetic, and urgent manner, were finally rejected with disdain; and the nonconformists were treated as schismatics, as disturbers of the peace of his majesty's dominions, and many of the most pious ministers in the realm were ejected from their livings, and maltreated in a variety of ways. After fatiguing himself for a long time to no purpose, by prayers, petitions, and memorials, by conversation, preaching, and writing, to soften down the prejudices of the court, to obviate their objections to a plan of general pacification, so as to secure liberty of conscience to all parties, Baxter made an ineffectual attempt to settle himself again among his beloved people at Kidderminster; but being here also defeated in his attempts to gratify the wishes of those people, for whom he ever entertained the most tender affection, he took his final leave of them, *commending them to God and the word of His grace.* The act of uniformity finally excluded him from the pulpits of the establishment, and identified him with the nonconformists. The following is his brief account of this matter:—

'When the act of uniformity was passed, it gave the ministers who could not conform no longer time than till Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1662, and then they must be all cast out. This fatal day called to remembrance the French massacre, when on the same day thirty or forty thousand Protestants perished by Roman religious zeal and charity. I had no place of my own; but I preached twice a week, by request, in other men's congregations, at Milk-street and Blackfriars. The last sermon that I preached in public was on May 25. The reasons why I gave over sooner than most others were, because lawyers interpret a doubtful clause in the act, as ending the liberty of lecturers at that time; because I would let authority soon know that I intended

to obey in all that was lawful; because I would let all ministers in England understand in time, whether I intended to conform or not: for, had I stayed to the last day, some would have conformed the sooner, from a supposition that I intended it. These, with other reasons, moved me to cease three months before Bartholomew day, which many censured for a while, but, afterward, better saw the reasons of it.' (p. 206.)

Hitherto Baxter had led a single life, under an apprehension that, being less entangled with the affairs of this world, he would be more useful to his fellow men by being more at liberty to follow his calling wherever Providence might direct him. Soon after the act of uniformity above mentioned, he entered into the estate of matrimony, with a pious lady, who ever after proved a help mate indeed. The following is his own account of this matter:—

'We were born in the same county, within three miles and a half of each other, but she of one of the chief families in the county, and I but of a mean freeholder, called a gentleman, for his ancestor's sake. Her father, Francis Charlton, Esq., was one of the best justices of the peace in that county, a grave and worthy man, who did not marry till he was aged and gray, and died while his children were very young. There were three of them, of which the eldest daughter and the only son are yet alive. He had one surviving brother, who, after the father's death, maintained a long and costly suit about the guardianship of the heir. This uncle, Robert, was a comely, sober gentleman; but the wise and good mother, Mary, durst not trust her only son in the hands of one that was his next heir; and she thought that nature gave her a greater interest in him than an uncle had. This was in the heat of the late civil war, and Robert, being for the parliament, had the advantage of strength, which put her to seek relief at Oxford from the king, and afterward to marry one Mr. Hanmer, who was for the king, to make her interest that way. Her house, being a sort of small castle, was then garrisoned for the king. At last Robert procured it to be besieged by the parliament's soldiers, stormed and taken; where the mother and the children saw part of the buildings burnt, and some lie dead before their eyes; and so Robert got possession of the children.

Afterward, however, she, by great wisdom and diligence, surprised them, secretly conveyed them to Mr. Bernard's, in Essex, and secured them against all his endeavors. The wars being ended, and she, as guardian, possessing her son's estate, took him to herself, and used his estate as carefully as for herself; but out of it conscientiously paid the debts of her husband, repaired some of the ruined houses, and managed things faithfully, according to her best discretion, until her son marrying, took his estate into his own hands.

She, being before unknown to me, came to Kidderminster, desiring me to take a house for her alone. I told her that I would not be guilty of doing any thing which should separate a mother from an only son, who in his youth had so much need of her counsel, conduct, and comfort; and that if passion in her, or any fault in him, had caused a difference, the love which brought her through so much trouble for him,

should teach her patience. She went home, but shortly came again, and took a house without my knowledge.

When she had been there alone awhile, her unmarried daughter, Margaret, then about seventeen or eighteen years of age, came after her from her brother's, resolving not to forsake the mother who deserved her dearest love; though sometimes she went to Oxford to her eldest sister, wife to Mr. Ambrose Upton, then canon of Christ church. At this time, the good old mother lived as a blessing among the honest poor weavers of Kidderminster, strangers to her, whose company for their piety she chose before all the vanities of the world. In which time, my acquaintance with her made me know, that notwithstanding she had been formerly somewhat passionate, she was a woman of manly patience in her great trials; of prudence, piety, justice, impartiality, and other virtues.

The unsuitableness of our age, and my former known purposes against marriage and against the conveniency of ministers marrying, who have no sort of necessity, made ours the matter of much public talk and wonder. But the true opening of her case and mine, and the many strange occurrences which brought it to pass, would take away the wonder of her friends and mine that knew us: and the notice of it would much conduce to the understanding of some other passages of our lives; yet wise friends, by whom I am advised, think it better to omit such personal particularities, at least at this time. Both in her case and mine there was much extraordinary, which it doth not concern the world to be acquainted with. From the first thoughts of it many changes and stoppages intervened, and long delays, till I was silenced and ejected; and so being separated from my old pastoral charge, which was enough to take up all my time and labor, some of my dissuading reasons were then over. At last, on September 10, 1662, we were married in Bennet-Fink church, by Mr. Samuel Clark, having been before contracted by Mr. Simeon Ash, both in the presence of Mr. Henry Ashurst and Mrs. Ash.

She consented to these conditions of our marriage: first, that I should have nothing that before our marriage was hers; that I, who wanted no earthly supplies, might not seem to marry her for covetousness. Secondly, that she would so alter her affairs, that I might be entangled in no lawsuits. Thirdly, that she would expect none of my time which my ministerial work should require.

When we were married, her sadness and melancholy vanished; counsel did something to it, and contentment something; and being taken up with our household affairs did somewhat. We lived in inviolated love, and mutual complacency, sensible of the benefit of mutual help, nearly nineteen years. I know not that ever we had any breach in point of love, or point of interest, save only that she somewhat grudged that I had persuaded her for my quietness to surrender so much of her estate, to the disabling her from helping others so much as she earnestly desired.

But that even this was not from a covetous mind, is evident by these instances. Though her portion, which was two thousand pounds beside what she gave up, was by ill debtors two hundred pounds lost in her mother's time, and two hundred pounds after, before her mar-

riage; and all she had, reduced to about one thousand six hundred and fifty pounds, yet she never grudged at any thing that the poverty of debtors deprived her of.' (pp. 213–215.)

After endeavoring with almost unexampled—and perhaps entirely unexampled in his day—patience, diligence, and perseverance, to reconcile the contending parties, to soften the rigorous spirit of the times, and to diffuse abroad the spirit of a liberal piety and Scriptural toleration and forbearance, he finally came to his end in a good old age, full of the fruits of a righteous life. The following is Dr. Bates' account of the last moments of this great and good man:—

'He continued to preach so long, notwithstanding his wasted, languishing body, that the last time he almost died in the pulpit. It would doubtless have been his joy to have been transfigured in the mount. Not long after, he felt the approaches of death, and was confined to his sick bed. Death reveals the secrets of the heart; then words are spoken with most feeling and least affectation. This excellent saint was the same in his life and death; his last hours were spent in preparing others and himself to appear before God. He said to his friends that visited him, "You come hither to learn to die; I am not the only person that must go this way. I can assure you, that your whole life, be it ever so long, is little enough to prepare for death.—Have a care of this vain, deceitful world, and the lusts of the flesh; be sure you choose God for your portion, heaven for your home, God's glory for your end, His word for your rule, and then you need never fear but we shall meet with comfort."

Never was penitent sinner more humble, never was a sincere believer more calm and comfortable. He acknowledged himself to be the vilest dunghill worm ('twas his usual expression) that ever went to heaven. He admired the Divine condescension to us, often saying, "Lord, what is man; what am I, vile worm, to the great God!" Many times he prayed, God be merciful to me a sinner, and blessed God that this was left upon record in the Gospel as an effectual prayer.—He said, God may justly condemn me for the best duty I ever did; all my hopes are from the free mercy of God in Christ, which he often prayed for.

After a slumber he waked, and said, "I shall rest from my labor." A minister then present, said, "And your works will follow you." To whom he replied, "No works; I will leave out works, if God will grant me the other." When a friend was comforting him with the remembrance of the good many had received by his preaching and writings, he said, "I was but a pen in God's hands, and what praise is due to a pen?"

His resigned submission to the will of God in his sharp sickness was eminent. When extremity of pain constrained him earnestly to pray to God for his release by death, he would check himself: "It is not fit for me to prescribe—when thou wilt, what thou wilt, how thou wilt."

Being in great anguish, he said, "O! how unsearchable are his ways, and his paths past finding out; the reaches of his providence we can-

not fathom!" And to his friends, "Do not think the worse of religion for what you see me suffer."

Being often asked by his friends, how it was with his inward man, he replied, "I bless God I have a well-grounded assurance of my eternal happiness, and great peace and comfort within." But it was his trouble he could not triumphantly express it, by reason of his extreme pains. He said, "Flesh must perish, and we must feel the perishing of it; and that though his judgment submitted, yet sense would still make him groan."

Being asked by a person of quality, whether he had not great joy from his believing apprehensions of the invisible state, he replied, "What else, think you, Christianity serves for?" He said, the consideration of the Deity in his glory and greatness, was too high for our thought; but the consideration of the Son of God in our nature, and of the saints in heaven, whom he knew and loved, did much sweeten and familiarize heaven to him. The description of it, in Heb. xii, 22, was most comfortable to him; "that he was going to the innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and Church of the first born, whose names are written in heaven; and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel." That scripture, he said, deserved a thousand thousand thoughts. O! how comfortable is that promise; "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the things God hath laid up for those who love him." At another time, he said that he found great comfort and sweetness in repeating the words of the Lord's prayer, and was sorry some good people were prejudiced against the use of it, for there were all necessary petitions for soul and body contained in it. At other times, he gave excellent counsel to young ministers that visited him; earnestly prayed to God to bless their labors, and make them very successful in converting many souls to Christ; expressed great joy in the hopes that God would do a great deal of good by them; and that they were of moderate, peaceful spirits.

He often prayed that God would be merciful to this miserable, distracted world, and that he would preserve his Church and interest in it. He advised his friends to beware of self conceit, as a sin that was likely to ruin this nation; and said, "I have written a book against it, which I am afraid has done little good." Being asked, whether he had altered his mind in controversial points, he said, Those that please, may know my mind in my writings; and that what he had done, was not for his own reputation, but for the glory of God.

I went to him, with a very worthy friend, Mr. Mather, of New-England, the day before he died; and speaking some comforting words to him, he replied, "I have pain; there is no arguing against sense, but I have peace, I have peace." I told him, You are now approaching to your long-desired home; he answered, "I believe, I believe." He said to Mr. Mather, "I bless God that you have accomplished your business; the Lord prolong your life." He expressed great willingness to die; and during his sickness, when the question was asked, "How he did?" his reply was, "*Almost well.*" His joy was most

remarkable, when, in his own apprehensions, death was nearest; and his spiritual joy was at length consummated in eternal joy.'

'On Monday, says Sylvester, about five in the evening, death sent his harbinger to summon him away. A great trembling and coldness extorted strong cries from him, for pity and redress from Heaven; which cries and agonies continued for some time, till at length he ceased, and lay in patient expectation of his change. Being once asked, by his faithful friend, and constant attendant in his weakness, Mrs. Bushel, his housekeeper, whether he knew her or not, requesting some sign of it if he did; he softly cried, "Death, death!" He now felt the benefit of his former preparations for the trying time. The last words that he spake to me, on being informed I was come to see him, were, "O I thank him, I thank him," and turning his eye to me, he said, "The Lord teach you how to die."

As to himself, even to the last, I never could perceive his peace and heavenly hopes assaulted or disturbed. I have often heard him greatly lament, that he felt no greater liveliness in what appeared so great and clear to him, and so very much desired by him. As to the influence thereof upon his spirit, in order to the sensible refreshments of it, he clearly saw what ground he had to rejoice in God; he doubted not of his right to heaven. He told me, he knew it should be well with him when he was gone. He wondered to hear others speak of their sensible, and passionately strong desires to die, and of their transports of spirit, when sensible of their approaching death; when, though he thought he knew as much as they, and had as rational satisfaction as they could have that his soul was safe, he could never feel their sensible consolations. I asked him, whether much of this was not to be resolved into bodily constitution; he told me that he thought it might be so.

He expired, on Tuesday morning, about four o'clock, December 8, 1691;—though he expected and desired his dissolution to have been on the Lord's day before, which, with joy to me, he called a *high day*, because of his desired change then expected by him.' (pp. 352–355.)

Some time before his death Baxter took a summary review of his life, and as it will be an instructive lesson to all, and serve to show the candor, impartiality, and humility of his mind, we will present it to our readers:—

'Because it is soul experience which those who urge me to this kind of writing expect, that I should, especially, communicate to others; and I have said little of God's dealings with my soul since the time of my younger years, I shall only give the reader so much satisfaction as to acquaint him truly what change God hath made upon my mind and heart since those unriper times, and wherein I now differ in judgment and disposition from myself. For any more particular account of heart occurrences, and God's operations on me, I think it somewhat unsavory to recite them, seeing God's dealings are much the same with all his servants in the main, and points wherein he varieth, are usually so small, that I think such not fit to be repeated. Nor have I any thing extraordinary to glory in, which is not common to the rest of my brethren, who have the same spirit, and are servants of the same

Lord. The true reasons why I do adventure so far upon the censure of the world as to tell them wherein the case is altered with me, is, that I may take off young inexperienced Christians from over confidence in their first apprehensions, or overvaluing their first degrees of grace, or too much applauding and following unfurnished, inexperienced men; and that they may be directed what mind and course of life to prefer, by the judgment of one that hath tried both before them.

The temper of my mind hath somewhat altered with the temper of my body. When I was young I was more vigorous, affectionate, and fervent in preaching, conference, and prayer, than, ordinarily, I can be now. My style was more extemporate and lax, but, by the advantage of warmth, and a very familiar moving voice and utterance, my preaching then did more affect the auditory, than it did many of the last years before I gave over preaching. But what I delivered then was much more raw, and had more passages that would not bear the trial of accurate judgments; and my discourses had both less substance and less judgment than of late.

My understanding was then quicker, and could more easily manage any thing that was newly presented to it upon a sudden; but it is since better furnished, and acquainted with the ways of truth and error, and with a multitude of particular mistakes of the world, which then I was the more in danger of, because I had only the faculty of knowing them, but did not actually know them. I was then like a man of a quick understanding, that was to travel a way which he never went before, or to cast up an account which he never labored in before, or to play on an instrument of music which he never saw before. I am now like one of somewhat a slower understanding, who is travelling a way which he hath often gone, and is casting up an account which he hath ready at hand, and that is playing on an instrument which he hath frequently used: so that I can very confidently say my judgment is much sounder and firmer now than it was then: for though I am now as competent a judge of the actings of my own understanding as then, I can judge better of the effects. When I peruse the writings which I wrote in my younger years, I can find the footsteps of my unfurnished mind, and of my emptyness and insufficiency: so that the man that followed my judgment then, was likelier to have been misled by me than he that should follow it now.

In my younger years, my trouble for sin was most about my actual failings; but now I am much more troubled for inward defects and omissions, for want of the vital duties or graces of the soul. My daily trouble is so much for my ignorance of God, weakness of belief, want of greater love to God, strangeness to him and to the life to come, and for want of a greater willingness to die, and more longing to be with God in heaven, that I take not some immoralities, though very great, to be in themselves so great and odious sins, if they could be found separate from these. Had I all the riches of the world, how gladly should I give them for a fuller knowledge, belief, and love, of God and everlasting glory! These wants are the greatest burden of my life, which oft maketh my life itself a burden. I cannot find any hope of reaching so high in these enjoyments, while I am in the flesh, as I once hoped before this time to have attained; which maketh me the

wearier of this sinful world, that is honored with so little of the knowledge of God.

Heretofore, I placed much of my religion in tenderness of heart, grieving for sin, and penitential tears; and less of it in the love of God, in studying his goodness, and engaging in his joyful praises, than now I do. Then I was little sensible of the greatness and excellency of love and praise, though I coldly spake the same words as now I do. I am less troubled for want of grief and tears, (though I value humility, and refuse not needful humiliation,) but my conscience now looketh at love and delight in God, and praising him, as the top of all my religious duties; for which it is that I value and use the rest.

My judgment is much more for frequent and serious meditation on the heavenly blessedness than it was in my younger days. I then thought that a sermon on the attributes of God, and the joys of heaven, was not the most excellent; and was wont to say, "Every body knoweth that God is great and good, and that heaven is a blessed place; I had rather hear how I may attain it." Nothing pleased me so well as the doctrine of regeneration and the marks of sincerity, because these things were suitable to me in that state; but now I had rather read, hear, meditate, on God and heaven, than on any other subject. I perceive that it is the object which altereth and elevateth the mind; which will resemble that which it most frequently feedeth on. It is not only useful to our comfort to be much in heaven in believing thoughts; it must animate all our other duties, and fortify us against every temptation and sin. The love of the end is the poise or spring which setteth every wheel a going, and must put us on to all the means; for a man is no more a Christian indeed than he is heavenly.

Formerly I knew much less than now, and yet was not half so much acquainted with my ignorance: I had a great delight in the daily, new discoveries which I made, and of the light which shined in upon me, like a man that cometh into a country where he never was before; but I little knew either how imperfectly I understood those very points whose discovery so much delighted me, or how much might be said against them, or how many things I was yet a stranger to. I now find far greater darkness in all things, and perceive how very little we know in comparison of that of which we are ignorant. I have, therefore, far meaner thoughts of my own understanding, though I must needs know that it is better furnished than it was then.

I now see more good and more evil than heretofore I did. I see that good men are not so good as I once thought they were, but have more imperfections; and that nearer approach and fuller trial do make the best appear more weak and faulty than their admirers at a distance think. I find that few are so bad as either malicious enemies or censorious, separating professors do imagine. In some, indeed, I find that human nature is corrupted into a greater likeness to devils than I once thought any on earth had been; but even in the wicked, usually, there is more for grace to make advantage of, and more to testify for God and holiness, than I once believed there had been.

I less admire gifts of utterance and the bare profession of religion than I once did; and have much more charity for many who by the want of gifts do make an obscurer profession. I once thought that

almost all who could pray movingly and fluently, and talk well of religion, had been saints. But experience hath opened to me what odious crimes may consist with high profession; while I have met with divers obscure persons, not noted for any extraordinary profession or forwardness in religion, but only to live a quiet, blameless life, whom I have after found to have long lived, as far as I could discern, a truly godly and sanctified life; only their prayers and duties were, by accident, kept secret from other men's observation. Yet he that upon this pretence would confound the godly and the ungodly, may as well go about to lay heaven and hell together.

I am not so narrow in my special love as heretofore: being less censorious, and taking more than I did for saints, it must needs follow that I love more as saints than I did formerly. I think it not lawful to put that man off with bare Church communion, and such common love which I must allow the wicked, who professeth himself a true Christian, by such a profession as I cannot disprove. I am not so narrow in my principles of Church communion as once I was. I more plainly perceive the difference between the Church as congregate, or visible, and as regenerate, or mystical. I can now distinguish between sincerity and profession; that a credible profession is proof sufficient of a man's title to Church admission; and that the profession is credible *in foro ecclesiæ*, which is not disproved. I am not for narrowing the Church more than Christ himself alloweth us; nor for robbing him of any of his flock. I am more sensible how much it is the will of Christ, that every man be the chooser or refuser of his own felicity, and that it lieth most on his own hands whether he will have communion with the Church or not, and that if he be an hypocrite, it is himself that will bear the loss.

Yet I am more apprehensive than ever of the great use and need of ecclesiastical discipline; what a sin it is in the pastors of the Church to make no distinction, but by bare names and sacraments, and to force all the unmeet, against their wills, to Church communion: though the ignorant and erroneous may sometimes be forced to hear instruction. What a great dishonor to Christ it is, when the Church is as vicious as Pagan and Mohammedan assemblies, and differs from them only in ceremony and name!

I am much more sensible how prone many young professors are to spiritual pride, and self conceitedness, and unruliness, and division, and so to prove the grief of their teachers, and firebrands in the Church; and how much of a minister's work lieth in preventing this, and humbling and confirming such young inexperienced professors, and keeping them in order in their progress in religion. Yet I am more sensible of the sin and mischief of using men cruelly in matters of religion, and of pretending men's good and the order of the Church, for acts of inhumanity or uncharitableness. Such know not their own infirmity, nor yet the nature of pastoral government, which ought to be paternal and by love; nor do they know the way to win a soul, or to maintain the Church's peace.

My soul is much more afflicted with the thoughts of this miserable world, and more drawn out in desire of its conversion, than heretofore. I was wont to look but little farther than England in my prayers, not

considering the state of the rest of the world; or if I prayed for the conversion of the Jews, that was almost all. But now, as I better understand the case of the world, and the method of the Lord's prayer; there is nothing in the world that lieth so heavy upon my heart, as the thought of the miserable nations of the earth. It is the most astonishing part of all God's providence to me, that he so far forsaketh almost all the world, and confineth his special favor to so few; that so small a part of the world hath the profession of Christianity, in comparison of heathens, Mohammedans, and other infidels; that among professed Christians there are so few that are saved from gross delusions, and have any competent knowledge; and that among those there are so few that are seriously religious, and who truly set their hearts on heaven. I cannot be affected so much with the calamities of my own relations or the land of my nativity, as with the case of the heathen, Mohammedan, and ignorant nations of the earth. No part of my prayers are so deeply serious as that for the conversion of the infidel and ungodly world, that God's name may be sanctified, and his kingdom come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Nor was I ever before so sensible what a plague the division of languages is, which hindereth our speaking to them for their conversion. Nor what a great sin tyranny is, which keepeth out the Gospel from most of the nations of the world. Could we but go among Tartars, Turks, and heathens, and speak their language, I should be but little troubled for the silencing of eighteen hundred ministers at once, in England, nor for all the rest that were cast out here, and in Scotland, and Ireland; there being no employment in the world so desirable in my eyes as to labor for the winning of such miserable souls; which maketh me greatly honor Mr. John Eliot, the apostle of the Indians in New-England, and whoever else have labored in such work.

I am more deeply afflicted for the disagreements of Christians than I was when I was a younger Christian. Except the case of the infidel world, nothing is so bad and grievous to my thoughts as the case of divided Churches; and therefore I am more deeply sensible of the sinfulness of those prelates and pastors of Churches who are the principal cause of these divisions. O! how many millions of souls are kept by them in ignorance and ungodliness, and deluded by faction, as if it were true religion! How is the conversion of infidels hindered by them, and Christ and religion heinously dishonored! The contentions between the Greek Church and the Roman, the Papists and the Protestants, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, have wofully hindered the kingdom of Christ.

I am farther than ever I was from expecting great matters of unity, splendor, or prosperity, to the Church on earth, or that saints should dream of a kingdom of this world, or flatter themselves with the hope of a golden age, or of reigning over the ungodly, till there be a new heavens, and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. On the contrary, I am more apprehensive that suffering must be the Church's most ordinary lot; and true Christians must be self-denying cross bearers, even where there are none but formal, nominal Christians to be the cross makers: for though, ordinarily, God would have vicissitudes of summer and winter, day and night, that the Church may grow

externally in the summer of prosperity, and intensively and radically in the winter of adversity; yet, usually, their night is longer than their day, and that day itself hath its storms and tempests.

I do not lay so great a stress upon the external modes and forms of worship, as many young professors do. I have suspected myself, as perhaps the reader may do, that this is from a cooling and declining of my former zeal, though the truth is, I never much complied with men of that mind; but I find that judgment and charity are the causes of it, as far as I am able to discover. I cannot be so narrow in my principles of Church communion as many are, that are so much for a liturgy, or so much against it; so much for ceremonies, or so much against them, that they can hold communion with no Church that is not of their mind and way.

If I were among the Greeks, the Lutherans, the Independents, yea, the Anabaptists, owning no heresy, nor setting themselves against charity and peace, I would sometimes hold occasional communion with them as Christians; if they would give me leave, without forcing me to any sinful subscription or action, though my most usual communion should be with that society which I thought most agreeable to the word of God if I were free to choose. I cannot be of their opinion, that think God will not accept him that prayeth by the Common Prayer Book; and that such forms are a self-invented worship, which God rejecteth; nor yet can I be of their mind that say the like of extempore prayers.

I am much less regardful of the approbation of man, and set much lighter by contempt or applause, than I did long ago. I am oft suspicious that this is not only from the increase of self denial and humility, but partly from my being glutted and surfeited with human applause. All worldly things appear most vain and unsatisfactory when we have tried them most: but though I feel that this hath some hand in the effect, yet, as far as I can perceive, the knowledge of man's nothingness, and God's transcendent greatness, with whom it is that I have most to do, and the sense of the brevity of human things, and the nearness of eternity, are the principal causes of this effect; which some have imputed to self conceitedness and moroseness.

I am more and more pleased with a solitary life, and though in a way of self denial, I could submit to the most public life for the service of God, when he requireth it, and would not be unprofitable, that I might be private, yet I must confess it is much more pleasing to myself to be retired from the world, and to have very little to do with men, and to converse with God and conscience and good books.

Though I was never much tempted to the sin of covetousness, yet my fear of dying was wont to tell me that I was not sufficiently loosened from the world: but I find that it is comparatively very easy to me to be loose from this world, but hard to live by faith above. To despise earth, is easy to me; but not so easy to be acquainted and conversant with heaven. I have nothing in this world which I could not easily let go; but to get satisfying apprehensions of the other world is the great and grievous difficulty.

I am much more apprehensive than long ago of the odiousness and danger of the sin of pride. Scarcely any sin appeareth more odious to

me, having daily more acquaintance with the lamentable naughtiness and frailty of man, and of the mischiefs of that sin, and especially in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical. I think so far as any man is proud, he is kin to the devil, and utterly a stranger to God and to himself. It is a wonder that it should be a possible sin to men that still carry about with them, in soul and body, such humbling matter to remedy as we all do.

I am much more sensible than heretofore, of the breadth, and length, and depth, of the radical, universal, odious sin of selfishness, and therefore have written so much against it; and of the excellency and necessity of self denial, and of a public mind, and of loving our neighbors as ourselves.

I am more solicitous than I have been about my duty to God, and less solicitous about his dealings with me; being assured that he will do all things well; acknowledging the goodness of all the declarations of his holiness, even in the punishment of man; and knowing that there is no rest but in the will and goodness of God.

Though my works were never such as could be any temptation to me to dream of obliging God by proper merit in commutative justice, yet one of the most ready, constant, undoubted evidences of my uprightness and interest in his covenant, is, the consciousness of my living devoted to him. I the more easily believe the pardon of my failings through my Redeemer, while I know that I serve no other master, and that I know no other end, or trade, or business, but that I am employed in his work, and make it the object of my life to live to Him in the world, notwithstanding my infirmities. This bent and business of my life, with my longing desires after perfection, in the knowledge and love of God, and in a holy and heavenly mind, are the two standing, constant, discernible evidences which most put me out of doubt of my sincerity. I find that constant action and duty are what keep the first always in sight; and constant wants and weaknesses, and coming short of my desires, do make these desires the more troublesome, and so the more easily still perceived.

Though my habitual judgment, resolution, and scope of life, be still the same, yet I find a great mutability as to the actual apprehensions and degrees of grace; and consequently find that so mutable a thing as the mind of man, would never keep itself if God were not its keeper. When I have been seriously musing upon the reasons of Christianity, with the concurrent evidences methodically placed in their just advantages before my eyes, I am so clear in my belief of the Christian verities, that Satan hath little room for a temptation; but sometimes when he hath on a sudden set some temptation before me, when the foresaid evidences have been out of the way, or less upon my thoughts, he hath, by such surprises, amazed me, and weakened my faith in the present act. So also as to the love of God, and trusting in him, sometimes when the motives are clearly apprehended, the duty is more easy and delightful; and at other times I am merely passive and dull, if not guilty of actual despondency and distrust.

Thus much of the alterations of my soul since my younger years, I thought best to give the reader, instead of all those experiences and actual motions and affections, which I suppose him rather to have

expected an account of. And having transcribed thus much of a life which God hath read, and conscience hath read, and must farther read, I humbly lament it, and beg pardon of it, as sinful, and too unequal and unprofitable. I warn the reader to amend that in his own, which he findeth to have been amiss in mine; confessing, also, that much hath been amiss which I have not here particularly mentioned, and that I have not lived according to the abundant mercies of the Lord. But what I have recorded hath been especially to perform my vows, and declare his praise to all generations, who hath filled up my days with his invaluable favors, and bound me to bless his name for ever. I have done it also to prevent the defective performance of this task by some overvaluing brethren, who I know intended it, and were unfitter to do it than myself; and for such reasons as Junius, Scultetus, Thuanus, and many others, have done the like before me. The principal of which are these three: 1. As travellers and seamen used to do after great adventures and deliverances, I hereby satisfy my conscience, in praising the blessed Author of all those undeserved mercies which have filled up my life. 2. Foreseeing, by the attempts of Bishop Morley, what prelatists and papists are likely to say of me, when they have none to contradict them, and how possible it is that those who never knew me may believe them, though they have lost their hope with all the rest, I take it to be my duty to be so faithful to that stock of reputation which God hath entrusted me with, as to defend it at the rate of opening the truth. Such as have made the world believe that Luther consulted with the devil, that Calvin was a stigmatized sodomite, that Beza turned papist, &c, to blast their labors, I know are very likely to say any thing respecting me, which their interest or malice tell them will any way advantage their cause, to make my writings unprofitable when I am dead. 3. That young Christians may be warned by the mistakes and failings of my unriper times, to learn in patience, live in watchfulness, and not be fierce and proudly confident in their first conceptions; to reverence ripe, experienced age, and to beware of taking such for their chief guides, as have nothing but immature and inexperienced judgments, with fervent affections and free and confident expressions; but to learn of them that have with holiness, study, time, and trial, looked about them, as well on one side as on the other, and attained to clearness and impartiality in their judgments.

Having mentioned the changes which I think were for the better, I must add, that as I confessed many of my sins before, so I have been guilty of many since which, because materially they seemed small, have had the less resistance, and yet on the review, do trouble me more than if they had been greater, done in ignorance. It can be no small sin formally, which is committed against knowledge and conscience and deliberation, whatever excuse it have. To have sinned while I preached and wrote against sin, and had such abundant and great obligations from God, and made so many promises against it, doth lay me very low: not so much in fear of hell, as in great displeasure against myself, and such self abhorrence as would cause revenge upon myself, were it not forbidden. When God forgiveth me, I cannot forgive myself; especially for my rash words or deeds, by which I have seemed injurious and less tender and kind than I should have

been to my near and dear relations, whose love abundantly obliged me. When such are dead, though we never differed in point of interest, or any other matter, every sour or cross, provoking word which I gave them, maketh me almost irreconcilable to myself, and tells me how repentance brought some of old to pray to the dead whom they had wronged, to forgive them, in the hurry of their passion.

That which I named before, by the by, is grown one of my great diseases; I have lost much of that zeal which I had to propagate any truths to others, save the mere fundamentals. When I perceive people or ministers to think they know what indeed they do not, which is too common, and to dispute those things which they never thoroughly studied, or expect that I should debate the case with them, as if an hour's talk would serve instead of an acute understanding and seven years' study, I have no zeal to make them of my opinion, but an impatience of continuing discourse with them on such subjects, and am apt to be silent or to turn to something else; which, though there be some reason for it, I feel cometh from a want of zeal for the truth, and from an impatient temper of mind. I am ready to think that people should quickly understand all in a few words; and if they cannot, to despair of them, and leave them to themselves. I know the more that this is sinful in me, because it is partly so in other things, even about the faults of my servants or other inferiors; if three or four times warning do no good to them, I am much tempted to despair of them, turn them away, and leave them to themselves.

I mention all these distempers that my faults may be a warning to others to take heed, as they call on myself for repentance and watchfulness. O Lord! for the merits, and sacrifice, and intercession of Christ, be merciful to me, a sinner, and forgive my known and unknown sins.' (pp. 335–344.)

The writings of Baxter were very voluminous. It seems, indeed, to have been the principal employment of his whole life, to strive to edify the public through the medium of the press; and though it is stated that 'no sculptured monument marks the spot where his ashes repose,' yet his name is immortalized by the monument which he himself erected by his pen. The reader may form some idea of the vastness of his labors in this department, when he is told, that if the works of Richard Baxter were printed 'in a uniform edition, they could not be comprised in less than sixty volumes, making from thirty to forty thousand closely printed octavo pages!' In the chronological list which Mr. Orme has given of Baxter's works he gives the titles of no less than *one hundred and sixty-eight* volumes, exclusive of a huge mass of manuscripts, consisting of letters and other miscellaneous matters which have never been printed. This shows what may be achieved by a conscientious and diligent improvement of time and talent.

The following testimonies in favor of these writings are collected by his biographer:—

Dr. Barrow said, his practical writings were never mended, and his controversial ones seldom confuted. With a view to his casuistical writings, the honorable Robert Boyle declared, "He was the fittest man of the age for a casuist, because he feared no man's displeasure, nor hoped for any man's preferment." Bishop Wilkins observed of him, that he had cultivated every subject he had handled; that if he had lived in the primitive times, he would have been one of the fathers of the Church; and that it was enough for one age to produce such a person as Mr. Baxter. Archbishop Usher's high thoughts of him appeared in his earnest importunity to induce him to write on the subject of conversion. Dr. Manton thought Mr. Baxter came nearer the apostolical writings than any man in the age. Dr. Bates' opinion of his eloquence has been given already. "His books," he says, "for their number and variety of matter, make a library. They contain a treasure of controversial, casuistical, and practical divinity. His books of practical divinity have been effectual for more numerous conversions of sinners to God, than any printed in our time; and while the Church remains on earth, will be of continual efficacy to recover lost souls. There is a vigorous pulse in them that keeps the reader awake and attentive."

Few men were capable of forming a better or more candid opinion of Baxter than Dr. Doddridge. He was well acquainted with his writings, very similar to him in his sentiments, and partook largely of his desire to be useful to all men. He thus expresses his opinion of his character as a writer:—

"His style is inaccurate, because he had no regular education; and because he wrote continually in the views of eternity: but judicious, nervous, spiritual, and remarkably evangelical: a manly eloquence, and the most evident proof of an amazing genius: with respect to which he may not improperly be called the English Demosthenes: exceeding proper for conviction: see his 'Saint's Rest,' all his treatises on conversion, and especially his 'Call to the Unconverted,' 'Divine Life, and Counsels to Young Men:' few were ever more instrumental for awakening and converting more souls. His book of converse with God in solitude is a most sublime piece of devotion: his Gildas Salvianus is a most extraordinary piece, and should be read by every young minister before he takes a people under his stated care; and I think the practical part of it deserves to be read every two or three years: for nothing has a greater tendency to awaken the spirit of a minister to that zeal in his work, for want of which many good men are but shadows of what by the blessing of God they might be, if the maxims and treasures laid down in that incomparable treatise were strenuously pursued."

In a letter to a friend, giving him some account of his studies, Doddridge says, "Baxter is my particular favorite. It is impossible to tell you how much I am charmed with the devotion, good sense, and pathos, which is every where to be found in him. I cannot forbear looking upon him as one of the greatest orators, both with regard to copiousness, acuteness, and energy, that our nation hath produced; and if he hath described, as I believe, the temper of his own heart, he appears to have been so far superior to the generality of those whom we chari-

tably hope to be good men, that one would imagine that God raised him up to disgrace and condemn his brethren; to show what a Christian is, and how few in the world deserve the character. I have lately been reading his Gildas Salvianus, which hath cut me out much work among my people. This will take me off from so close an application to my private studies, as I could otherwise covet, but may answer some valuable ends with regard to others and myself."

But these commendatory opinions of Baxter have not been confined to evangelical churchmen and dissenters; the literary men of the nation have not been backward to express their approbation of Baxter's talents and piety. Dr. Kippis, under the article "Doddridge" in the "Biographia Britannica," institutes a comparison between him and Job Orton, the author of "Doddridge's Memoirs." "It has occurred," he says, "to us, that Mr. Orton, who so long resided at Kidderminster, the principal seat of Mr. Baxter's ministerial usefulness, had a considerable resemblance in certain respects to that famous divine.—In extent of abilities, Baxter was greatly superior to Mr. Orton, and he prodigiously exceeded him in the multiplicity of his writings; but with regard to the nature of their practical works and the strictness, we had almost said the rigidness, of their personal piety, there was no small degree of similarity. Both of them display in their productions the same ardent zeal to excite the attention of men to their eternal concerns, and urge these concerns with peculiar energy and pathos. Both of them were animated with a seriousness of spirit which seems never to have forsaken them in the most ordinary occurrences of life; nor could either of them bear to be much interrupted in their sacred employments. When some visiters to Mr. Baxter, after having sitten awhile with him, said, 'We are afraid, sir, that we break in upon your time?' His answer was, 'To be sure you do.'"

While this passage shows the high idea which Kippis entertained of Baxter's character, I conceive that the points of resemblance between him and Orton were very few. Orton was stiff, formal, and cautious to a fault, not to mention other particulars; qualities the very opposite of those which distinguished Baxter, whose warmth and energy often involved him in difficulties, which the timid prudence of the other was sure to prevent. The souls of the two men were cast in totally different moulds. Baxter would have set the world on fire, while Orton was lighting a match.

Orton himself held Baxter in the highest veneration. In one of his letters to the Rev. Mr. Hughes, he says, "I would recommend you to read some practical divinity every day; especially the works of Howe, Henry, Watts, Doddridge, and writers of that strain and spirit, whom God eminently honored as instruments of great usefulness in his Church. Above all, Baxter, who was, with regard to the success of his labors and writings, superior to them all."

"Addison says, 'I once met with a page of Mr. Baxter; upon the perusal of it, I conceived so good an idea of the author's piety, that I bought the whole book.' Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his 'Rambler,' has quoted Baxter twice, (No. 71 and 196,) in such a manner as to show that he considered his name to be worthy of a place among the highest authorities. He is also frequently mentioned in Johnson's con-

versations with Boswell: and once, when Boswell asked him what works of Richard Baxter he should read? 'Read any of them,' said the sage, 'for they are all good.'"

But no writer has more accurately or candidly sketched the character of Baxter than Grainger, whose invaluable Biographical History supplies information about numerous individuals, of whom no account is any where else to be found; and who rarely distorts his portraits under the influence of personal or professional prejudice.

"Richard Baxter," he says, "was a man famous for weakness of body and strength of mind; for having the strongest sense of religion himself, and exciting a sense of it in the thoughtless and the profligate; for preaching more sermons, engaging in more controversies, and writing more books, than any other nonconformist of his age. He spoke, disputed, and wrote with ease; and discovered the same intrepidity when he reproved Cromwell and expostulated with Charles II. as when he preached to a congregation of mechanics. His zeal for religion was extraordinary; but it seems never to have prompted him to faction, or carried him to enthusiasm. This champion of the Presbyterians was the common butt of men of every other religion, and of those who were of no religion at all. But this had very little effect upon him: his presence and his firmness of mind on no occasion forsook him. He was just the same man before he went into a prison, while he was in it, and when he came out of it; and he maintained a uniformity of character to the last gasp of his life. His enemies have placed him in hell; but every man who has not ten times the bigotry that Mr. Baxter himself had, must conclude that he is in a better place. This is a very faint and imperfect sketch of Mr. Baxter's character. Men of his size are not to be drawn in miniature. His portrait, in full proportion, is in his 'Narrative of his own Life and Times,' which though a rhapsody, composed in the manner of a diary, contains a great variety of memorable things, and is, in itself, as far as it goes, a history of nonconformity."

I cannot close this collection of testimonies to the merits of Baxter, without adding that of Mr. Wilberforce, a name which will ever be dear to every friend of religion and humanity. I cannot help saying, however, he ought not to have considered Baxter as exclusively the property of the Church of England. Baxter, though not properly a dissenter, was, in the strictest sense of the term, a nonconformist. "I must beg," says Mr. Wilberforce, "to class among the brightest ornaments of the Church of England, this great man, who, with his brethren, was so shamefully ejected from the Church in 1662, in violation of the royal word, as well as of the dear principles of justice. With his controversial pieces I am little acquainted; but his practical writings, in four massy folios, are a treasury of Christian wisdom. It would be a most valuable service to mankind to revise them, and, perhaps, to abridge them, to render them more suited to the taste of modern readers. This has been already done in the case of his 'Dying Thoughts,' a beautiful little piece, and of his 'Saint's Rest.' His 'Life,' also, written by himself, and in a separate volume, contains much useful matter, and many valuable particulars of the history of the times of Charles I., Cromwell," &c.' (Vol. ii, pp. 324–327.)

We close our extracts with the following very just remarks of Baxter's biographer:—

'When he did write, it was with a pointed pen, which is never chargeable with obscurity or feebleness. The extent of his knowledge and his command of language, betrayed him into exuberance and redundancy. He heaps up arguments, and raises piles of reasons, scarcely knowing when to stop, or what limits to prescribe to a discussion. Though a lover of order, he had no time to arrange or select his thoughts when he sat down to write, so that he poured them forth with all the copiousness of his mind, but often with an irregularity and incongruity that materially injured their beauty and effect. He belabors an adversary till he has destroyed not only his existence but his very form. Not content with disarming him, and using his arms against himself, he seems to take pleasure in having him an object of pity, if not of scorn. His metaphysics and refinements have frequently been referred to. These constituted both his power and his weakness as a controversialist.' They enabled him to discover any assailable points in the positions of his adversaries; to penetrate into every crevice, and to lay open every mistake. They at the same time supplied an almost invulnerable protection to himself. He had always ground on which he could retreat with advantage, so that he was frequently left in quiet possession of the field. This style of debate, however, enfeebled the cause, while it appeared to constitute the strength of its advocate. It rarely produced conviction of the truth, but often induced suspicion that error was lurking under the forms and behind the battlements of logic and metaphysics.

The style of Baxter is considerably diversified. It is often incorrect, rugged, and inharmonious, abounding in parentheses and digressions, and enfeebled by expansion. It is happiest when it is divested entirely of a controversial character, and the subject relates to the great interests of salvation and charity. It then flows with a copiousness and purity to which there is nothing superior in the language in which he wrote. The vigorous conceptions of his mind are then conveyed in a corresponding energy of expression; so that the reader is carried along with a breathless impetuosity, which he finds it impossible to resist. Baxter knew nothing of that vice of learning which Bacon so beautifully describes, as consisting "more in hunting after words than matter; more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and the varying and illustration with tropes and figures, than after the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention, or depth of judgment." Baxter was superior to all this. Truth in all its majesty and infinite importance alone occupied the throne of his spirit, and dictated the forms in which its voice should be uttered. And when it spoke, it was in language divinely suited to its nature, never distracting by its turgidness, or disgusting by its regularity. He could be awful or gentle, pathetic or pungent, at pleasure; always suiting his words to his thoughts, and dissolving his audience in tenderness, or overwhelming them with terror, as heaven or hell, the mercies of the Lord, or the wrath to come, was the topic of discourse. It may confidently be affirmed, that from no author of

the period could a greater selection of beautiful passages of didactic, hortatory, and consolatory writings, be made.' (pp. 339–340.)

PROFESSOR STUART'S COMMENTARY.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, with a Translation and various Excursus. By Moses Stuart, *Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover.*

What will the New-Haven reviewers now say? When reviewing Dr. Adam Clarke's Discourses, they made a great bustle concerning what they were pleased to call a vain parade and an ostentatious show of learning which the doctor exhibited in his Discourses and Commentary. In their estimation this was a fault which could be atoned for only by the remote probability that it might excite the illiterate Methodist preachers to a suitable ambition in the pursuit of learning. While they themselves betrayed no uncommon modesty in putting in their claims to a superior share of learning, they could indulge in a sneering contempt of Dr. Clarke because, forsooth, 'much learning had made him mad,' so mad indeed as to lead him to trespass upon the rules of modesty and the laws of a just interpreter of the Holy Scriptures by a vain parade of learning! Will they utter similar sneers at the author of this Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans? It is true the Andover professor does not 'disfigure his pages' with quite as many sorts of 'strange types' as are to be found in the invaluable Commentary of Dr. Clarke, whether from the want of materials or from a conviction that it would have been useless, we pretend not to determine. He has, however, drawn largely upon his learned resources in his critical investigation of this important part of Divine revelation. Nor are we at all dissatisfied with this. In giving the Christian community a new translation, accompanied with critical notes, of a portion of the Holy Scriptures, he has only followed the example of Wesley, Campbell, Macknight, and many others, whose laudable attempts to elucidate the sacred writings have been hailed with pleasure by those who could justly estimate the worth of their labors; and we should hope that the results of Professor Stuart's critical researches will benefit his more immediate brethren, and 'set them right on an important point of Christian doctrine,' no less suitably and infallibly than the New-Haven reviewers flattered themselves Dr. Clarke would his Methodist brethren.

We are therefore not at all displeased at beholding the learning which Professor Stuart has brought to bear upon this highly interesting topic: on the contrary we cannot but think that those who skilfully

employ this sort of criticism in the cause of sacred literature, render an important service to the Christian Church. We are the more pleased with the learned labors of the Andover professor because he has confirmed those views we had heretofore entertained respecting some of those portions of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which had long been a subject of controversy among commentators, and among Christians in general. Whether his decision, which appears to have been the result of much patient and critical investigation, and made up too in opposition to his preconceived opinion and the most of Calvinistic commentators, will tend to settle the mooted question, we cannot tell. We trust, however, that his judgment on those points will not be lightly treated, although we know that bigotry will rarely yield to the force of truth, however forcibly that truth may be expressed.

But whatever may be the fate of the Commentary before us among those who most need the rectifying syllabus which Professor Stuart has prefixed to certain portions of this argumentative Epistle, he has certainly deserved well of his brethren, and laid the Christian community under obligation to him for the bold and independent manner in which he has combated some very popular errors, and, in our judgment, established their opposite truths. In this Commentary we see the same mind at work to divest itself of prejudice, of predilections in favor of long-adopted theories, as we beheld in surveying 'The Life and Times of Arminius,' a specimen of which we gave our readers in our last number; and we most ardently hope that the author will persevere in his investigations until the last vestiges of the *decretum absolutum*, which has done so much mischief in the Church, shall be driven from the world.

In the work before us Professor Stuart gives in the first place a new and revised translation of the entire Epistle: this is followed by a copious introduction and a brief analysis of its general contents; then follows a critical examination of the sacred text, in which the author brings to his aid a vast compass of philological knowledge and verbal criticism, each subject being divided into sections, without breaking up the common division of chapters and verses. The critical annotations are accompanied with theological discussions in defence of the exegesis adopted in the Commentary. The whole concludes with what the author calls 'Excursus,' (Excursions or digressions,) in which he farther illustrates and vindicates certain postulatums laid down in the critical notes. As a whole we are much pleased with this performance, although it is proper that we advertise the reader that there are some sentiments advanced at which we must take exceptions; these will be noticed in the course of our remarks. We rejoice, however, to find in this work that same fearless independence of mind in avowing

his convictions which he has evinced on a former occasion, when searching into the life and doctrine of James Arminius. Though educated in the Calvinistic school, and still ranked among that class of divines who have advocated the sentiments of the Geneva reformer, he has boldly struck out a path for himself, diverging in many important points from the path which had been opened by Augustine and Calvin, and since trodden by the most eminent commentators of the Calvinistic theology; though we think we discover now and then a zig-zag course toward the old beaten path. It is to be hoped, however, that the same unerring thread which has so far conducted the learned professor out of the labyrinth of error will still serve as a clew to lead him into the broad and open field of Gospel truth, where, under the spreading branches of the tree of righteousness, he may regale himself in company with Arminius, Luther, and Melancthon, Wesley, Fletcher, and Clarke, and a host of other worthies who have labored to clear the field of the briers and thorns which had been growing for ages—and strengthen his heart in partaking with them of the delicious fruits which enrich and beautify this noble tree.

That our readers may participate with us in this pleasing hope, we will give them an extract from the preface to the work before us, which will show the circumstances under which it has been brought forth, and the premises adopted by the author which have conducted him to his conclusions:—

'I publish,' says he, 'to the world the result of my labors upon the Epistle to the Romans, with unfeigned diffidence, and with a trembling sense of the responsibility which I incur by so doing. This Epistle has been the grand arena, if I may so express myself, on which theological combatants have been contending, ever since the third century; and perhaps still earlier. The turn which the Apostle James has given to his discussion respecting justification makes it probable, that even in his time there were some who abused the words of Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, concerning the doctrine of "justification by faith without the deeds of law." If so, then it would seem, that there has been no period since this Epistle was written, in which its meaning has not been more or less a subject of contest.

How could this be otherwise, since it discusses the highest and most difficult of all the doctrines which pertain to the Christian system?—Men must be more alike in their early education, their illumination, their habits of reasoning, and their theological convictions, than they have hitherto been; and they must love God and each other, better than they have ever yet done; not to differ in their interpretation of the Epistle to the Romans. It strikes at the root of all human pride and vain glory; it aims even a deadly blow. And where a passionate attachment to these is rankling in the breast, how is it possible that this Epistle should meet with a welcome reception, and the authority of its simple and obvious meaning be admitted? Even where the

remains of such an attachment are still lurking within, and only now and then developing themselves, because the heart is in some measure unsanctified, there we cannot expect to find an unprejudiced interpretation of the writing in question. An epistle, which is as it were the very *confession of faith* that a true Christian is to make, must needs receive an interpretation more or less forced, on the part of all who are influenced by pride, by passion, by prejudice, by ill-directed early instruction, or by ignorance.

For these reasons, an interpreter of this Epistle must expect opposition at the present day, let his views be what they may. Be he Calvinist, Arminian, Pelagian, Antinomian, Socinian, or of any other sect, it is vain for him to think of escape. Paul is a writer too formidable to be acknowledged as an opponent. Hence, when he is interpreted so that the views of one party in any particular point seem to be favored, the others are very apt to unite in condemning the interpretation. Nothing will satisfy them, but to have such a writer explained as siding with them. Alas then for the interpreter! While he meets, perhaps, with the approbation of a few, he must of course expect the vehement dissent of many. He must make up his mind, therefore, before he publishes, to bear with all this, and to bear with it patiently and firmly; or else he had better abstain from publishing. It may appear to him as a very undesirable remuneration for painful and long-protracted labors; but it is one which others have been obliged to receive, and which he also must expect. The only offset for all the pain which this may occasion him, must be the hope, that his labors after all may do some good; and that, if they do not themselves on the whole directly advance the cause of truth, they may at least be the means of exciting others to make inquiries, which will result in the accomplishment of such an end.

For myself, I do not profess to be free from all prejudices of education and all attachment to system, in such a degree as to make it certain that my views may not sometimes be affected by them. Nor do I profess to be so illuminated in respect to Divine things, and so skilled in the original language and criticism of the New Testament, as to be certain that all my conclusions respecting the meaning of the Epistle before us, are correct. *Homo sum, et nihil ab hominibus me alienum puto.* When, therefore, I speak in the indicative mood, and say that this means thus and so, the reader will not understand that any thing more is intended, than that this is true in my opinion. To be always dealing in the conditional mode, and filling one's pages with *if, perhaps, probably, possibly, may it not, can it not*, etc, etc, would be intolerable in such a writing as a commentary. Beside, it would represent the author himself as in a perpetual state of doubt or uncertainty. This I cannot truly say of myself. My convictions, for the most part, have become definite and full in respect to far the greater portion of the Epistle to the Romans. To represent them otherwise, would be to misrepresent them.

But this does not imply, that I am insensible of the weakness of human nature, or of my exposedness to err. If I have any knowledge of my own heart, it is very far from such insensibility. After all, however, a man who is liable to err, may form opinions, and may be satis-

fied that they are correct. This all men do, and must do; and all which can be properly demanded of them is, that they should hold themselves open to conviction, whenever adequate reasons are offered to convince them of their errors.

In this position, I trust and believe, do I hold myself, as to the opinions advanced in the interpretations that follow. I can say truly, that there are no opinions advanced here, which have been hastily taken up. I have been long engaged in the exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, and have studied it much more than any other part of the Bible. I have taken an extensive range in consulting commentators ancient and modern, as well as exegeses contained in theological essays and systems. This, however, I mention for one purpose, and one only, viz. to show that I have not come lightly to the responsible task of writing and publishing a commentary on the Epistle under consideration; and that the opinions, therefore, which are advanced in it, are not the offspring of mere education or hasty conjecture.

Dissent, and probably contradiction, are almost of course to be expected. I may be permitted, however, respectfully to solicit those who may see fit to publish any thing of this nature, that they would investigate thoroughly, before they condemn what I have said. When they have so done, I shall value their opinion, however it may differ from my own. Aiming, as I trust I do, at the development of truth, I shall rejoice to find any of my errors corrected; for errors no doubt there are in my work; and if the correction be made in the spirit of love and Christian friendship, so much the more acceptable will it be. If it be made in a different spirit, and is still a real correction, I would fain hope for magnanimity enough to say: *Fas est ab hoste doceri.*

From some of those who have never deeply studied the Epistle to the Romans, and who have a traditional and systematic exegesis which answers their purposes in an *a priori* way, I may probably expect, in regard to some things, vehement and unqualified dissent. Such, however, can hardly assert the right of demanding that my views should be accommodated to theirs; since we proceed, in our respective interpretations, on grounds so exceedingly diverse. I hope, therefore, that such will excuse me from any obligation to contend with their exegesis.

To those who may differ from me, after thorough research, I can only say: "The field is open; as open for you as for me. You have the same right to publish your thoughts to the world, as I have to publish mine; and as good a right to defend your views, as I have to proffer mine. The result of doing this, if done with deep, attentive, protracted consideration, and in the spirit of kindness, cannot be otherwise than favorable to the interests of truth. I may not live to vindicate my own views where just, or to abandon the errors of which you might convince me; but others will live, who will do the one or the other for me, should it become necessary. The truth, at last, must and will prevail."

I confess, frankly, that I do not expect, for this book, the favor of such as are truly *sectarians*. I have written it, so far as in my power, without any regard to sect or name. Doubtless my efforts have been imperfect; but so far as in me lay, the one only and simple inquiry with me has been: What did Paul mean to teach? What Calvin, or

Augustine, or Edwards, or Arminius, or Grotius, or any other theologian or commentator has taught or said, has been with me only secondary and subordinate. No one is farther from disrespect to the great and good, than myself; but when explaining the Bible, to call no man *master*, and to bow to no system as such, are sacred principles with me. If I have not always adhered to them, it results from my imperfection; not from any conscious and allowed design. Of course, all *party* men in theology, will probably find some things in the following pages with which they will not agree. How can it be otherwise? I have, to the utmost of my power, left their systems out of sight, and made it my constant and only effort, to follow simply the way in which the apostle seems to lead me. Such a course will be estimated differently from what it now is, when less attachment to system and party in theology, and more of simple-hearted love of the truth just as it stands in the Scripture, shall prevail in the Churches.

My views of Rom. v, 12–19, of vii, 5–25, and of viii, 28, seq., will no doubt be controverted. I have anticipated this; for who can help knowing, that these passages have, for time immemorial, been the great σκόκομμα καὶ σκάνδαλον of theology? To hazard an interpretation here, and not to accompany it with reasons, would be justly deemed presumptuous. To give reasons, demands at least the appearance of *theologizing*. Whatever of this exists in the Commentary or the Excursus, is, I may say, involuntary on my part. It is inserted only to guard against being misunderstood, or else to support the interpretation which I have given. In order to do this, it is now and then necessary to show that a different interpretation is replete with difficulties, some of which are insurmountable.

Those who are disposed to find fault with what they may call my *theological* discussions, (brief and seldom as they are,) would probably not make any objections to such discussions, had the result of them been accordant with their own views, or with those of the authors whom they highly esteem. But how can I be under obligation, to make wishes of this nature a rule to guide my interpretations, or my explanation and defence of them? I know of no precept in theory, nor any obligation from usage, which hinders an interpreter from reasoning upon the doctrines which the Scriptures appear to teach, or which they have been represented as teaching. How can it be one's duty, not to guard against the misrepresentation of his own views in respect to the meaning of Scripture, and not to defend those views by producing the arguments which appear to justify them?

Whatever the following pages contain, either of truth or errror, they have been written under no ordinary sense of responsibility. The Epistle itself must needs create such a feeling in the breast of every reflecting man, who undertakes to comment upon it; and in addition to this, I have been repeatedly interrupted in my labors by my state of health; and this, under circumstances which rendered it not improbable, that I should not live to see the completion of my work. The day of my account cannot be far distant; and in view of it, can I publish to the world what I do not seriously regard as being true? Can party purposes have any strong attractions for a man in such a condition? I hope and trust I can say, that the tribunal before which this and all

other works are to be finally judged, appears to me a matter of immeasurably higher interest, than all the praise or blame which men can bestow.

May that omniscient and merciful Being, the God of love and truth, forgive whatever of error may be in this book; and accept and bless to the good of his Church, whatever of truth is explained or defended!

I should be ungrateful, if I should omit to mention my special obligations to some of the interpreters, who have labored to explain the Epistle to the Romans. Calvin, Grotius, J. A. Turretin, Flatt, and Tholuck, have been my favorite authors; although I have by no means confined my reading to these. Most of all am I indebted to the excellent book of Tholuck on this Epistle. In particular, I have often relied on him, in my statements with respect to the opinions of other commentators, whom I had not at hand, or whom I did not think it important to consult myself, because I confided in his account of their views. But in all cases, where any considerable importance was attached to the opinion of this or that individual, and where it was in my power to consult, I have consulted for myself. Professor Tholuck will easily perceive, also, if the following sheets should pass under his eye, that I am indebted to him for various classical quotations and allusions, and also for not a few valuable philological remarks, as well as views of the reasoning and argumentation of the apostle. He has my most unfeigned thanks for all the aid which his excellent work has afforded me.

He will also perceive, that in some places I differ from him; I do this, as I trust, in the spirit of kindness and brotherly love. When I do differ, I always give my reasons for it. As I fully believe, that his only aim is to come to the knowledge and development of truth; so I trust he will put a candid estimate on the full and frank expression of my own views, where they differ from his. May our respective labors and inquiries help to promote the great object which we both have in view!

Throughout, I have adopted and expressed no views or opinions, without study; and none upon the *authority* of others. Those who read the following pages will perceive, I apprehend, that while I have not neglected the study of other writers, I have not omitted to study and think for myself. In this way only can any advance be hoped for, in the all-important work of interpreting the Bible.

I have only to add, that the present work is designed, in a special manner, for *beginners* in the study of interpretation; and this fact will account for the occasional repetitions and particularity of illustration, which the reader will not unfrequently meet with, in his perusal of this volume. If all the young men in our country, who repair to theological seminaries, or who devote themselves in any way to the study of sacred criticism, had been trained in early life to the study of the classics, on such grounds as are adopted in the Gymnasia of Europe, many a minute remark might be spared which is now made. The reader, who finds some things which are superfluous for himself, when he calls this to mind, will grant me pardon for being minute and particular.—Commentary written in a *general* way, leaves only a general and indistinct impression. It is not my aim to accomplish merely such an end.

The more practised interpreter will not, for the most part, be displeased with being frequently reminded of principles in grammar and criticism, which are in themselves important, and which need, in our Biblical studies, to be kept constantly before the mind.'

After reading this preface, so like, in spirit and tone, the one prefixed to Wesley's translation and Notes of the New Testament, the reader is prepared to listen with attention and candor to what the commentator has to say. In running over the translation we cast our eye on chapter vi, 17, and then turning to the Commentary, we find the following remark:—'To say that he' (Paul) 'thanks God with special reference to the fact that they were sinners, and because they were so, would be saying what contradicts not only the whole strain of Paul's epistles, but all the Bible.' This interpretation coincides exactly with Wesley and Clarke, both of whom represent the apostle as making the ground of his gratitude the fact of their being made free from those sins in which they had before been held in bondage, which certainly is the evangelical sentiment running through the whole New Testament.—We were a little surprised, however, that the learned professor did not notice more fully the beautiful metaphor here used by the apostle, and which is lost in the common version; ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς, may be rendered, *but ye have obeyed from the heart that mould of doctrine into which ye have been delivered;* 'which,' says Mr. Wesley, 'as it contains a beautiful allusion, conveys also a very instructive lesson; intimating that our minds, all pliant and ductile, should be conformed to the Gospel precepts, as liquid metals take the figure of the mould in which they are cast.'

The seventh chapter of Romans has given rise to a multitude of interpretations and much fiery controversy; and a controversy too which involves a very serious and important theological question. Ever since the days of Augustine, (which may be termed the first era of Calvinism in the Christian Church,) the most of those divines and commentators who have arranged themselves in the ranks of the Calvinistic forces have contended that this chapter is descriptive of the experience and character of the mature Christian. This they have done with a view to support their doctrine of the necessary continuance of sin in the hearts of believers while they live. On the other hand, many of all classes of commentators, equally eminent for learned criticism, deep theological attainments, and genuine Christian experience, have maintained that this chapter is descriptive of either a carnal Jew who was objecting to the apostle's doctrine, or to the exercises of a penitent sinner who might be struggling under the power of sin, and earnestly groaning for deliverance. For our part we had long been firmly per-

suaded that this latter sentiment is the true one. Let us hear what Professor Stuart says on this subject:—

'The variety of opinion respecting the first four verses in this chapter, is so great, and so many difficulties present themselves in the way of almost every exegesis which has hitherto been proposed, that one is strongly tempted to abandon the hope, that any thing can be offered which will be satisfactory to an enlightened and inquiring mind. After long and often-repeated study of these verses, however, I have come to the persuasion, that the difficulty with most commentators lies principally in their insisting upon too minute comparison between the conjugal connection here mentioned, and the connection of Christians with the law. A minute and exact comparison cannot be made; for, (1) The apostle represents the *husband* as dying, and the *wife* as becoming *free*, in consequence of his death. Then, (2) Christians are said *to die to the law*, (not the law to them,) and they are thus prepared to be affianced to Christ; i. e. the party who *dies* is, in this last case, represented as married to another; while, in respect to the literal *conjugal* union, it is of course only the party who *lives* that can be joined to another. This apparent *dissimilitude* between the two cases has given great trouble to commentators; and in fact it appears inexplicable, unless we acquiesce in a mere general point of similitude as to the things compared, without insisting on minute and circumstantial resemblances.

Let us inquire first of all: What is the object of the writer in presenting the comparison before us? The answer is, to illustrate and defend the sentiment avowed in chap. vi, 14; viz. "For we are not under the law, but under grace." Those Christians who were inclined to be legalists, and to look for justification or sanctification (the latter is here the subject of the writer) by the law, and therefore to hold fast to the law as an adequate means of accomplishing this end, would easily take offence at such a declaration. "What!" they would naturally say, "does the Gospel then absolve us from our relation to the law? Shall we throw by the ancient Scriptures as of no more use to us, because we now come under a new dispensation of grace?"

The apostle has prepared the way in chap. vi, 16–21, for the declaration which he is now about to make relative to this subject. He has there shown, as we have already seen, that a state of grace diminishes nothing of our obligation to refrain from sin; for by this very state are we made servants to righteousness; and the practice of holiness is at the same time urged upon us, by the prospect of a glorious reward, while the neglect of it is followed by endless misery. He now advances another step, and declares that we are "dead to the law," i. e. that the law as an *efficient means* of sanctification, (which the legalist holds it to be,) has been renounced by true Christians; for the death of Christ, "who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one who believes," in whom, moreover, we profess to trust as the ground of our sanctification as well as justification, has placed us in a new relation as to adequate means of being sanctified, and freed us from the vain and deceptive hopes of legalists, who were leaning upon the law both as the ground of sanctification and justification.

I have already stated reasons for supposing that the apostle is here speaking in particular of the law as an adequate means of *sanctification*; see the introduction to chap. vi. I merely remark here, that the close of ver. 4 shows very explicitly, that the special object which the apostle now considers as attainable by becoming dead to the law, and being affianced to Christ, is ἵνα καρποφορήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ. *Sanctification* then, not justification, as many commentators suppose, is here the particular subject of the writer's attention.

Ver. 1–4 may rather be called an *illustration* of what the apostle had avowed in vi, 14, than an argument to establish the declaration there made. The simple basis of the whole comparison I understand thus: "Brethren, you are aware that death, in all cases, dissolves the relation which exists between an individual and a law by which he was personally bound. For example: the conjugal law ceases to be in force, by the death of one of the parties. So it is in the case of Christians.—They not only die to sin, i. e. renounce it, when they are baptized into the death of Christ, vi, 2–11; but they also die to the law at the same time, i. e. they renounce all their hopes and expectations of being sanctified by the law, so that sin will no more have dominion over them." They do, by the very fact of becoming real Christians, profess to receive Christ as their "wisdom, and justification, and sanctification, (ἁγιασμός,) and redemption," 1 Cor. i, 30.

Let the reader consider, for a moment, the true nature of the declaration just quoted. Christ is our *wisdom*; i. e. our teacher, he who communicates the spiritual knowledge and light which we need, "the light of the world." Christ is our *justification*, (δικαιοσύνη,) i. e. the meritorious cause, ground, or author of it; compare Rom. iii, 21–28. Christ is our *sanctification*; i. e. the author, cause, or ground of our sanctification, by what he has done in our behalf in order to ensure it. Christ is our *redemption*, (ἀπολύτρωσις,) i. e. he is (to sum up all in one word) the cause of our deliverance from the penalty and power of sin, and of our being brought to enjoy the glorious liberty of the children of God. The last word makes the climax of the whole sentence.

Christ then is as really and truly our *sanctification*, as he is our *justification*. If now, in despair of being justified by the law, (for so we must be if we rightly view the subject,) we go to Christ for justification, and receive him as our only Saviour, renouncing all merit of our own, and all hope of being saved by the law—if, I say, we feel and do all this, then we do renounce the law for ever as the ground of justification, and accept the gratuitous salvation which is proffered by Christ. In the same manner, when the sinner comes to an adequate and proper view of the strictness and purity of the Divine law, and also to right views of the state of his own heart while in a natural condition, he will utterly abandon all hope of being sanctified by the law; for he will see, what Paul has so fully asserted in chap. vii, 5–11, "that the law brings him (through his own fault indeed, but not the less surely because of this) into a state of deeper guilt and condemnation." How then can the law be an adequate means of his *sanctification?* It is impossible; and the truly convicted sinner renounces all hope of this, and betakes himself to Christ and his salvation as the only ground of hope in this respect.

Here is the great difficulty, and here the solution of the whole passage must come in. Consider, for a moment, the true nature of the apostle's assertion, and no alarm need be felt as to the tendency of his sentiments. For what is it which he affirms in chap. vi, 14? It is, that "sin shall *not have dominion* over Christians, because they are not under the law, but under grace." The *dominion* or *power* which sin is to have over Christians, is then the subject of his inquiry, and of his assertions. So indeed the preceding context teaches; and so the subsequent context also. That we are *not under the law*, then, must of course mean, in this connection, that we are not under it as an efficacious or successful means of deliverance from the power of sin; for this it has never been, and cannot be, as chap. vii, 5–25 most fully shows. Christians are dead to the law, then, in this respect, viz. they renounce all hope of deliverance from the power of sin, through the law. It convinces, and condemns, and keeps up a perpetual struggle in the sinner's breast by awakening his conscience; but it does not deliver, vii, 14–25, compare viii, 3, 4. Consequently, the true penitent, coming to feel its impotence as the means of delivering from the power of sin, renounces all hope of deliverance in this way, and gives himself up to Christ, as his *sanctification*, as well as his wisdom, justification, and redemption.

Now what is there in all this, which infringes on the obligation of moral precept contained in the law? Surely nothing. "The law is holy, and just, and good;" it is all summed up in the requisition, "to love God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves." Will any one assert that Paul contends against this, after all that he has said in chaps. vi–viii, relative to the Christian's obligation to renounce sin and live a holy life? Nothing can be farther from his intention. The only question that needs to be solved, in order to remove all real difficulty, is: In what sense does Paul say that we are *dead to the law?* This I have endeavored to answer, by making the apostle his own expositor. The sum of the answer is, that as Christians renounce the law as an effectual means of *justification*, (chap. i–iii,) so they must renounce it as an effectual means of *sanctification*. Christ is our only hope in this respect, as well as in the other. The grace of the Gospel is the only effectual means by which we can hope successfully to resist sin, and persevere in holiness.

And is not this true? Just as true as that Christ is the ground of our justification? I appeal to chap. viii, 3, 4, for an exhibition of the sum of this sentiment; and to the whole of chaps. vi–viii, and also to the experience and feelings of every truly enlightened and humble Christian on earth,—in confirmation of the same sentiment.

I acknowledge it is a truth often overlooked. Many a time have I read the Epistle to the Romans, without obtaining scarcely a glimpse of it. When I ask the reason of this, I find it in neglect to look after the general object and course of thought in the writer. Special interpretation stood in the way of general views; the explanation of words hindered the discerning of the course of thought. And so I suppose it may be with many others. But now the whole matter appears to me so plain, that I can only wonder that I have ever been in the dark respecting it. Luther and other reformers saw what was so long hid-

den from me; and of late, Knapp, Tholuck, and many other commentators, have explained the chapters in question in like manner as I now do.

Having already given what I consider as the only defensible exposition of the similitude, which the apostle employs in ver. 1–4, I merely advert to different expositions, ancient and modern. Augustine, Prop. 36: Tria sint; *anima* tanquam *mulier*, *passiones peccatorum* tanquam *vir*, et *lex* tanquam *lex viri*. Beza: "The old man is the wife, sinful desire the husband, sins the children." Origen, Chrysostom, Calvin, and others: "Men are the wife, the law the former husband, Christ the new one." This last explanation seems to accord substantially with ver. 4, in which Christians are represented as having become dead to their former husband, and affianced to a new one. In order to carry the figure regularly through, it would seem as if the law (the former husband) must be represented as dead, by which Christians would be at liberty to be joined to a new husband. But this the apostle does not say; probably because he thought the expression would give offence to the Jews. Yet he says what is tantamount to it; for if either of the parties in a conjugal union die, then each is dead to the law, and the law to them, i. e. the conjugal law has no more application or relation to them, it is annulled as to them. It matters not which party dies, so far as the law is concerned; for the law is at an end if either dies.—So in the case before us; one of the parties being dead, the conjugal relation ceases. A new connection, therefore, may be formed. But this last conclusion can be made out only on the ground, that "dying to the law" is a figurative expression; which, indeed, no one will deny. If it is to be expounded by analogy with chap. vi, 1–11, we must construe it as meaning, "the renunciation of all trust in the law as the efficient means of sanctifying the sinner." When the awakened sinner comes to feel this sincerely and thoroughly, he is then prepared to be affianced to Christ, i. e. to receive him as his *sanctification*, as well as his justification.' (pp. 277–280.)

In Excursus vi, the author pursues this subject still farther in vindication of the position he had assumed. He supposes the objector to his views is urging that the interpretation he had given to Romans vii, 7–25, militates against the doctrine of human depravity. To this objection the professor replies as follows:—

'The whole of the allegation which I am discussing, appears to me to rest on ground entirely unsafe and unsatisfactory. It will be admitted by those who are conversant with the dispute about the meaning of the passage before us, and are well read in the history of Christian doctrine, that Augustine was the first who suggested the idea, that it must be applied to Christian experience. This he did, however, in the heat of dispute with Pelagius. At an earlier period of his life, he held to the common exegesis of the Church; as is certain from Prop. xlv, in Epist. ad Rom.: Intelligitur hinc ille homo describi, *qui nondum sub gratia*. So in Confess. vii, 21; viii, 5, Ad Simplic. i. But Pelagius, who denied the fallen state of man, urged upon him the declarations above referred to, viz., *delighting in the law of God after the inner man, serving the law of God with the mind*, etc. Augustine felt himself pressed

by them, and made his escape, by protesting against the exegesis of his antagonist. He recanted his former opinion respecting ver. 14–25, and became a strenuous advocate for an interpretation, which through him has gained extensive ground among Christians, and maintains its footing among many down to the present hour.

It is difficult to say how far men, and even good men, will sometimes go in matters of interpretation and criticism, in order to relieve themselves from the straits occasioned by warm dispute, in which their antagonists make galling attacks upon them. It was, in all probability, the dispute of the Church at Rome with the Montanists, which first occasioned it to doubt, and then to deny, the Pauline origin of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Luther's dispute with the Roman Catholics, on the subject of *justification by faith alone*, led him to discard the Epistle of James, and to call it, by way of contempt, *epistola straminea*, [an epistle of straw.] And the like have many others done, for similar reasons. Such seems to have been the ground of Augustine's new exegesis.

But when we come, now, seriously and calmly to inquire whether there is any cause of alarm in respect to the doctrine of the natural man's depravity, because Romans vii, 7–25 is interpreted as having respect to him; we can see that this is so far from being the case, that the very opposite is true; I mean, that his depravity is rendered much more conspicuous and aggravated by this exegesis. Let us see if this be not palpable and certain.

That men are *moral* beings, does not make them sinners or saints. That they have faculties which can distinguish between good and evil, only shows that they are capable of doing good or evil, of being righteous or wicked. *Conscience* and *reason* belong to the *pura naturalia* of the human race. Man, in the full and proper sense of this word, cannot exist without them. It is no more an evidence, then, that a man is holy or good in the Scripture sense of the word, because his reason and conscience distinguish good from evil, and testify in behalf of the good, than it is that he is holy because he has a moral nature. Such a distinction and such an approbation are inseparable from the essential nature of reason and conscience.

Consider, moreover, that the guilt of a sinner, who continues to yield to the solicitations of his carnal desires, is proportioned entirely to the measure of light which he has, and to the inducements set before him to act in a different manner. "Where there is no law, there is no transgression." "To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin." Then, of course, the sinner, with reason and conscience and the law of God all remonstrating against his course, is involved in guilt of the deepest dye; while an offender (if I may so call him) without any of these checks, would be no offender at all. "He that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." And so it ought to be. What then can render the person's case more aggravated, who is described in ver. 14–25, than the fact that he resists so much light and such powerful motives to pursue a different course?

Is it, then, denying the depravity of the unregenerate, when we assign to them faculties to do good, and light as to their duty, and

strong excitement to perform it, and represent them as after all refusing to do good, and uniformly hearkening to the voice of sin? I appeal to the reason and conscience of all men, whether such an accusation against the exegesis in question, is not in a high degree unjust and unfounded. Nay, I might go farther; I might say, it is the contrary exegesis which is pressed with the very difficulty it urges against the other. For if the sinner is born without reason and conscience, and is without light; or if he is born with reason and conscience that are incapable of distinguishing good from evil, or of giving the preference to the former; then his depravity and desperate guilt can in no way be made out, consistently with the first principles of a moral sense. Of all the charges, then, brought against the exegesis which I have defended, that of its diminishing the guilt of unregenerate men, is the most unfounded and unjust.

I have discussed the principal arguments, so far as I am acquainted with them, of those who interpret ver. 14–25 as having relation to Christian experience. In regard to the allegation, that Paul here speaks in the first person singular, and must therefore be relating his own experience, I have already remarked upon it, p. 296, seq. There is no objection to allowing it to be Paul's experience; but *when* had he such experience? And why does he speak of himself? These are the questions to be answered; and these I have endeavored to answer in my remarks at the close of vii, 12.

I cannot conclude this already protracted Excursus, without adverting, for a moment, to the history of the exegesis introduced by Augustine.

As has already been stated, the most ancient fathers of the Church, without a dissenting voice, so far as we have any means of ascertaining their views, were united in the belief, that an *unregenerate, unsanctified* person is described in vii, 5–25. So Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, and Theodoret. In this state did the views of the Church remain down to the time of Augustine, whose first opinion, and whose change of it, have already been described. How unnecessary such an evasion was, on his part, of the argument of Pelagius, we have already seen. For surely the more light the mind of a natural man has, the more his conscience approves the Divine law, and sides with it; the deeper and more dreadful is his guilt, when he sins against all these. And as the person described by the apostle is one over whom sin, in every case of contest presented, does actually obtain the victory; he must of course be a person of much deeper and more desperate depravity than any one can be, whose natural faculties are all degraded and depraved in their very origin; as Augustine held the faculties of men to be, after his dispute with Pelagius.

The exegesis of Augustine, however, found favor in the Churches where his sentiments respecting original sin were received; and prevailed very extensively and for a long time. In like manner with him, have Anselm, Thomas Aquinas, Cornelius a Lapide, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Spener, Buddaeus, Koppe, and many others, explained the passage in question; and most commentators among evangelical Christians, in Great Britain and in this country, have followed the same opinion.

On the other hand, beside all the ancient Greek, and some of the Latin fathers, there are many distinguished men who have defended the sentiment which has been above exhibited. Such are Erasmus, Raphel, Episcopius, Limborch, Turretin, Le Clerc, Heumann, Bucer, Schomer, Franke, G. Arnold, Bengel, Reinhard, Storr, Flatt, Knapp, Tholuck, and (so far as I know) all the evangelical commentators of the present time, on the continent of Europe. Most of the English Episcopal Church, also, for many years, and not a few of the Scotch, Dutch, and English Presbyterian and Congregational divines, have adopted the same interpretation. I cannot but believe, that the time is not far distant, when there will be but one opinion among intelligent Christians, about the passage in question; as there was but one, before the dispute of Augustine with Pelagius. In this respect there is ground of trust, that the ancient and modern Churches will yet fully harmonize.

From the above brief historical sketch, it would seem, that in general those who have admitted Augustine's view of the doctrine of original sin, have also admitted his exegesis of Rom. vii, 5–25. To this, however, there are exceptions; and of late, not a few exceptions.—More thorough, impartial, and unbiassed examination, will probably make an entire change in the views of Christians in general, even of those who have been educated in the belief of the Augustinian exegesis. This was my own lot; and for some time after I began the critical study of the Scriptures, I continued to advocate this method of interpretation. But an often repeated and more attentive study of the Epistle to the Romans has brought me to believe, that such an exegesis is forbidden by the nature of the case, the *usus loquendi*, and the object of the writer; and that it is impossible to maintain it, on any impartial and critical grounds.

I am fully aware of the strength of feeling which exists relative to this subject, in the minds of many. I am sorry to add, that the manner in which it is defended, can never contribute to advance the interests of simple truth. When will it be believed, that scorn is not critical acumen, and that calling men heretics, is not an argument that will convince such as take the liberty to think and examine for themselves? When will such appeals cease? And when shall we have reasons instead of assertions, criticism in the place of denunciation, and a full practical exhibition of the truth, that the simple testimony of the Divine word stands immeasurably higher than all human authority?' (Pages 559–562.)

The reader will be pleased to find that the views of Wesley and Clarke, in regard to the design of the apostle in this chapter, are fully confirmed by the Andover professor. Mr. Wesley says in his note on verse 7:—

'This is a kind of digression, (to the beginning of the next chapter,) wherein the apostle, in order to show in the most lively manner, the weakness and inefficacy of the law, changes the person, and speaks as of himself, concerning the misery of one under the law. This St. Paul frequently does when he is not speaking in his own person, but only assuming another character, Rom. iii, 6; 1 Cor. x, 30; ch. iv, 6.

The character here assumed is that of a man, first, ignorant of the law, then under it, and sincerely but ineffectually striving to serve God. To have spoken this of himself, or any true believer, would have been foreign to the whole scope of his discourse; nay, utterly contrary thereto; as well as to what is expressly asserted chapter viii.'

The following are Dr. Adam Clarke's remarks respecting the general scope and design of the apostle in this chapter:—

'It is difficult to conceive how the opinion could have crept into the Church, or prevailed there, that "the apostle speaks here of his *regenerate state*;' and that what was, in such a state, true of himself, must be true of all others in the same state." This opinion has, most pitifully and most shamefully, not only lowered the standard of Christianity, but destroyed its influence, and disgraced its character. It requires but little knowledge of the spirit of the Gospel, and of the scope of this Epistle, to see that the apostle is here either personating a Jew, under the law and without the Gospel, or showing what his own state was, when he was deeply convinced that by the deeds of the law no man could be justified; and had not as yet heard those blessed words, *Brother Saul, the Lord Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way, hath sent me that thou mightest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost*, Acts ix, 17.

In this, and the following verses, he states the contrariety between *himself* or any Jew, while without Christ, and the *law* of God. Of the latter he says, *it is spiritual;* of the former, *I am carnal, sold under sin.* Of the *carnal man*, in opposition to the *spiritual*, never was a more complete or accurate description given. The expressions *in the flesh*, and *after the flesh*, in ver. 5, and in chap. viii, 5, 8, 9, &c, are of the same import with the word *carnal*, in this verse. To be *in the flesh*, or to be *carnally minded*, solely respects the *unregenerate*. While unregenerate, a man is in a state of death and enmity against God, chap. viii, 6–9. This is St. Paul's own account of a *carnal man.*— The soul of such a man has no authority over the appetites of the body, and the lusts of the flesh: *reason* has not the government of *passion.* The work of such *a person*, is *to make provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof*, chap. xiii, 14. *He minds the things of the flesh*, chap. viii, 5. He is at enmity with God. In all these things the *spiritual man* is the *reverse;* he lives in a state of *friendship* with God in Christ, and the Spirit of God dwells in him; his soul has dominion over the appetites of the body and the lusts of the flesh; his passions submit to the government of reason; and he, by the Spirit, mortifies the deeds of the flesh; *he mindeth the things of the Spirit*, chapter viii, 5. The Scriptures, therefore, place these two characters in direct opposition to each other. Now, the apostle begins this passage by informing us that it is his *carnal state* that he is about to describe, in opposition to the spirituality of God's holy law, saying, *But I am carnal.*

Those who are of another opinion, maintain that by the word *carnal* here, the apostle meant that *corruption*, which dwelt in him *after his conversion:* but this opinion is founded on a very great mistake; for, although there may be, after justification, the remains of the carnal mind, which will be less or more felt, till the soul is completely sancti-

fied; yet the man is never denominated from the *inferior* principle, which is under control, but from the superior principle, which habitually prevails. Whatever epithets are given to *corruption* or *sin* in Scripture, opposite epithets are given to *grace* or *holiness*. By these different epithets, are the *unregenerate* and *regenerate* denominated.—From all this it follows, that the epithet *carnal*, which is the characteristic designation of an unregenerate man, cannot be applied to St. Paul *after his conversion*; nor indeed to any *Christian* in that state.

But the word *carnal*, though used by the apostle to signify a state of death and enmity against God, is not sufficient to denote all the evil of the state which he is describing; hence, he adds, *sold under sin*. This is one of the strongest expressions which the Spirit of God uses in Scripture, to describe the full depravity of fallen man. It implies a *willing slavery*: Ahab had *sold himself to work evil*, 1 Kings xxi, 20. And of the Jews it is said, in their utmost depravity, *Behold, for your iniquities, ye have sold yourselves*, Isa. l, 1. *They forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the heathen, and* WERE SOLD *to do mischief*, 1 Maccab. i, 15. Now, if the word *carnal*, in its strongest sense, had been sufficiently significant of all he meant, why add to this charge another expression still stronger? We must therefore understand the phrase, *sold under sin*, as implying, that the soul was *employed in the drudgery of sin*; that it was *sold over* to this service, and had no power to disobey this tyrant, until it was redeemed by another. And if a man be actually sold to another, and he acquiesce in the deed; then he becomes the *legal property* of that other person. This state of bondage was well known to the Romans. The sale of slaves they saw daily, and could not misunderstand the emphatical sense of this expression. Sin is here represented as a *person*; and the apostle compares the dominion which sin has over the man in question, to that of a master over his legal slave. Universally through the Scriptures, man is said to be in a state of bondage to sin, until the Son of God make him free: but in no part of the sacred writings is it ever said that the *children of God* are *sold under sin*. Christ came to deliver the lawful captive, and take away the prey from the mighty. *Whom the Son maketh free, they are free indeed.* Then, they *yield not up their members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: for sin shall not have the dominion over them;* because *the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus has made them free from the law of sin and death*, chap. vi, 13, 14, and viii, 2. Anciently, when regular *cartels* were not known, the captives became the slaves of their victors, and by them were *sold* to any purchaser; their slavery was as complete and perpetual as if the slave had resigned his own liberty, and sold himself: the laws of the land secured him to his master; he could not redeem himself because he had nothing that was *his own*, and nothing could rescue him from that state, but a stipulated *redemption*. The apostle speaks here, not of the *manner* in which the person in question became a slave; he only asserts the fact, that sin had a full and permanent dominion over him.'

'1. The strong expressions in this clause have led many to conclude, that the *apostle* himself, in his *regenerated state*, is indisputably *the person* intended. That all that is said in this chapter, of *the carnal*

man, sold under sin, did apply to *Saul of Tarsus*, no man can doubt: that what is here said can ever be, with propriety, applied to *Paul the apostle*, who can believe? Of the former all is natural; of the latter, all here said would be monstrous, and absurd, if not blasphemous.

2. But it is supposed that the words must be understood as implying a *regenerate man*, because the apostle says, ver. 22, *I delight in the law of God;* and in this verse, *I myself, with the mind, serve the law of God.* These things, say the objectors, cannot be spoken of a wicked Jew, but of a *regenerate* man, such as the apostle then was. But when we find that the former verse speaks of a man who is *brought into captivity to the law of sin and death;* surely there is no part of the regenerate state of the apostle to which the words can possibly apply. Had he been in captivity to the law of sin and death, *after* his conversion to Christianity, what did he gain by that conversion? *Nothing* for his personal holiness. He had found no salvation under an inefficient law; and he was left in thraldom under an equally inefficient Gospel. The very genius of Christianity demonstrates that nothing like this can, with any propriety, be spoken of a *genuine Christian.*

3. But, it is farther supposed, that these things cannot be spoken of a proud or wicked Jew; yet we learn the contrary from the infallible testimony of the word of God. Of this people, in their *fallen* and iniquitous state, God says by his prophet, *They* SEEK *me* DAILY, *and* DELIGHT *to know my way as a nation that did* RIGHTEOUSNESS, *and* FORSOOK *not the* ORDINANCES *of their God: they ask me of the ordinances of* JUSTICE, *and* TAKE DELIGHT *in approaching to God*, Isaiah lviii, 2. Can any thing be *stronger* than this? And yet, at that time, they were *most dreadfully carnal*, and *sold under sin*, as the rest of that chapter proves. It is a most notorious fact, that how little soever the life of a Jew was conformed to the law of his God, he notwithstanding professed the highest *esteem* for it, and *gloried* in it; and the apostle says nothing stronger of them in this chapter, than their *conduct* and *profession* verify to the *present day.* They are still *delighting in the law of God*, after the *inward man; with their mind, serving the law of God; asking for the ordinances of justice, seeking God daily, and taking delight in approaching to God;* they even *glory*, and greatly *exult* and *glory* in the Divine *original* and *excellency* of their LAW: and all this while they are most abominably *carnal, sold under sin, and brought into the most degrading captivity to the law of sin and death.* If then all that the apostle states of the person in question, be true of the *Jews*, through the whole period of their history, even to the *present time;*—if they do, in all their *professions* and their *religious services*, which they zealously maintain, confess, and conscientiously too, that the *law is holy*, and *the commandment holy, just*, and *good;* and yet, with their *flesh serve the law of sin;* the same certainly may be said with equal propriety of a *Jewish penitent*, deeply convinced of his lost estate, and the total insufficiency of his legal observances to deliver him from his *body of sin and death.* And consequently, all this may be said of *Paul the* JEW, while *going about to establish his own righteousness*, his own plan of justification; he had not as yet *submitted to the righteousness of God*, the Divine plan of redemption by Jesus Christ.

4. It must be allowed that, whatever was the *experience* of so eminent a man, Christian, and apostle, as St. Paul, it must be a very proper *standard of Christianity*. And if we are to take what is here said, as *his experience* as a *Christian*, it would be presumption in *us* to expect to go higher; for, he certainly had pushed the principles of his religion to their utmost consequences. But his whole life, and the account which he immediately gives of himself in the succeeding chapter, prove, that he, as a *Christian*, and an *apostle*, had a *widely different experience;* an experience which amply justifies that *superiority*, which he attributes to the *Christian* religion over the *Jewish;* and demonstrates that it not only is well calculated to *perfect* all preceding dispensations; but that it affords *salvation to the uttermost*, to all those who flee for refuge to the hope that it sets before them. Beside, there is nothing spoken here of the state of a *conscientious Jew*, or of St. *Paul* in his *Jewish state*, that is not true of every genuine *penitent;* even *before*, and, it may be, *long before* he has believed in Christ, to the saving of his soul. The assertion, that "every Christian, howsoever advanced in the divine life, will, and must feel all this inward conflict," &c, is as *untrue* as it is *dangerous*. That many, called *Christians*, and probably *sincere*, do feel all this, may be readily granted; and such we must consider to be in the same state with *Saul of Tarsus*, previously to his conversion: but that they must *continue* thus, is no where intimated in the Gospel of Christ. We must take heed how we make *our experience*, which is the result of our *unbelief* and *unfaithfulness*, the *standard* for the people of God: and lower down *Christianity* to OUR most reprehensible and *dwarfish* state: at the same time, we should not be discouraged at what we thus feel, but apply to God, through Christ, as Paul did; and then we shall soon be able, with him, to declare, to the eternal glory of *God's grace*, that *the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, has made us free from the law of sin and death.* This is the inheritance of God's children; and their salvation is of me, saith the Lord.'

It is hoped that by the strong testimony of these 'three' writers in favor of such an exegesis of the seventh of Romans, the truth may be firmly established respecting the apostle's design and object in writing it; and that we may no more witness the perverted use which has so often been made of his words to justify that Christian experience which recognizes the 'works of the flesh,' the 'carnal mind,' and 'captivity to the law of sin and death,' as being compatible with a state of grace, with that *spirituality* and *heavenly mindedness* which is peculiar to the justified and sanctified believer; and which is so forcibly described by the apostle in the eighth chapter of this Epistle.

From this interpretation of chapter vii, we should be led to expect a luminous commentary upon chapter viii; and we are not disappointed in regard to most of it, as it is justly considered by the author as antithetical to chapter vii, and of course descriptive of a person freed from the dominion of sin by the 'law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' The following is his comment upon verse 16, which corresponds to

the doctrine of most orthodox Christians, as they have expressed it in their articles of faith and standard writings:—

'(16) Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα . . . . Θεοῦ, *this same Spirit testifies to our minds, that we are the children of God*; i. e. (as many interpret the passage) this filial, confiding, affectionate spirit, imparted by the Spirit of God who dwells in us, affords satisfactory evidence to our minds that we are the children of God. Συμμαρτυρεῖ here may mean no more than the simple verb μαρτυρέω· for so, beyond all doubt, συμμαρτυρέω is employed in Romans ii, 15; ix, 1, al. The sentiment of the passage thus construed, would be, that the affectionate spirit which the children of God possess, is an evidence to their minds of their standing in a filial relation to him. Τῷ πνεύματι ἡμῶν means, *to our minds, animis nostris*. On any ground of exegesis, this sense (for substance) is here to be attributed to this expression.

There is, however, another method of interpreting this verse, which makes αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα to mean *the Spirit of God*, the Spirit mentioned in ver. 9, 14. This is certainly not an improbable exegesis; and many distinguished interpreters have followed it. Very recently, Flatt and Tholuck have both defended it.

For a long time I was doubtful respecting this interpretation, and rather preferred the other. But repeated and attentive study of the whole passage in its connection, has of late brought me to a pretty full persuasion that αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα is the same as πνεῦμα Θεοῦ in verse 14. And if the question be urged, as it is natural that it should be: 'How then does the Spirit bear witness to our minds or souls, that we are the children of God?' The answer is, by imparting the *spirit of adoption* or a *filial spirit* to us. It is this, then, which affords the evidence to our minds of being in a state of *filiation*, i. e. of bearing the relation to God of spiritual children. And as this spirit comes from the Spirit of God, so he may be said, in this case, *to bear witness*, because he is the author of that spirit, which affords the evidence of our *filiation*. Those who adopt the first method of interpretation, refer αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα to the πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας of the preceding clause; and compare this with verses 26, 27, which they construe in the like way.

That the world deny any such testimony in the hearts of believers, and that they look on it with scorn or treat it with derision, proves only that they are unacquainted with it; not that it is an illusion. It was a sensible and true remark of the French philosopher, Hemsterhuys, in regard to certain sensations which he was discussing: "Those who are so unhappy as never to have had such sensations, either through weakness of the natural organ, or because they have never cultivated them, will not comprehend me." Oeuvres, I. p. 208. Paul has, on another occasion, expressed himself relative to the point in question, with still more power: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him," 1 Cor. ii, 14.' (pp. 323–324.)

In casting our eye on the commentary on verses 28–39, we discover some sentiments from which we feel compelled to dissent. Notwithstanding the professor has apparently abjured the obnoxious features of Calvinism, as seems evident from several passages of his learned

Commentary, yet it is manifest from some remarks on this text, and also on some portions of the ninth chapter, that he still holds fast to the main pillar of that doctrine; namely, the *eternal decree of election*, from which he infers the certain perseverance of all who have ever believed in Jesus Christ 'with a heart unto righteousness,' and from which all the other objectionable parts of that system seem to us necessarily to follow. That he should have involved himself in this manifest inconsistency, is a lamentable proof of the ill effects of early embracing a system which is incompatible with the dictates of sound reason and the plain testimony of sacred Scripture. When the professor loses sight of this doctrine of absolute decrees, and follows the convictions of his own mind, he gives us a delightful view of God's general plan of redemption and salvation, of the responsibility of man, of the universal atonement of Christ, and of the nature of Christian experience, justification and sanctification, and the obligation and extent of holy obedience.

After stating a variety of opinions on Romans viii, 29, he says:—'I prefer a sense of προέγνω, different from any yet mentioned; and this merely from the philology of the passage. It is well known in respect to γινώσκω, that it sometimes means, *volo, constituo mecum, I will, I wish, I determine with myself, I resolve or determine or decide.*' And after citing some authorities from Josephus and other authors in support of this interpretation of γινώσκω, he adds:—

'That προγινώσκω may have the like sense, is clear from 1 Peter i, 20; where προεγνωσμένου πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου (said of Christ) means plainly, *before decreed, before constituted* or *determined.* In the like sense (as many think) is it used in Rom. xi, 2, *God hath not cast away his people* ὃν προέγνω, whom *he chose* to be his or *constituted* his, viz. before the foundation of the world; comp. 1 Pet. i, 20; Eph. iii, 11; 2 Tim. i, 9. And in accordance with this, πρόγνωσις is used; e. g. Acts ii, 24, where it is the equivalent of ὡρισμένη βουλή. So also in 1 Pet. i, 2; and it is the same as πρόθεσις, in 2 Tim. i, 9; Eph. iii, 11.' (p. 356.)

From these extracts it is manifest that the professor understands προέγνω, in Romans viii, 29, to mean the same as to *decree*, or to *determine.* Now without, at present, attempting to invalidate the authority of his verbal criticism in its general application, we think that it will hardly hold good here. The whole text reads thus: Οτι ους προεγνω, και προωρισε συμμορφους της εικονος του υιου αυτου—*whom he* (προεγνω,) *did foreknow, he also* (προωρισε,) *did predestinate, to be conformed to the image of his Son.* If we read this according to the rendering of Professor Stuart, it will read thus:—whom he did *foredecree*, or *foredetermine*, he did also *foredecree*, or *foredetermine*, or *predestinate*,—an unmeaning tautology of which the great apostle to the Gentiles would

hardly have been guilty. That the latter word, which comes from προ, *before*, and ορίζω, to *define*, to *limit*, to *decree*, signifies to *decree before*. to *predetermine*, or *predestinate*, will be admitted on all hands; and therefore to say that the former word, προεγνω, which literally and grammatically signifies to *foreknow*, has the same meaning, is, in our apprehension, to torture the passage from its legitimate meaning, and, as before remarked, to impute a tautology to the apostle which he could not have adopted, unless we suppose him to have been inexcusably negligent in the use of language.

In the *predestination* of which the apostle speaks, there is an *object* mentioned which was designed to be accomplished, namely, they were *predestinated to be conformed to the image of the Son of God;* that is to say, it is the *unalterable purpose*, *determination*, or *decree* of God, that all those who shall finally become heirs of glory, shall be first qualified for that inheritance, by being made conformable to the suffering, patient, and submissive image or mind of Jesus Christ: and hence all those, whom God *foreknew* would believe in Jesus as their almighty Deliverer, were *predestinated* to pass through this medium in order that they might be qualified to inherit that glory. Now suppose we were to read the passage as it must be read according to the professor's construction, and we shall see at once that it makes nonsense:—Whom he did *foredetermine* or *foredecree*, he did also *foredetermine* or *predestinate:* whom he did foredetermine, or foredecree to what? If there be any object at all to the decree first spoken of, it must be precisely the same as that mentioned in the latter clause of the sentence; i. e. to be *conformed to the image of his Son;* in this case the passage must read, 'Whom he did *foredecree* to be conformed to the image of his Son, he did also *foredecree* to be conformed to the image of his Son!' Surely the inspired apostle never used such language as this.

Now let us take the interpretation we have put upon the words, in connection with the general scope and design of the apostle in writing this masterly Epistle, and we shall have, we think, a clear and consistent meaning. Among other things of high importance which the apostle designed to establish in his Epistle to the Romans, one most manifestly was to answer the objections of the captious Jews, to this declaration of the apostle;—*that God had called the Gentiles to be joint inheritors with the believing Jews to the blessings of the Gospel;* and that He had cast away, or was about to reject, the Jews as a nation from being His covenant people. To this declaration, so mortifying to the pride of the Jews, they objected, that God would, in doing so, be unfaithful to the promises which he had made to Abraham, and afterward frequently renewed by the prophets; and that if he cast away the Jews entirely as a nation, he would be unjust, as it was manifest

that many of them had even believed in Jesus as their promised Messiah. To this objection the apostle furnishes an answer at large, particularly in the latter part of the eighth, in the whole of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters. In the eleventh chapter, ver. 2, he says, in answer to this objection, 'God hath not cast away his people which he (προεγνω,) foreknew,'—using the same word here which he had done in chapter viii, 29; evidently meaning to say, that those among the Jews whom he foreknew as believers in Christ he had no more rejected than he had the believing Gentiles: both the one and the other were equally included in the predestination of God, namely, that they should all be conformed to the image of Christ; or, in other words, become holy believers in Him, in order to be qualified to enter into the kingdom of God in glory.

Allowing this to have been the meaning of the apostle, we may paraphrase the passage in the following manner:—Whom he did *foreknow* among the Jews or Gentiles as κλητοι, *the called*, κατα προθεσιν, *according to his purpose*, i. e. those whom he foreknew would believe in Christ and *love God* he did also *predestinate*, or before determine should be conformed to the image of Jesus Christ, or should pass through the fiery trial mentioned in the subsequent verses, in order to be qualified to enter into glory. The opposite interpretation most evidently involves the *absolutum decretum*, which Professor Stuart himself seems very desirous to avoid, and which, we may hereafter see, is totally incompatible with what he has advanced on the doctrine of atonement and the freedom which he ascribes to man.

But even allowing the professor the full benefit of his construction as contained in the following paraphrase, 'whom he had before chosen or constituted his κλητοι,' (*the called*,) it does not help the matter any by removing the difficulty. *Whom he had before chosen or constituted his people he did also predestinate*—to what? Not to *eternal* salvation, for this is not the apostle's argument; but they were predestinated to a certain course of life, of obedient, patient suffering in the cause of Christ, that they might be qualified for endless happiness. The contrary supposition involves all those theological difficulties which originate from the doctrine of absolute predestination; for allowing that the *resolution* of the Deity to constitute a certain definite number of the Jews to be his people, without any regard to their character as believers, was made before the foundation of the world, then they were so constituted *unconditionally*. But certainly the apostle was not speaking here of such a decree of election; but he was showing that κλητοι, (the called,) must pass through a certain process in order to become the people of God, and be entitled to the heavenly inheritance; and their submission to this process was the very *condition* on

which this inheritance was to be finally bestowed upon them. To say that this was an *involuntary* submission, is to contradict not only the uniform testimony of Scripture, but also the theory of Professor Stuart himself, in which he has strongly contended for the free responsible agency of man. Let us take the whole passage in connection, and see if this is not the genuine sense of the apostle:—'And we know that all things shall work together for good to them that love God; to them who are the called according to his purpose.' Now what is the *purpose* of which the writer here speaks? This is answered in the next verse. God *purposes*, *commands*, *decrees*, or *predestinates*, that all those who love him, and for whom *all things shall work together for good*, shall be conformed to the image of his Son. Is this a mere *passive*, or is it a *willing*, *voluntary* conformation? If the professor should say it is *passive*, then he contradicts that part of his theory for which he has so successfully contended in other portions of his Commentary, respecting the free, voluntary services which God requires of his intelligent creatures. If he says it is *voluntary*, then he must allow that it may fail to be complied with; and consequently that the calling here spoken of is not a calling that results from absolute predestination.

We might here urge other consequences which manifestly result from the professor's construction of the passage; and as these consequences are such as he labors to show do not belong to his creed, could he be convinced that they necessarily result from his exegesis of Rom. viii, 28, 29, he certainly would be induced to review this portion of his Commentary. But we cannot pursue this subject farther in this place.*

Let us now examine those passages of sacred Scripture to which the professor refers us for a justification of his construction of the text under consideration. The first is 1 Pet. i, 20, where it is said προεγνωσμενου μεν προ καταβολης κοσμου, which is thus rendered in our version; *was foreordained before the foundation of the world*; but we can see no necessity, from the connection of the passage, or for the purpose of maintaining a sound theological truth, of rendering προεγνωσμενου, *foreordained*; but the contrary. The apostle was evidently speaking of

* It might be farther remarked, that the verbs here used are all in the past tense; whom he *did foreknow*, he *did predestinate*, he *called*, he *justified*, he *glorified*; from which we may infer that the apostle was speaking of what God had already accomplished, and not merely describing the general process by which he saves sinners. Whom he foreknew among the Jews and Gentiles he had already *called*, or *invited* to the blessings of the Gospel Church; and those who had obeyed the call, and come into the Church, had been *justified* in so doing, and were *glorified* also with all those ennobling privileges which the Gospel of Jesus Christ confers—that is, they were exalted to the dignity of being *heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ*—a *glory* this of which the disobedient Jews, who had rejected Jesus Christ, were deprived, being disgraced by being put under the decree of reprobation.

the *manifestation* of Jesus Christ, in these των χρονων δι υμας, *last times or ages* for us, for the salvation of the world; and says, that though not *manifested in the flesh* until then as a *lamb without blemish*, to *shed his blood for the sin of the world*, yet the event was *foreknown to God before the foundation of the world*. Here προ καταβολης κοσμου, *before the foundation of the world*, contrasts very strongly and beautifully with των χρονων, *these days or ages*. We allow indeed that God, foreseeing the sin and fall of man, and the consequent ruin brought upon the human family, moved thereto by his boundless compassion, did foreappoint and determine that Jesus Christ should be manifested in the flesh and die for the sins of the world; and moreover that it is his unalterable decree that all who receive him in this character, embrace him by the faith that works by love, and follow him through good and evil report, should be saved; and that all this is done in perfect view of the foresight of the Deity, unto whom *are known all his works from the foundation of the world*. But allowing all this to be true in a strict theological sense, there is no necessity, in order to support it, to construe any word, much less the above word, γινωσκω, contrary to its true grammatical meaning. We may therefore understand the apostle as saying in the above text:—*Though Jesus Christ has been but recently manifested among you in the flesh as your atoning sacrifice, yet the whole transaction was perfectly known unto God, and approved of by him, and is in strict conformity to the design he formed for the salvation of the human race, even before the foundation of the world.*

This *eternal purpose*, we grant, is alluded to in Eph. iii, 11, to which the professor has referred his readers for a justification of his interpretation of the text before us. But it should be remarked that it is quite another word used here from that used in either Romans viii, 29, or 1 Pet. i, 20. In Eph. iii, 11, the apostle says, κατα προθεσιν των αιωνων, which our translators have rightly rendered, *according to his eternal purpose*; which supports the sentiment above advanced, that it was God's eternal purpose to redeem mankind by Jesus Christ; and that this eternal purpose was formed in full view of the voluntary moral aberration of Adam and Eve, and the consequent ruin of their unfortunate descendants. This text therefore yields no support to the verbal construction of Professor Stuart. 2 Tim. i, 9 may be disposed of in the same way, as the words are, κατα ιδιαν προθεσιν και χαριν, *according to his own purpose and grace*; that is, the methods by which God saveth us, are not according to a plan or purpose of our own, but according to God's plan and purpose; he laid the plan, and furnishes and gives efficiency to the means by which sinners are saved.

As to Acts ii, 24, (23 we presume,) the commentator is very unhappy in supposing that προγνωσει, can be rendered *foreordained*. The

sentence reads thus: τουτον τη ωρισμενη βουλη και προγνωσει του Θεου, *the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God*, says our version; which is, we believe, as literal a translation as can well be given.—Now let us suppose that προγνωσει, should be rendered *foredetermined* or *forcordained*, it would subject the apostle to the same unmeaning tautology as was mentioned on Romans viii, 29—the *foredeterminate counsel* and *foredetermination* of God! the bare mention of which is sufficient to show its absurdity. The apostle is doubtless here speaking also of the determinate counsel of God concerning the salvation of the world, which is in strict accordance with his perfect knowledge of all future events; and that this intimate acquaintance with whatever might result from the actions of his free willing creatures enabled him to adjust the plan of his government to all such results, and to adapt the means of salvation to their character and circumstances as rational and responsible beings.

The professor likewise refers us to 1 Pet. i, 2, equally unhappy for his cause, as he must have assumed the truth of his position before he could have referred to this text for its support; for neither the grammatical construction of the text, nor the general scope of the apostle's argument, can justify such an interpretation of προγνωσις, the word here used; εκλεκτοις—κατα προγνωσιν Θεου πατρος, *elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father*. The text is rightly rendered by our translators, and no just criticism can better it; and we may add that nothing short of a strong predilection for a favorite system could ever induce any critic to resort to this text in support of his theory of eternal election and final perseverance. On the whole, therefore, we conclude, that the apostles are injured, the Apostle Paul equally with the rest, when they are made to say that the salvation of an elect number, definitely fixed by the eternal counsel of God, was secured by an immutable decree or an act of foreordination; or that all those who have once believed shall infallibly persevere to the end.

In his commentary upon the *ninth* of Romans, though he evidently deviates from the common track of Calvinistic commentators, yet he evidently 'leans too much toward Calvinism,' as he seems to take it for granted that the apostle was defending an individual and personal as well as a national election. As a proof of this we give the following extract from chapter ix, 11, 12, 13:—

'Γάρ, *illustrantis*.—Γεννηθέντων, sc. παίδων, which the mind spontaneously supplies, by recurring back to ἐξ ἑνὸς κοίτην ἔχουσα. The whole phrase in the verse, is a construction with the Genitive absolute, i. e. a species of *anacoluthon*.

Μηδὲ . . . . κακόν, *neither having done any thing good or evil;* a very important declaration in respect to its bearing on some of the controverted questions about hereditary depravity or original sin. It appears,

that when the words related in the next verse were spoken to Rebecca, the children in her womb had arrived to such a state of growth, as that life and motion in them were perceived by the mother, Gen. xxv, 22, 23, i. e. to the age of some five months, compare Luke i, 24. At this period, then, the apostle declares that they *had done neither good nor evil*, i. e. they had as yet no positive moral character; there was, as yet, no development of their moral powers. The assertion is so clear and direct here, that I see not how we can evade the force of it. And with the principle here developed, the tenor of other texts agrees; e. g. Isa. vii, 15, 16, comp. viii, 4; Deut. i, 39, Jonah iv, 11. That some knowledge of law and its obligations should exist, in order that sin can be committed, seems to be clearly decided by Rom. iv, 15, and to be plainly implied by James iv, 17; John ix, 41; 1 John iii, 4. Every man's consciousness of the nature of moral guilt, moreover, seems spontaneously to decide in accordance with these texts. But *when* children do arrive at such a growth of moral nature, that they begin to sin, the Scripture does not seem to have decided; I mean, that I have yet discovered no text where this point is fixed. Psa. li, 5, when compared with Psa. lviii, 3, will hardly establish the doctrine which many have supposed it to establish. Gen. viii, 21 decides no more, than that men begin *very early* to commit sin; and John iii, 6; Eph. ii, 3, and other texts of the like nature, decide only that men in a *natural* state, i. e. in an unregenerate or unsanctified state, are children of wrath, and carnal; but they do not definitely fix the time when they begin to sin.

The apostle, however, has told us *when sinning had not begun*, in respect to Jacob and Esau. That they possessed *powers* or *faculties*, even in the womb, which were afterward employed in committing sin, when they were more fully developed, is undoubtedly true. But the *power* or *faculty* of sinning is one thing; the commission of sin another. Adam in paradise, before his fall, certainly possessed the power or faculty of sinning; but he was not guilty of sin because he possessed such a power, but for the abuse of it. It is not therefore the powers which the Creator has given us that make us sinners; it is the abuse of them. God may be, and is, the author of our *power to sin*; but he is not therefore the author of our sins. So young children may have all the powers adapted to sinning, without having yet sinned; for it will not be denied that Jacob and Esau had the embryo of such powers, in their early state, at the period when the apostle says that they had not committed any sin. But I refer the reader to what is said relative to these topics, in my remarks on chapter v, 12–19, in Excursus v.

The object of the apostle, in here saying that *the children had done neither good nor evil*, is very plain, viz. to cast light on, or to confirm, the truths which he had disclosed in viii, 28–39. There all things are represented as contributing to the good of the κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοί, ver. 28, seq. Now if the Jew should object to this, as being unaccountable, or as evincing partiality on the part of God, the apostle could of course foreclose this objection by showing him that instances of the like nature (so far as the *principle* of them was concerned) are recorded in the Old Testament. In the case before us, the decision of God, in

respect to the future lot and privileges of Jacob and Esau, was not made by reason of any claims of merit, or any grounds of demerit; for it was made before the children were born, and before they had done either good or evil. It was so decided, moreover,

Ἵνα ἡ . . . . καλοῦντος, *that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth.* Ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις means, *a purpose which proceeds from one's own free choice*, one to which he is moved by *internal*, not by *external* causes or motives. It means here, a purpose which God did not entertain because he was moved to it by any thing which Jacob or Esau had done, or would do, (οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων,) but for reasons which he has not disclosed, and which pertain merely to himself. But let the reader beware how he represents, or even imagines, these reasons to be *arbitrary* or *ungrounded*. This would be to represent the Divine conduct as utterly inconsistent with infinite wisdom and goodness.

Οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, *not of works*, i. e. not because of merit, not because of obedience yielded to the law of works, i. e. the law requiring good works. Ἀλλ' ἐκ καλοῦντος, *but of him that calleth;* i. e. the admission of the one to privileges, and the rejection of the other from them, proceeded not from their personal desert, but from him *who calls*, i. e. chooses or selects men to be the objects of his special favor, for reasons within himself. That such is the sentiment here, seems very plain; for the apostle has just asserted, that the decision of God in respect to the future destiny and privileges of Jacob and Esau, was made before they were born, and before they had done either good or evil; and that it was so made, in order that God's κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις, *might be stable*, μένῃ, Heb. יַעֲמֹד.

But what is the thing decided in this case? Ὁ μείζων . . . . ἐλάσσονι, *the elder shall serve the younger;* or rather, *the first born shall serve the younger*, i. e. he who by right of primogeniture would take the precedence, he shall in fact be inferior or take the lower place. Both the words μείζων and ἐλάσσων, however, relate rather to the *posterity* of Esau and Jacob, than to their own individual persons. The *precedence* then of Jacob is established by this declaration; but in what respect?

In a *temporal* one, no doubt, so far as this instance is concerned.— Τὸν . . . . ἐμίσησα, *Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated;* i. e. on Jacob have I bestowed privileges and blessings, such as are the proofs of affection; I have treated him as one treats a friend whom he loves; but from Esau have I withheld these privileges and blessings, and therefore treated him as one is wont to treat those whom he dislikes: comp. Mal. i, 2, 3, from which the quotation here is made, and where the prophet adds to the last clause (Ἡσαῦ ἐμίσησα) the following words: *And laid his mountains and his heritage waste.* That the whole refers to the bestowment of temporal blessings and the withholding of them, is clear not only from this passage, but from comparing Gen. xxv, 23, xxvii, 27–29, 37–40. As to ἐμίσησα, its meaning here is rather *privative* than *positive*. When the Hebrews compared a stronger affection with a weaker one, they called the first *love*, and the other *hatred*: comp. Gen. xxix, 30, 31; Deut. xxi, 15. Prov. xiii, 24; Matt. vi, 24; Luke xiv, 26 comp. with Matt. x, 37. Glass. Rhet. Sac. lib. iii. tr. 3, can. 19.

After all, this does not answer the question: What is the object of the apostle in making his appeal to such an instance of κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις? Must not this answer be, that he does so in order to justify and support what he had said in chapter viii, 28–39? And surely, what he has there said does not relate to *temporal condition* or privileges, but to *effectual calling*, to *justifying* and *glorifying*.

All however which is decided is, that God, in either case, does not bestow his blessings on the ground of merit, (for how can any sinner be blessed on such a ground?) but for reasons known only to himself, and which are *ab intra*, not *ab extra*.

Those who contend against this sentiment, contend against what is every day exhibited before their eyes. Why was this man born white, and that one black? Why is this child born and nurtured in the bosom of a pious family, and that one in the midst of robbers and murderers? The children had "done neither good nor evil" when their lot was decided. This no one can deny. Then, in the next place: Is not their eternal condition connected with their means of grace, their pious nurture, their present condition and associations in life? And who placed them in their present condition?

How easy now to multiply such questions indefinitely; and the answer must at last resolve the whole into *Divine sovereignty*. The world is full of that which teaches this doctrine. All nature speaks it, and speaks it loudly too; not less so than the Bible itself. Yet with all this, the Bible plainly recognizes the *freedom* of men, and attributes to themselves their own destruction. The world say that there is contradiction here; but if there be, the naturalist has as really to contend with its difficulties, as the advocate for revelation. However, there can in reality be no contradiction or absurdity in two things which are *both true*. All the difficulty lies in us. Being ignorant of the *manner* in which predestination and free agency can be reconciled, we are prone to think that they are irreconcilable. When will men learn, that their ignorance is not the measure of truth!

One cannot but contemplate with regret the efforts of some critics to evade the plain, philological (and for my own part I must say, inevitable) meaning of the chapter on which we are commenting. It seems to me, however, that I perceive in nearly all, who are sober minded and judicious men, a radical mistake in their conceptions respecting *predestination*. They transfer to it analogies from the *material* world; and then they seem to feel that it is but another name for *fate* or *destiny*. They conceive of a *decretum absolutum* as involved in it, which, as they view it, is neither more nor less than a decree *without any reason*, a mere *arbitrary decision*. With such views, they reject the doctrine of predestination; and rightly, if it does indeed involve all this. That this however is a very imperfect and erroneous view of the subject, is what I fully believe; and what I have endeavored to exhibit in the statements above.' (pp. 386–390.)

The reader will perceive that in this extract the author departs from the commonly received doctrine of orthodox Churches on *original sin*, and embraces the views of the New School men upon this item of their theology. Indeed, throughout his Commentary, whenever an oppor-

tunity seems to offer itself, he labors this point with no little solicitude and ingenuity of argument, laying great stress on the apostle's declaration respecting Jacob and Esau, that before they were born they had 'done neither good nor evil.' We think, however, that this declaration, allowing its utmost strength, by no means decides the question respecting hereditary depravity, as it was originally designed to bear upon altogether another subject. That neither Jacob nor Esau had *actually done* 'either good or evil' before they were born, may be admitted without denying to them their share of hereditary depravity; because there is a very perceivable difference between passively suffering the effects of another man's sin, and the committing actual sin ourselves. We do not indeed suppose that children, either before or after they are born, until they know enough to make them accountable, are actual sinners in the eye of any revealed law; but that they inherit a corrupt nature, from father to son, which is averse to the pure and holy nature of God, seems to have been admitted by all orthodox Christians; nor do we see how Professor Stuart's theory places them in any better condition, when he admits that such are those circumstances that they *will unavoidably sin* until renewed by regenerating grace.

In respect to predestination, as spoken of in the above extract, we by no means reject a predestination which is compatible with human liberty and responsibility, or which does not infringe upon the imprescriptible rights of God as a holy, just, and benevolent Being. That God acts in all *He does* by fixed and immutable laws, and that he has the most perfect knowledge of all physical and moral causes, as well as their effects, in both the natural and spiritual world, are truths every where proclaimed in the Bible, and recognizable in every department of His government. We furthermore believe that in full view of what man would do, as a free, voluntary agent, acting under a high sense of his responsibility, God created him, 'appointed him the bounds of his habitation,' gave him laws suited to his physical and moral powers; with a determination, if he sinned, as he certainly foresaw that he would, to provide a Saviour, to fix and reveal the terms of salvation; and finally to save, reward, or punish him, according to his conduct in reference to all this merciful provision, and these just and gracious dispensations.

Call *this* predestination, and we are content to be classed with predestinarians. But do not confound this Scriptural and rational predestination with another which ascribes to God the ordering, decreeing, and finally influencing all men, the most vile and wicked not excepted, in all their actions, whether secret or public; and then represents Him as punishing those who are thus destined and influenced to sin and

misery, 'with an everlasting destruction from the presence of God and the glory of his power.' This last sentiment is that which we think the sacred Scriptures condemn, and that for which Calvinism, as taught by John Calvin and his adherents, has ever been distinguished.

That Professor Stuart is rather frightened and disgusted with this barefaced doctrine of Calvinism, and that consequently he wishes to avoid it as a dreg of ancient heathen and Mohammedan fatalism, is manifest from several passages in his Commentary, notwithstanding his apparent efforts to maintain the decree of eternal election. And it seems a little surprising to us that a man of his discernment, of his critical knowledge, and of his patient and persevering research, should not have discovered the close and intimate connection subsisting between this notion of an eternal and individual election and infallible perseverance, and the doctrine of Calvinian predestination; as it is most evident that the one involves the other as necessarily and as unavoidably, as the circulation of the blood through the veins and arteries follows the pulsations of the heart.

However, that he does not mean to ascribe this unconditional and absolute predestination to God, and that he would therefore renounce his doctrine of eternal election, were he convinced that it involved such fearful consequences, we gather from what he has said in Excursus viii on Rom. viii, 28–30.

'That man should be *entirely dependent* on God, and yet be a *free agent* at the same time, presents, it has been often asserted, an impossibility, an absurdity, a contradiction of terms, a scheme of fatalism, etc. After all, however, the mere disciple of naturalism, who sets *revelation* entirely aside, but allows the natural perfections of the Godhead, (among which are omniscience and omnipotence,) falls into the very same difficulties, inevitably, which he puts solely to the account of revelation. If there be a God, a Creator, almighty and omniscient, then we are perfectly and entirely dependent on him; from everlasting, moreover, he has known all that we are and shall be; he has known this with *absolute certainty;* and if so, then what we are and shall be is not *fortuitous.* This the disciple of nature can no more deny, than the disciple of revelation. And this involves at once all the real difficulties which are charged to the account of those who believe in the plain and simple allegations of the passage before us.

Once admit the idea of an omniscient and omnipotent Creator, and the difficulty of reconciling dependence and free agency comes up of course; and it bears equally, moreover, on every system which admits this truth. It is wonderful that this should not be more extensively seen and felt by writers who are in the habit of charging all difficulties, of this nature, to the opinions of those who favor the sentiments of Calvin.

After all, if there be any force in the objections made against the doctrine in question, *it arises only from reasoning analogically in*

respect to the laws and qualities of matter, and those of mind. In a piece of physical machinery, every motion will be in accordance with the laws of motion and mechanical power, and all necessarily according to the contrivance of the mechanist; i. e. the laws of matter and motion remaining the same, the result which is calculated upon is necessary; and it is always the *same*, for there is no volition in the machine, nothing to resist, alter, or modify the influence to which it is subjected.

Not so in the world of immaterial and *spiritual* being. Man is made *in the image of God;* therefore he has a free agency like to that of his Maker. From its very nature, this free agency is incapable of *mechanical* control. Motives, arguments, inducements may move, convince, persuade; but they cannot control by a necessity like that in the world of matter. That they cannot, is owing to the very nature itself of a free agent; who is no longer free, if he have no *ultimate* choice and power of his own. The Bible every where ascribes such a power to man. He resists light, knowledge, persuasion; he remains unmoved (at least undetermined) by all the motives drawn from heaven and earth and hell; he resists and grieves the Spirit of God himself: such are the representations of the Scripture. Is this representation truth, or fiction? Which is the same as to ask, Are men in *fact* free agents, or only so in *name* and *appearance?*

That they are in fact free, is what I believe. Nor can I be persuaded that illustrations of free agency, drawn from the material world, are in any tolerable measure apposite to our subject. Our souls are *spirit*, not matter. They are like the God who made them; not like the dust on which we tread. All arguments, then, drawn from cause or causation and effect in the *material* world, and applied to the subject of *spiritual agency and influence*, are wrongly applied, and cannot serve to cast any thing but darkness on this deeply interesting subject.

All the deductions in respect to *fatalism*, moreover, which are made out and charged upon those who hold the doctrine of God's foreknowledge and eternal purposes, are made out by a process of reasoning which has its basis in material analogies. A regular, necessitous, mechanical concatenation of cause and effect, altogether like that in the world of nature, is predicated of the doctrine of the Divine purposes or decrees; and then the charge of fatalism and absurdity of course follows. Let those who would avoid this take good care, then, not to reason about *spirit* in the same way as they do about matter.

Who now can prove that the Spirit of God may not influence the human mind in a manner perfectly consistent with its entire free agency—influence it to accept the offers of salvation and become σύμμορφος τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ? No one. He can no more do this, than he can prove that one man cannot influence another, without impairing his freedom of action; an event which takes place every hour, and in all parts of this lower world. Above all, who can show that truth may influence men, and yet men may remain free; but that the Spirit, who is the author of all truth, cannot operate as effectually, and with as little interference with free agency, as the truth which he has revealed? So little foundation is there for the charge of fatalism against the doctrine of Divine influence upon the souls of men!

Those who are saved *freely* repent, *freely* believe, *freely* accept the terms of salvation. Why can they not be as free under the influence of the Spirit, as they are under the influence of the truth which he has revealed? And none but penitents will be saved. There is no room then to say, that a belief in the Divine eternal purposes makes it a matter of indifference whether a man lives a virtuous and holy life or not, and that if he is to be saved, he will be saved let him do what he may. The plain and certain truth is, that he "is *not* to be saved," unless he become *conformed to the image of Christ*, and that *without holiness no man shall see the Lord.* This is God's everlasting purpose, his eternal decree; and sooner than this can be violated, heaven and earth shall pass away. All accusations of such a nature, then, against the doctrine in question, properly understood, are ungrounded and unjust.

In regard to the dispute whether God προώρισε τοὺς κλητοὺς, from his *mere good pleasure*, or from a *foresight of their faith and good works*, it is easy to see, that the paragraph of the Epistle, which is under consideration, does not decide on this. So far the question seems to be fully settled by other texts of Scripture, viz. that the *merit* or *obedience* of the κλητοί, was not the ground or reason of their regeneration and sanctification. This would be assuming that holiness existed before it did exist; that it was the *ground* of that, which it followed only as a *consequence.*

On the other hand, as to the *decretum absolutum*, as it has been called, viz. the determination that the κλητοί should be saved, irrespectively of their character and actions, one cannot well see how this is to be made out. So much must be true, viz. that they are not regenerated, sanctified, or saved, on account of *merit;* all is of *grace, pure grace.* If this be all that any one means by the *decretum absolutum*, there can be no reasonable objection made to it. But on the other hand, as God is *omniscient*, and therefore must know every part of every man's character, through all stages of his being; as all things, in their fullest extent, must have always been naked and open to his view; so we cannot once imagine, that any decree or purpose in respect to the κλητοί can have been made *irrespectively* of their *whole* character. Such an *irrespection* (if I may use the word) is impossible. God has never determined, and from his holy nature never can determine, to save any except such as are *conformed to the image of his Son.* All stands or falls together. A *decretum absolutum*, i. e. a decree which should separate these, or have no regard to these, would be a different one from that which the apostle has stated; and, I may add, different from what we can even imagine to be possible.

To what purpose, then, can disputes on such a question be raised or fostered? Happy would it be for the Church, had there been no occasion in times past to mourn over them! It is truly important to distinguish that which is revealed from that which is not; and to content ourselves with the one, and dismiss the other. "Secret things belong to the Lord our God; but things revealed to us and our children."

I will only add that the phrase, *God out of his mere good pleasure*, is very liable to be misunderstood, and perverted; as it often has been. My own apprehension is, that most of those who employ it use it merely to signify, *without regard to merit, without being induced by considera-*

tions of meritorious obedience. In this sense, as applied to God in respect to his purposes of renewing and sanctifying sinners, it is strictly true. Merit they have not; obedience they exhibit not, while in their unrenewed and unsanctified state. But then the phrase is often understood as conveying the idea that God, in a way *merely arbitrary*, i. e. without any good reasons whatever, did choose some to everlasting life. This can never be true at all; no, not in any sense whatever. All that can ever be true is, that *God has done this, while the reasons are entirely unknown to us.* He surely never did, and never will, determine or do any thing without the *highest* and *best* reasons; although he may not unfold them to us.

On the whole, it is to be regretted that a phrase, so easily misunderstood and perverted as that in question, should have been introduced into the technology of religion. It would have been much better to have avoided the disputes it has occasioned, by phraseology more explicit and unambiguous.

One remark more, and I dismiss the whole subject. If I do not greatly err, the principal objections which serious and candid minds feel to the doctrine of *predestination*, (as it is called,) i. e. of foreknowledge and eternal purpose on the part of God, arises from what I must think to be a mistaken application of the principles of analogical reasoning. "How," it is asked, "can God have determined from eternity who are to be saved, i. e. whom he will effectually call, and justify, and sanctify, and bring to glory, and yet men be free to choose or refuse salvation?" And the difficulty in all this is, that they suppose a regular concatenation of causes and influence must be arranged in the spiritual world, which will just as mechanically and certainly bring about the end, as that gravitation will make a stone fall to the earth. They join, with all this transfer of *physical* causation and effect over to spiritual things, the idea, that regard to the character or efforts of those who are saved is to be left out of the question; and then they make out, in their own minds, the idea of *fatalism*, an undistinguishing fatalism, which acts thus and so, merely because it chooses to do this or that, without any good and sufficient reason whatever. And taking such a view of the doctrine of predestination, of course they think it very reasonable to reject it.

In answer to all this it may be said, (1) That it is impossible even to imagine a case, in which God can be supposed not to have before him *the whole* of every individual character of those who belong to the κλητοί. (2) All that the Scripture teaches in regard to the ground or reason of his purpose of mercy toward these, is, that it is *not* on account of *merit* or *desert* in them; they are regenerated and sanctified and saved through *grace*, grace only; "not of works, lest any man should boast." Farther than this *negative* assertion, the Scripture does not go; and who knows any thing more than what is *revealed* concerning it? (3) The Bible and experience and reason all unite in giving testimony of the highest kind which the human mind can receive, that whatever may be the purposes of God, *men in* FACT *are free agents*; free in all their spiritual exercises, as well as any others: and what is thus *in fact* conciliated or harmonized, cannot in its own nature be contradictory or absurd. (4) The *eternal* purpose of God is no more in

the way of free agency than his *present* purpose; for his present purpose is neither more nor less than his eternal one, and his eternal one neither more nor less than his present one. With him there is one *eternal* NOW; and all ideas of causation and concatenation of causes and influence, drawn from sensible objects that are *temporary* and *successive*, only serve to mislead the mind in regard to God, when they are applied to him. (5) All the difficulties which ever have been, or ever can be raised in regard to the *foreordination* or *decree* of God, concentre at last in one single point, viz. How can a creature be perfectly dependent, entirely under the control and within the power of another, and yet be *free?* And all the difficulty here comes at last upon the *how;* it lies not in the *fact;* for the fact that such is the case is put beyond all doubt by the testimony of Scripture and experience.

Now as this HOW lies equally in the way of all who admit the existence of an *omniscient* and omnipotent Creator—I say *equally* in the way of all such, for this is plainly the case unless they are fatalists—and since, moreover, this question is plainly beyond the boundaries of human knowledge; it does not seem to me reasonable to declaim against those who admit that the doctrine of Divine foreknowledge implies of course Divine purpose; and that Divine purpose must have been *always* the same, inasmuch as God is immutable, "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." At any rate, no arguments of an *a priori* nature can serve to set aside the plain, direct, inevitable meaning of the passage in Rom. viii, 28, seq. Nor, if it presents a difficulty, can we free ourselves from this, even if we reject revelation. A God almighty and omniscient, and a creature frail and entirely dependent and yet free, always and every where present the same paradox to the human understanding. The Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Theist, are obliged to encounter it, in common with the Christian of strict creed and principles.' (pp. 564–568.)

Though there is much candor displayed in this extract, it seems to us that the author confounds together what is clearly distinguishable. He seems to infer that because God is *omniscient*, *omnipotent*, and *immutable*, he has *decreed every* thing which comes to pass, or in other words that there is no perceivable distinction between *foreknowledge* and *absolute predestination;* or at least that the one involves the other. But we cannot but think that the difference is easily perceptible, and that the one no more necessarily involves the other, than the act of our hand is necessarily connected with and follows the sight of our eye. We see, for instance, the professor's book; and if we had been privy to all the secret cogitations of his mind before he commenced writing, and could equally well have foreseen the results of those cogitations, we might have predicted with unerring certainty that at such a time such a book would have been produced; but would it from hence necessarily follow that we decreed that Professor Stuart should write that book? No man in his sober senses will affirm this. So also, though it is acknowledged that God had the most perfect foresight of all pos-

sible contingencies in all worlds, it does not follow, as a necessary consequence, that all those things are the result of his predetermination. So far indeed as respects the material universe, and all parts of creation, we allow that they resulted from the decretive act of almighty God; and that he still governs every part of the worlds he may have made by fixed and immutable laws; but that intelligent, voluntary agents are governed in a manner suited to and perfectly compatible with their free agency and responsibility. Any predestination, therefore, which is consistent with the doctrine of human responsibility, and which vindicates the character of God from having any direct agency in the production of sin, or the arbitrary appointment of mankind to happiness or misery without any regard to a character voluntarily formed, we subscribe to as both Scriptural and rational; and we rejoice to confess that Professor Stuart comes nearer to this Scriptural doctrine than any writer of the Calvinistic school with which we have become acquainted; nor can we help thinking that a little more light from such luminous writers as Wesley and Fletcher would have cleared away from his mind more perfectly the mists of Calvinistic error.

Professor Stuart offers an apology for entering into theological discussions in the course of his Commentary. We think the apology was unnecessary. For it is hardly possible to enter into a critical examination of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, so deeply argumentative, and involving all the leading and cardinal points of Christianity, without engaging in such discussions, and at the same time do justice to the writer. Of all the books included in the Bible, unless we may except the Epistle to the Hebrews, this is the most deep, embracing doctrinal, experimental, and practical religion, and is carried forward in the most regular and systematic mode of argumentation. It is in fact strictly controversial; and seems designed to convince both Jews and Gentiles of the truth and reasonableness of Christianity as unfolded and displayed in the Gospel; and to effect this object the apostle enters with all the ardor of a powerful advocate who is deeply interested in the success of the cause he has undertaken to vindicate, deriving his arguments from every legitimate source within his reach, with a view to carry conviction to the understandings and to arouse the consciences of his readers. To enter into his spirit, therefore, and to follow out his deductions, a commentator of this Epistle must arm himself with his weapons, must launch forth with him into the sea of Gospel truth, and must manfully contend with the adverse winds and counter currents of error and heresy; believing, as the apostle did, that he shall be *more than a conqueror through Him that loved us.*

Hence we do not consider it any departure from the legitimate rules of interpretation for a commentator on this Epistle to theologize. He

must in fact vindicate the doctrine of human depravity—of infant justification through the redemption by Jesus Christ—the justification of the penitent by faith alone—holiness of heart and life—and all these important truths must be based upon the broad foundation which the apostle has laid in the *fifth* chapter of his Epistle, respecting the extent and efficacy of the atonement of Jesus Christ. In establishing and vindicating these truths, he must discriminate nicely between the law and the Gospel—between the ceremonial and moral law—between the justification of an adult believer in Christ and an infant—between justification and sanctification—and likewise show the close and inseparable connection there is between a Gospel faith and good works, as well as state and illustrate the high doctrine of predestination and the Scriptural doctrine of election—and finally carry his reader up to the throne of the eternal God, where he will have to give an account of his conduct, and be judged *according to the deeds done in the body*. These, with a variety of other topics, though of minor importance, must be handled by him who enters upon a critical examination of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans; and surely he cannot do all this effectually without diving into the depths of theological discussions. We think therefore that Professor Stuart is perfectly justifiable in endeavoring to vindicate, in more ample discussions, the exegesis which he had adopted in his critical notes and philological researches.

It is true we do not coincide with Professor Stuart in all the conclusions to which he has arrived in his discussions, particularly on the doctrine of human depravity, and individual and eternal election, and its necessary counterpart, the decree of eternal reprobation. Nor are we convinced that his doctrine of natural ability, which he thinks is deducible from his views of the natural state in which every man comes into the world, enables him to avoid the consequences resulting from the old Calvinistic doctrine of election and reprobation. With whatever power naturally man may be invested, we must suppose it to be an overmatch for Omnipotence before we can allow it capable of evading the force of an eternal decree of reprobation.

We had, indeed, designed to have given our readers some extracts from the Commentary on a few more of these points; but this article has lengthened out so much beyond our expectation when we commenced writing, that we must deny ourselves this privilege for the present. Perhaps at a future time we may resume the subject.

We conclude by remarking that although we have felt ourselves compelled, from a regard to what we consider the truth, to dissent from our author on some portions of his very able Commentary, we have been highly gratified with it as a whole, and cannot but think that he has rendered an important service to the cause of Biblical criticism, by

this production of his pen; and we furthermore hope that he will continue his researches until the last dregs of the *horribli decretum*, as taught by John Calvin, shall be cleared from the desk of the Andover institution, as well as from all the Churches in Christendom. Then it may be proclaimed with the utmost sincerity, as well from the Congregational as the Methodist pulpits, that *Jesus Christ tasted death for all men, and that whosoever will may come unto Him and live.*

REMARKS CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE AND ALPHABETICAL CHARACTERS.

The following remarks are from the pen of Dr. Adam Clarke.—They may be found in his Introduction to his *Bibliographical Miscellany*, a work which has never been republished in this country.

'There have been a great variety of opinions relative to the *origin of language:* and on this point the learned are by no means yet agreed. However, it is pretty generally allowed, that *man* is the only creature in the world that has the use of a regular speech. In ancient writers, it is true, we meet with accounts of *birds* and *beasts* speaking; and the Jewish rabbinical writers assure us that one part of Solomon's wisdom consisted in his understanding the language of these creatures; but all these are fables entitled to no regard. The brute creation have, undoubtedly, a few simple ideas, and a few simple tones by which they can express them so as to become intelligible to each other; but as to regular language, they certainly have none, as their tones are neither sufficiently varied nor numerous to entitle them to the name of language. Man, therefore, is the only *conversible creature* (as Dr. Shuckford expresses it) in the world. Numerous conjectures have been formed to account for this faculty in man: the following, with all its apparent absurdity, is the most ingenious and best entitled to attention. Diodorus Siculus and Vitruvius, and after them some modern writers of considerable eminence, have asserted, "that men at first lived like beasts in woods and caves, forming only strange and uncouth noises, until their fears caused them to associate together; and that upon growing acquainted with each other, they came to correspond about things, first by *signs*, then to make *names* for them, and in time, to frame and perfect a *language;* and that the languages of the world are *different*, because different companies of men, happening thus to come together in different places, would, of course, form different sounds or names for things; hence would arise the variety observable even in ancient languages." This ingenious conjecture is, I believe, the utmost that the human mind, unassisted by a Divine revelation, can form relative to this subject.

The Mosaic history, which gives us an account of the formation and first occupations of man, represents him as being immediately capable of conversing with his Maker;—of giving names to the various tribes and classes of animals;—and of reasoning consecutively, and in perfectly appropriate terms, concerning his own situation, and the relation

he stood in to other creatures. As in man's first attempt at speech, according to this account, there appear no crudeness of conception—no barrenness of ideas—and no inexpressive or unappropriate terms, it is most rational to conclude that God, who made and endued him with corporeal and mental powers perfectly suited to his state and condition in life, endued him also, not only with the faculty of speech, but with speech or language itself; which latter was as necessary to his comfort, and, indeed, to the perfection and end of his being, as any other power or faculty which his Creator thought proper to bestow upon him.

What the *first language* was is almost useless to inquire; as it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory information on this point.—Some think it must have been the Chinese, because principally composed of monosyllables, forming very simple sounds, which they suppose must have been the grand characteristic of the original language. Some contend for the Hebrew, such as it is found in our Bible; others for the Chaldee, such as that spoken by the father-in-law of Jacob; others give this honor to the Arabic; but Goropius Becanus and Verstegan seem fully persuaded it was the Teutonic, or ancient German! Conjectures of this kind are as useless as they are endless and uncertain.

The inquiry concerning the *origin of letters* has given birth to conjectures not less vague and unsatisfactory than those concerning *language*. Various writers have attributed their invention to different people. Thyoth, or Mercury, is said to have invented and taught the Egyptians how to use them. Others give the honor of this invention to the Assyrians, Phenicians, &c. Some think they were perfectly known before the confusion of Babel, and imagine them to have been in common use in the antediluvian world; and that Noah and his family brought them into the new world, in which they have been continued through a vast variety of successive changes until now. Some attribute the invention to Moses, others to Abraham, others to Abel, and some, of course, to Adam. The Jewish rabbins say, "God created them on the evening of the first Sabbath;" and Pliny seems to have thought them *eternal!* This variety of opinions serves only to show the uncertainty of the subject; for to conjectures on this head, where all direct evidence is wanting, there can be no limits. That there were various *symbols* and *figures* used, in all ages of the world, to represent the objects of sense, even before a regular written language was necessary, may be readily credited; but we have no certain account of the existence or use of *regular alphabetical characters* previous to the days of Moses; nor of any thing written in such characters prior to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, 2513 years from the foundation of the world, and 857 after the general deluge.

In the antediluvian world, when the life of man was so protracted, there was comparatively little need for *writing* of any kind, as past transactions had to pass through but few hands. *Tradition*, therefore, answered every purpose to which writing in any kind of characters could be subservient; and the necessity of erecting monuments to perpetuate public events could scarcely have suggested itself, as during those times there would be little danger apprehended of any important

fact becoming obsolete, as its history had to pass through very few hands, and all these friends and relatives in the most proper sense of the terms; as they lived in an insulated state, under a patriarchal government. Thus it was easy for Moses (were his Divine inspiration left out of the question) to be satisfied of the truth of all he relates in the book of Genesis, as the accounts came to him through the medium of very few persons.

From Adam to Noah there was but *one man* necessary to the correct transmission of the history of this period of 1656 years. Now this history was, without doubt, perfectly known to Methuselah, who lived to see them both. In like manner, Shem connected Noah and Abraham, having lived to converse with both; as Isaac did with Abraham and Joseph, from whom these things might be easily conveyed to Moses by Amram, who was contemporary with Joseph. Supposing, then, all the curious facts recorded in the book of Genesis had no other authority than the *tradition* already referred to, they would stand upon a foundation of credibility superior to any that the most reputable of the ancient Greek and Latin historians can boast. Yet, to preclude all possibility of mistake, the unerring Spirit of God directed Moses in the selection of his *facts*, and the ascertaining of his *dates*.

After the dispersion of mankind in the time of Peleg, *writing* became necessary, not only because of this general dispersion, but because the life of man was so much abridged, and consequently tradition must become less certain, as the facts had to pass through a multitude of hands; hence *alphabetical characters* became absolutely necessary, as without these the records of the world must soon be obliterated from the minds of the swiftly succeeding generations of mankind.

The usefulness of alphabetical characters cannot be sufficiently estimated; without *writing*, the histories of ancient times had never reached us; and the necessary intercourses of friendship and business must have been greatly retarded in general; and, in many cases, wholly obstructed. Without it, those *living oracles* which teach the science of salvation, and make known the God of truth, could never have existed. When God, therefore, proposed to give a revelation of himself to mankind, is it not reasonable to suppose that he graciously taught them the use of alphabetical characters, that these divine and interesting records might be handed down from generation to generation?

As there is no evidence whatever that there was any *writing* before the giving of the law; and as then, God is said to have written the decalogue *with his own finger*; and as, after this time, *writing* is always mentioned, when a suitable occasion offers; I conclude that God himself first taught the use of alphabetical characters to man.'

Thus far Dr. Clarke. His opinion, however, respecting the origin of *alphabetical writing* may be considered rather unsatisfactory. We allow, indeed, that the question respecting the origin of alphabetical writing is involved in great obscurity, and that therefore it is difficult to ascertain, allowing it to be a human invention, to whom the honor belongs of having invented it. But still we have good reason to believe that it was known, though probably but imperfectly, long before the

giving of the law upon Mount Sinai. This seems quite evident from the testimony of Moses himself. In the 17th chapter of Exodus, before the children of Israel reached Sinai, Moses was commanded to write the discomfiture of Amalek, for a 'memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua,' verse 14. In the 28th chapter it is stated that those who were charged with making the 'holy garments' for Aaron, were commanded to engrave on the *onyx stones the names of the children of Israel—like the engravings of a signet.* The people were also directed to *write the law upon their door posts.* These commands plainly indicate that the art of writing was already known among the Israelites some time before the moral law was written upon the tables of stone. In Numbers, chapter xxxiii, 2, it is said Moses '*wrote* their goings out, according to their journeys, by the commandment of the Lord.' Neither in these places, nor at the time of the giving of the law, is writing spoken of as a new or recent invention, but on the contrary as a practice well understood. If, indeed, the art of writing had been revealed to Moses in the miraculous way supposed by some, it seems more than probable that the event would have been recorded among other evidences of his Divine commission; especially when it is considered how beneficial the knowledge of this art has been to mankind.

From various considerations it seems highly probable that alphabetical writing was preserved in the family of Noah, even from the time of the flood. Why, indeed, should Adam have been ignorant of alphabetical writing? Though we have no authentic history of the fact, yet is it not reasonable to suppose that God would have communicated this knowledge among others to the great progenitor of the human race? But laying this out of the question, are there not abundant reasons to suppose that this art was known to the antediluvians? Let us take into consideration the longevity of that people, together with the fact resulting from it, that before the general deluge there were probably twenty times as many inhabitants on the earth as there have been at any one time since; and shall we not have reason to conclude that they must have arrived to a great degree of perfection in the arts and sciences? What should have hindered them? The length of time they lived, and the mighty increase and spread of population must have created as many wants, and have been much more prolific in the invention of useful arts, than any age since that time. Is not the ark itself a splendid proof of the architectural skill of the antediluvians? And that they were not ignorant of the ornamental arts is evident from what is said of *Jabal*, the son of *Lamech*, that he 'was the father of such as handle the harp and organ;' and of *Tubal-Cain*, that he was 'an instructer of every artificer in brass and iron.' See Gen. iv, 21, 22.

We see no reason therefore why these people, so renowned in sacred history, so long lived, so exceedingly numerous, and certainly equally as capable of acquiring knowledge as any of their descendants, should have been totally ignorant of an art so highly beneficial to mankind, and so necessary to maintain a correspondence among each other as is alphabetical writing.

It is highly probable, however, that though Noah must, on the supposition that his progenitors understood the use of letters, have preserved the knowledge of it in his family, that at the dispersion of the human race at the building of Babel, the knowledge of this very useful art might have been nearly lost in the confusion which followed that singular event. Though we need not allow that a confusion of tongues or a diversity of languages was the *immediate* result of this transaction,*

* From the short account of this event in the Holy Scriptures, it seems to have been the design of these people to erect that tower for purposes of Divine worship; not that the *top* of it might *reach to heaven*, but that it might be *dedicated to the hosts of heaven*. So some eminent interpreters have rendered the words וראשו בשמים, (*ve rasho bashemim*,) there being no word in the Hebrew text for *may reach*. It seems highly probable, therefore, that they designed to preserve themselves from being separated into different sects, and scattered abroad upon the face of the earth, by thus preparing a central place of worship. They might also have been prompted to this by a feeling of pride, and an inclination to idolatry. To prevent the accomplishment of this object, and to punish them for their idolatrous designs, God, it is said by the sacred historian, *confounded their language, and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of the earth*: hence the name of the tower or temple was called בבל, (babel,) from בל, which signifies to *mingle*, or *confound*; thereby commemorating the confounding of their designs and frustrating their magnificent projects by introducing confusion into their counsels. It appears, moreover, that the confusion introduced among them refers more immediately to the confounding of their *sentiments* and *designs*, than to their *speech* or *language*; for it seems highly improbable that a diversity of languages was the immediate result of their disappointment; but that it was the consequence of their being separated and scattered abroad upon the earth, and brought about by a gradual process.

On this supposition it is easy to account for the diversity of languages which soon after prevailed among mankind. Being separated into several tribes, inhabiting different climates, they gradually slid into the use of different dialects. Different climates undoubtedly have considerable influence on the organs of speech, and the invention of new arts and trades, the cultivation of the sciences and the extension of commerce, would all contribute to change the language, while a similarity between the most important terms would show that they all sprung from one common root. This, indeed, is actually the case in respect to all the known languages of the earth. While sufficient evidence of the confusion of tongues is afforded by the numerous anomalies which are found even in the most regular languages of men, there are those striking resemblances discoverable among them all which indicate their common origin; and that this origin is most naturally found either in the Hebrew or Arabic language. See Dr. A. Clarke on Gen. xi, 4–9, and Dr. Webster's Introduction to his 4to Dictionary. In this Introduction the learned and indefatigable author has treated this subject with much critical acumen, and fully shown

yet they must have gradually acquired a variety of dialects, until finally perhaps no one, or only one of the tribes preserved a knowledge of the ancient language, whatever that language might have been. The tribe

the practicability of tracing all languages back to one common origin; and likewise shown the manner in which the different languages now prevalent on the earth may have been formed from providential circumstances.

And, indeed, any one may be convinced of the facility of the manner and the almost unavoidable necessity by which mankind came into the use of different dialects, if he will only consider the perpetual changes which have been and are now taking place in every living language. Hence the changes of orthography which are introduced to accommodate it to the change of pronunciation. Were our ancestors, who lived two hundred years ago, now to arise from the dead, and speak to us in the tone of voice, the accentuation, and the cadences they used while living, their language would be perfectly unintelligible to us. Any man may be convinced of this who will compare the orthography of the English language in the days of Wickliffe with that now in use.

Much of the orthography now in use in our own language furnishes no more of a just key to the pronunciation than if *horse* were made to stand for a *rose*. What foreigner would ever suspect that *tough* stands for *tuff*, *trough* for *trawf*, *neighbour* for *naber*, *know* for *no*—and so of a multitude of other words. The strong gutteral sounds of our ancestors may have justified this orthography at the time it was adopted; but surely no good reason can be assigned for the retention of this barbarous manner of spelling many of our words since the old pronunciation has become obsolete. There seems to be a perpetual effort in the organs of speech to abbreviate words in the manner of pronunciation; which may account for the changes here referred to.

These remarks, however, are somewhat foreign to our present subject, as it was our intention merely to show that there is no necessity for supposing that a multitude of languages were the result of a moment at the time those ancient builders were confounded in their design; but that they originated from their becoming divided into several tribes, and from the combined operation of different climates, customs, modes of living, and the gradual increase of knowledge. And be it remembered also, that it was much more difficult to preserve a uniformity of language at that time, when the art of printing was entirely unknown, the knowledge of letters, if known at all, was restricted to a very narrow sphere, and the arts and sciences must have been comparatively few. This will appear evident to all who consider what corruptions in pronunciation, as well as in the wrong application of words, creep into any living language, even in our day, among those who are comparatively illiterate. If, with all the efforts which are now made to diffuse knowledge by means of books, schools, and colleges, it is not possible to secure our language from corruption among the mass of the people, what would be our condition in a few years were all our books annihilated and our schools demolished! And more especially were our nationality broken up, and we divided into a number of insulated tribes, separated from each other by government, laws, usages, and habits of living. Should we not soon cease to understand each other?

Such is the present state of our Indian neighbors. And hence their condition, in respect to their languages, is a full confirmation of the views here expressed in regard to the gradual, and unavoidable manner in which different dialects have been formed. Those who have endeavored to trace out a resemblance between the language of the aboriginal inhabitants of our country and the Hebrew, and from thence to derive

of Shem, from whom the Israelites descended through Abraham, might have preserved a knowledge of the primitive language, and of the art of recording events and transactions by means of alphabetical writing; and Abraham might have taught it to his sons, and they to the succeeding generations down to the time of Moses; while the other tribes who were dispersed abroad at the time God confounded their designs, losing a knowledge of the language itself, lost with it, as a punishment for their temerity, a knowledge of the characters by which it was represented. This may account for the ignorance of the greater proportion of the nations of the earth in regard to the letters of the alphabet in the early period of their history.

A confirmation of the opinion that alphabetical characters are of quite remote antiquity is found in the fact that bricks have been recently discovered by *digging deep into the earth* at the foundation of the *tower of Babel*, on which inscriptions are found, which were evidently designed as a record of some important event or events. Now it is well known that the foundation of this famous temple was laid soon after the flood; according to the chronology of our Scriptures it happened about one hundred years after that memorable event. It is generally supposed to have been about the time of the birth of Peleg; as in Gen. x, 25, it is said that *unto Eber was born two sons, and the name of the one was Peleg*; which being derived from the Hebrew פלג, signifying

an argument in favor of their descent from the ten lost tribes of Israel, seem to forget two important particulars in this investigation. The first is; that there are a multitude of different dialects among these several tribes; that a Mohawk can no more understand a Chippeway than a German can an Englishman; and hence, to make the argument complete which is derived from this source, the resemblance must be made to appear among all these different dialects. The second is; that allowing the resemblance does actually exist in a few important words, it no more proves the point in hand, than it does that all nations have descended from these ten lost tribes, because such a resemblance may be found to exist in all languages. One very important conclusion, however, seems to follow from this last fact, namely, the resemblance between some terms in all languages; and that is, that we have a confirmation of the Scripture history of the human species, that all nations have descended from one original stock, and that before the dispersion spoken of in the sacred text, *all the earth was of one language and of one speech:* for if this resemblance of cognate terms can be fairly made to appear, as we believe it can, then the argument derives great force from this resemblance in favor of the inspired declaration, that one language only prevailed at that time; and also that both nations and languages have all been derived from one original common stock. And whenever it can be ascertained satisfactorily what that language was, we shall be able to determine which is the mother of all language, just as conclusively as we can now determine who was the father of all nations. And we are satisfied that the more thoroughly and critically this subject is examined, the more striking will the evidence appear in favor of the Scriptural account of the origin and dispersion of the human family.

to *divide*, to *separate*, or *disperse*, the following reason is given why that name was appropriated to him, 'for in his days the earth was divided.' Allowing, therefore, that alphabetical characters are found on bricks taken from the foundation of this temple, it follows that they were in use at that time, namely, one hundred and one years after the flood, which was the time of Peleg's birth; and unless we allow that they were *invented* by Nimrod, or whoever else commenced this idolatrous structure, the knowledge of them must have been preserved in the family of Noah.

If, however, any should be disposed to assign them a later date from the fact that this temple was not completed until several hundred years afterward; our answer is, that these bricks were found at the very *foundation* of the temple, and that they were discovered by *digging deep into the earth*; which is a manifest proof that the engravings were made at the time the tower was *begun by the first builders*. And the discovery of these bricks in this state of preservation confirms the Scriptural account respecting the materials with which this building was erected, namely, *of burnt bricks instead of stone, and of slime instead of mortar*; that is, the bricks, which were indurated in the fire, were strongly cemented together in the building with bitumen, or a pitchy substance, of which, according to Josephus and Herodotus, great quantities are to be found on the banks of the river *Is*, in the neighborhood of Babylon. On these hardened bricks, thus preserved for such a length of time, have these inscriptions been found, in plain characters. A splendid proof, not only of their knowledge of alphabetical characters, but of their admirable skill in the art of engraving or indenting them on the hardened and cemented bricks.

The discovery of this fact may also confirm the truth of a passage in Josephus, book i, ch. 2, which has been considered by some entirely fabulous, where he says that 'the posterity of Seth, having been forewarned of the deluge, erected two columns, one of stone and the other of bricks, on which they recorded their discoveries in astronomy. The column of stone is still extant in the land of Syria.' As this refers to a transaction which took place anterior to the flood, allowing its truth, it fully corroborates the opinion we have expressed, that alphabetical writing was understood and practised by the antediluvians; for they not only *erected* these columns, but they also *recorded* their discoveries upon them. And we see no good reason why monuments might not have been erected sufficiently strong to have resisted the violence even of the flood, and therefore Josephus might have spoken the honest truth when he said the stone column was in existence in his day.*

* See Fragments to Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, vol. 4, art. *Ancient Writing*.

Allowing the truth of our theory respecting the antiquity of alphabetical writing, it clears up one difficulty respecting the manner in which the knowledge of events was handed down from one generation to another, in the early ages of the world. Instead of being entirely dependent upon oral tradition, they might have preserved records of all important transactions; and hence the genealogies of the first patriarchs and their descendants, and those other events and facts recorded by Moses, were in this manner kept upon record, and preserved among the archives of the nation. And although, at the dispersion of the human family and the multiplicity of languages which grew out of that event, the knowledge of this very useful art might have been lost among the descendants of Japheth and Ham, yet it might have been and undoubtedly was preserved in the family of Shem, and so transmitted down, gradually improving under the ingenuity of men, to the time of Moses.

We do not contend that the ancient Hebrew or Shemitic character was the same as that now in use. Indeed the present character in which the Hebrew Scriptures are written is very different from that in use before the Babylonish captivity; the former being the Chaldee and the latter the Samaritan character; for as the Jews so far improved in their religious character by their long captivity as to be cured of idolatry, so they exchanged the old character of their alphabet, for the more beautiful one of the Chaldees.

But without entering farther into the intricate question respecting the time when or the people among whom this very useful art originated, let us spend a few thoughts on the progressive manner in which it was brought into a more general use. This will lead us to one conclusion, at least, that although a knowledge of letters might have been preserved in the family of Shem, it must have been for a considerable time pretty much *confined* to them. And perhaps this was one of the curses inflicted upon the nations at the time of their dispersion, that they lost, together with a knowledge of the primitive language, a knowledge of the characters in which it was written. Why, indeed, should not this have been included among the blessings of that Divine revelation which was restricted in a great measure to the family of Shem? As God continued to visit them with special tokens of His presence, from time to time, even from the period of the general dispersion until the settlement of the descendants of Abraham in Egypt, is it not reasonable to suppose that they retained among them those characters which were necessary to record the periods of these visitations, as well as the import of the messages and instructions which were thus conveyed to them? And as it is certain that the other tribes which were scattered abroad very soon lost the knowledge of the true God, and

gradually relapsed into idolatry, they might have lost also the knowledge of those characters by which the revelation of God's will had been recorded. May not this ignorance have been at least a part of that blindness to which they were given over for a punishment of their temerity at the building of Babel, and for their subsequent idolatrous practices? Is there any thing improbable in all this?

Without, however, dwelling longer upon this intricate subject, let us attend to the manner in which the use of alphabetical characters came into use among the various nations of the earth. From the earliest histories to which we can have access, it appears that the first rude efforts at recording events and representing things were made by *pictures*. Thus, to signify that one man had killed another, the figure of a man was drawn on the ground, and of another standing by him with some instrument of death in his hand. To denote that strangers had arrived in a country by sea, it was natural to draw the figure of a man sitting in a ship. This appears to have been the earliest kind of writing, if it may be so called, among the Egyptians, Phenicians, Greeks, and other ancient nations. And when Mexico was discovered by the Spaniards, this was the method in practice among the Mexicans. The inhabitants of the sea coast, in order to give notice of the arrival of these strangers to their emperor, Montezuma, sent him a large cloth, on which they had painted every thing remarkable that they had observed.

This certainly was a very laborious and cumbersome mode of conveying ideas. It accordingly gave way to a more abbreviated method, called *symbolical*. The hyeroglyphical manner of writing, though it might represent visible objects by means of the signs and marks which it had adopted, could not so readily express the passions, opinions, and decisions of the mind, and those subjects which were purely of an intellectual nature. This inconvenience led to the invention of employing symbols, which it was supposed had some relation or resemblance to the things represented by them. Thus ingratitude was denoted by a viper—Providence by the head of a hawk, remarkable for its penetrating eye—a man shunned by society by an eel, which is supposed never to be found in company with any other fish—feet standing upon water, as an impossibility.

But as this method of recording events and representing things was also attended with much labor, and as mankind have ever been fond of lightening the toils of life as much as possible, they were led to invent the shorter method of writing by the use of letters, each of which, it has been contended by some, first stood for a thing or an idea. That this was the case, on the first invention of letters, appears highly probable. The Chinese characters evidently denote things and not words.

Hence the vast number of their characters. Sir George Staunton asserts that their number of words does not exceed 1,500, while the number of characters extends to 80,000, making an average of nearly fifty characters to each word. On the supposition that each character stands for a thing or an idea, the knowledge of the characters is the knowledge of things; and hence on the examination of those who aspire to office among them, they are examined in their knowledge of these characters, and of their ability to write them with accuracy and elegance. This requires much labor and long and close study, so much so that a Chinese dictionary, properly constructed, would be a systematic encyclopedia of all the learning and science of the country.

The names of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are all significant. א, *aleph*, signifies an *ox*; ב, *beth*, a *horse*; ג, *gimel*, a *camel*; and so on of the rest. And it is well known that in the Greek language, A, *alpha*, signifies the *beginning*, and ω, *omega*, the *ending* of any thing.* But that alphabetical writing was known among the Phenicians and also the Egyptians long before the giving of the law—who might indeed have derived it from the Hebrews, as the ancient Hebrew character and the Phenician is very much alike—is quite evident from the testimony of Pliny, who, from not being able to ascertain precisely its origin, asserts that a knowledge of letters must have been eternal, that is, beyond all records. Simplicius, who lived in the fifth century, states, on the authority of Porphyry, who was a historian of great research, that Calisthenes, the companion of Alexander, found at Babylon a record of observations on the heavenly bodies for one thousand nine hundred years, that is, before Christ 2234, which would carry us back to the eighty-ninth year of Abraham.† And the common opinion is that Cadmus introduced letters from Phenicia into Greece 1519 years before the Christian era, which would be forty-five years after the death of Moses. Anticlides affirms, and labors to prove that letters were invented in Egypt before the days of Phoroneus, the most ancient king of Greece; that is, 409 years after the deluge, and in the 117th year of Abraham. But allowing that they were introduced into Egypt at that time, it is evident, from the testimonies before adduced, that they had previously existed in Phenicia;‡ which corroborates the opinion already expressed, that a knowledge of them had been preserved in the family of Shem, from the days of the flood; especially when it is remembered, as before stated, that the ancient Hebrew and Phenician characters were nearly the same: and hence in all probability the Phenicians learned them from the Hebrews, and the Egyptians from the

* See Blair, and the New Edinburgh Encyclopedia.

† May the inscriptions recently found be some fragments of these records?

‡ See Watson's Dictionary, article *Writing*.

Phenicians. But whatever obscurity may hang around the question respecting the people among whom and the time when alphabetical writing originated, it seems quite evident that it was known long before the giving of the law upon Mount Sinai. It may moreover be urged as an objection against the opinion that the *Hebrew* alphabet was first given by Divine revelation at the time of the giving of the law, that this alphabet is marked with those defects which it seems reasonable to suppose would not have appeared if it had been the pure effect of Divine revelation. Though it is tolerably complete in regard to the language for which it is used, yet it is by no means perfect. It is imperfect in regard to vowel characters; for even admitting what some contend for, that five of the constituent letters are vowels, yet there are many words in which no vowel occurs, and which therefore the reader is left to supply in reading; or otherwise adopt the complex and operose machinery of vowel points, which do not appear to have been an integral part of the language, but are evidently of a comparatively modern invention. Now it does not appear reasonable that God should by an express revelation make known an alphabet of so imperfect a character, inasmuch as all *His works are perfect.*

How thankful we ought to be for the invention and knowledge of such an art as alphabetical writing! Were the knowledge of this art lost, and we reduced back to that state of barbarism in which the nations were involved who were destitute of such a mode of recording events, and of communicating their thoughts to each other, how deplorable would be our condition in comparison to what it now is! This, together with the art of printing, affords to mankind those facilities for the interchange of sentiment, and for communicating information of every sort, by which a thought suggested to one mind in any one part of the world may be communicated, almost with the rapidity of lightning, to every other part of the globe. Through the united influence of these two arts, what may we not hope to accomplish in the cause of God, the cause of religion and humanity, if they be used diligently and wisely for this munificent purpose!

But what good thing is there but what is susceptible of abuse?—While it is perfectly easy to make the art of writing and printing subservient to the advancement of the best of objects, it is manifest that by its abuse it may 'become an instrument of unrighteousness' no less effectually than every other good thing may be turned into 'wormwood and gall.' To communicate knowledge, to diffuse abroad sound and healthful sentiments, and to check and refute error and heresy, the press becomes a powerful and prompt instrument; but this could do nothing, comparatively, without the aid of alphabetical writing. United they are 'two great lights' by which the world may become illuminated.

MAURY ON ELOQUENCE.

The Principles of Eloquence, adapted to the Pulpit and the Bar. By THE ABBE MAURY. *Translated from the French; with additional Notes, by John Neal Lake, A. M. To which are added Mr. Wesley's Directions concering Pronunciation and Gesture. New-York, published by B. Waugh and T. Mason.*

ELOQUENCE is said to consist in *giving utterance to sentiments in correct and appropriate language*, accompanied with *graceful and expressive gestures.* The word comes to us from the Latin, *eloquor. loquor*, which signifies simply to *speak;* and this probably from the Greek, ληχεω λαχω, to *crack*, to *sound*, to make *articulate sounds.* The primary signification probably is to *burst forth suddenly* as water through an aperture. When the heart is full of well-digested matter it is easy for the tongue to utter it with eloquence.

Of all the writers on eloquence, which have come under our observation, no one has treated the subject with greater clearness of perception or facility of expression, and at the same time illustrated his rules and principles with more striking and apposite examples, than the *Abbe Maury.* These examples indeed were ready at his command; for no nations, among the moderns, have furnished more splendid proofs of impassioned eloquence than the French nation has done; and no preachers have exhibited brighter examples of pulpit oratory than some of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and more especially those belonging to the French Church during the reign of Louis XIV. May not one reason for this be found in the independence of those clergy of their people? While the Protestants generally addressed themselves to the people, as the ultimate judges of their doctrine, and so put themselves in their power as to make them in some measure the arbiters of their destiny, they became solicitous to court the popular favor, and were of course fearful of offending their prejudices or of incurring their displeasure: and while these circumstances operated to the disadvantage of the more timid among the Protestants, the clergy of the Catholic communion, maintaining their high independence without any fear of losing the good will of their auditors, fearlessly addressed themselves to their consciences, boldly attacking and exposing their ignorance and their vices. We do not say indeed that this censure applies universally to the Protestant ministers, nor that they have been generally deficient either in energy of character or pointedness of expression and boldness of reproof. Some of them were not afraid to arraign even kings upon their thrones for their vices, nor to denounce the judgments of almighty God upon evil doers of every character. Such have left

behind them specimens of the most alarming eloquence, as monuments both of their genius and of their devotedness to the cause of God and His truth.

The following extract from the translator's preface will show who the Abbe Maury was, as well as the estimation in which his character and work have been held by competent judges:—

'The name of the Abbe Maury hath become so distinguished, not only in France, but also in this and other countries of Europe, that his literary productions will, probably, attract a degree of attention corresponding with that which his public character and conduct have excited.

As a member of the Constituting National Assembly it was his lot to step forward at an epoch which will for ever remain memorable in the annals of France.

In the midst of those contests and recriminations which prevailed among the different orders of which that assembly was composed, the Abbe Maury stood forth as the champion of the Church, and of aristocracy. His eloquence and abilities elevated him to distinguished importance among his brethren, while his undaunted spirit acquired fresh energy from the number, the abilities, and the attacks of his opponents: thus, though repeatedly foiled, yet like an expiring hero in the field of battle, he was determined not to yield but with his latest breath.

His zeal and talents shone conspicuous in this crisis of public affairs; and we are informed that he hath since received from the hands of his holiness at Rome the reward of a strenuous defence of a tottering Church.

But not only hath the senate borne witness to his abilities: the press, also, superadds its testimony in various literary productions.

Eloquence, the subject of that work which is here presented in an English dress, appears to have occupied his maturest thoughts; and the justice and enlargement of his ideas upon this subject mark the success with which he has pursued it.

To boast of his attaining to originality of thought on a subject which hath been so frequently and so ably discussed, would, doubtless, be presumptuous; to insinuate that he has written a complete system would be to contradict his own professions; but to acknowledge that he has thrown out a variety of useful hints, and that in his manner of discussion he is lively and interesting, is no more than to pay him that tribute to which his merit may justly lay claim.

The following dissertation is only one of several which M. Maury hath given to the public. There are also collected in one volume the Panegyrics of St. Louis and of Fenelon; Reflections on the sermons of Bossuet; and the Panegyric of St. Austin.

In these he has discovered the talents of an orator, particularly in that species of the art styled panegyric, to which the French have ever shown more attachment than the English.*

In the work now offered to the public, and which seems the most material for a young speaker to peruse, the abbe has described those

* A late publication hath since appeared, and been attributed to the abbe, containing, chiefly, of speeches delivered by him in the National Assembly.

rules, and suggested those observations, by which he appears to have been guided in his own compositions.

In confirmation of the good opinion which the translator has conceived of M. Maury's performance, he transcribes, with pleasure, the remiarks of the Monthly Reviewers on those discourses, of which the following translation constitutes the first:—

"The first of these discourses relates to various parts of the eloquence of the pulpit, and does great honor to the taste, judgment, and feelings of the ingenious author. His reflections on Cicero, Demosthenes, Bossuet, Fenelon, Bourdaloue, Saurin, Bridaine, &c, are sensible and solid; and his precepts and rules are every way adapted to form the taste of a young orator to that affecting simplicity which disdains all frivolous ornaments, and has no other object in view than to touch and to persuade.

This discourse is followed by two orations that were delivered before the French Academy in honor of St. Louis and Fenelon; another in honor of St. Augustine, delivered in the General Assembly of the French clergy; and a piece entitled, 'Reflections on the Sermons of Bossuet, last published.' All these are excellent in their kinds."—(*Monthly Review*, vol. lvii, p. 309.)'

It is by no means our intention to analyze the work before us. We may be indulged, however, in a few remarks upon the general subject on which the author has written. Though we have no aversion to good and wholesome rules in public speaking, yet we are persuaded that no set of rules, however perfect they may be, and however well they may be understood by the student, can supply the place of any natural or inherent defect a man may have in regard to public speaking. We do not, however, mean to say that men are generally and necessarily defective in this particular, although it is manifest that it was never designed that all men should be public speakers, any more than it was that they should be all mechanics, farmers, lawyers, or ministers of the Gospel; yet we are inclined to think that most men are naturally eloquent, until they are marred by some circumstance attendant upon their lives. Let any man, however unlettered he may be, get his mind deeply impressed with his subject, and have his feelings enlisted in its success, and he will plead its cause with an engaging eloquence; the earnestness of his *manner* will supply any defectiveness which may appear in the choice of words or the construction of sentences; though if suitable language be added to his native earnestness he will be doubly eloquent. If we allow oratory to consist in the unrestrained expression of the sentiments and feelings of the heart, all men are naturally eloquent, and the most eloquent in their childhood. If we watch the emotions of a child when he first begins to express his thoughts, in a free and unrestrained manner, unawed by the presence of those whom he fears, we shall behold all the characteristics of genuine oratory. His eyes, his countenance, the motions of his limbs, and

the change of his bodily position, will all indicate the emotions of his heart, and the sincerity with which he pours forth his effusions. Nor is it hardly possible to resist the effects of this honest and simple display of his oratorical powers. Here is no art,—no knowledge of rules,—not so much as even to understand the meaning of the word by which his effusions are designated; and the more this honest simplicity predominates, the more engaging and captivating will be the exhibition of his juvenile powers.

Why then, it may be asked, are not all men, and more especially all public speakers, orators. The answer is that some are spoiled by a wrong application of rules; others are prevented from an exhibition of their powers from timidity; while others never become such because their hearts are not filled and warmed with the subject on which they speak. Many a youth acquires a sort of mechanical manner of acting and speaking, by a slavish attention to artificial direction, changing the position of his body just so often, whatever may be his subject, lifting his hand or letting it fall in a regular routine, and modifying the intonations of his voice according to set rules, without any just regard to his subject, exhibiting all the mechanical regularity of an automaton, and equally destitute of life and animation—and this passes off for eloquence with those who know no better. Others, for fear of transcending the bounds of moderation, and of being stigmatized as enthusiasts, restrain the ardent feelings of their souls—those feelings prompted and excited by the nature of their subject—and check that overflowing of emotion which is essential to constitute genuine eloquence. Timidity cramps the genius, confuses the intellect, and stops that regular flow of thought which otherwise would exalt the individual to the rank of an orator. These causes operate less or more in most men who appear before the public, and prevent the full and beneficial exercise of their powers. Let a man thoroughly understand his subject, feel its importance, be raised above the fear of man, be unrestrained and unshackled by artificial rules,—but under the influence of well-digested sentiments and of a well-cultivated understanding—pour forth the emotions of his warmed heart, and he will rarely fail to witness the effects of his eloquence—the eloquence of truth, honesty, and intrepidity—his voice, his eyes, every muscle of his face, and every movement of his body will speak—and speak too to the heart and understanding of his audience.

But of all public speakers, we think the minister of Jesus Christ has the greatest advantage for the display of genuine eloquence. In the first place, his subject is the most awful, grand, and sublime, and at the same time the most charming and inviting, of any which can come within the range of human thought or conception. All other subjects

sink into insignificance when compared to this. To be standing between the living and the dead—to be pleading the cause of God and man—to be dwelling on the awfully momentous subjects of heaven and hell—subjects in which the everlasting destinies of immortal beings are involved—is enough, one would think, to inspire the dullest heart with an indescribable pathos, and to awaken up emotions which must make the 'tongue of the dumb' to speak with an eloquence which should be irresistible. Hence a dull moralizer, or a tame metaphysician in the pulpit, is of all spectacles the most onerous and disgusting.

Another thing which has justly ruined the reputation of many a public speaker is an affected imitation of others. On hearing a man of commanding powers and native eloquence pour forth the sentiments of his soul in such a manner as to rivet the attention and captivate the hearts of his hearers, another takes him for his copy, and immediately commences a course of servile imitation. Not possessing adequate powers for a successful imitation of this man's method of uttering his sentiments, he falls into contempt in the estimation of all men of taste and discernment, and becomes a prey to numerous ills arising from a disappointed ambition; for nothing is more disgusting to a well-instructed mind than an ineffectual attempt to imitate others; and what renders many of those mimics more disgusting still is, that they are exceedingly prone to copy defects instead of excellencies. This has been often and painfully witnessed. All affectation is disgusting. But affectation in the pulpit is doubly so. This, however, is not all. An affected imitation of another is not only evidence of a vitiated taste and a weakness of judgment, but is injurious to the organs of speech, and of course to the health of the body. It requires an unnatural effort, and an artificial excitement, to imitate some speakers, and more especially those whose voice is naturally full, and their enunciation strong; and hence such an effort causes the person to contract a stiffness of manner, by a perpetual effort at imitation, which requires extra exertions to keep up, and which therefore must sooner or later exhaust his strength. Every man has his proper gift of God; and all that is required is a diligent improvement of that gift, in order to discharge his duty with fidelity and success.

It seems not to have been the intention of the Abbe Maury to lay down rules so much as it was to give an illustration of genuine oratory, by an exhibition of such examples as were found in the sermons and discourses of eminent writers and speakers. And these examples confirm the justness of the remark we have made, that true eloquence is evinced in the earnest and unrestrained expression of the sentiments of a heart filled and fired with the subject matter of discourse, unawed by fear, unmoved by pride, vanity, or ambition, and not shackled by a

slavish attention to artificial rules. If a thorough understanding of the subject, and a zealous concern for its success, will not make a man its eloquent advocate, it is in vain to attempt to qualify himself by studying the rules of oratory; but, with these cardinal qualifications, he is greatly assisted by an attention to good rules, if he have them so perfectly at command that they seem to be natural to him; otherwise he will appear stiff and affected. Take the following as an example from the book before us:—

'If there be extant among us any traces of this ancient and energetic eloquence, which is nothing else than the original voice of nature, it is among the missionaries, and in the country, where we must seek for examples. There, some apostolic men, endowed with a vigorous and bold imagination, know no other success than conversions, no other applauses than tears. Often devoid of taste, they descend, I confess, to burlesque details; but they forcibly strike the senses; their threatenings impress terror; the people listen to them with profit: many among them have sublime strokes; and an orator doth not hear them without advantage, when he is skilful in observing the important effects of his art.

M. Bridaine, the man who, in the present age, is the most justly celebrated in this way, was born with a popular eloquence, abounding with metaphorical and striking expressions; and no one ever possessed, in a higher degree, the rare talent of arresting the attention of an assembled multitude.

He had so fine a voice, as to render credible all the wonders which history relates of the declamation of the ancients, for he was as easily heard by ten thousand people in the open fields, as if he had spoken under the most resounding arch. In all he said, there were observable unexpected strokes of oratory, the boldest metaphors, thoughts sudden, new, and striking, all the marks of a rich imagination, some passages, sometimes even whole discourses, composed with care, and written with an equal combination of taste and animation.

I remember to have heard him deliver the introduction of the first discourse which he preached in the church of St. Sulpice, in 1751.—The first company in the capital went out of curiosity to hear him.

Bridaine perceived among the congregation many bishops, and persons of the first rank, as well as a vast number of ecclesiastics. This sight, far from intimidating, suggested to him the following exordium, so far at least as my memory remains, of a passage, with which I have been always sensibly affected, and which, perhaps, will not appear unworthy of Bossuet, or Demosthenes.

"At the sight of an auditory so new to me, methinks, my brethren, I ought only to open my mouth to solicit your favor in behalf of a poor missionary, destitute of all those talents which you require of those who speak to you about your salvation. Nevertheless, I experience to-day, a feeling very different. And, if I am cast down, suspect me not of being depressed by the wretched uneasiness occasioned by vanity, as if I were accustomed to preach myself. God forbid that a minister of Heaven should ever suppose he needed an excuse with you! for who-

ever ye may be, ye are all of you sinners like myself. It is before your God and mine, that I feel myself impelled at this moment to strike my breast.

Until now, I have proclaimed the righteousness of the Most High in churches covered with thatch. I have preached the rigors of penance to the unfortunate who wanted bread. I have declared to the good inhabitants of the country the most awful truths of my religion. Unhappy man! what have I done? I have made sad the poor, the best friends of my God! I have conveyed terror and grief into those simple and honest souls, whom I ought to have pitied and consoled! It is here only where I behold the great, the rich, the oppressors of suffering humanity, or sinners daring and hardened. Ah! it is here only where the sacred word should be made to resound with all the force of its thunder; and where I should place with me in this pulpit, on the one side, death which threatens you, and on the other, my great God, who is about to judge you. I hold to-day your sentence in my hand. Tremble then in my presence, ye proud and disdainful men who hear me! The necessity of salvation, the certainty of death, the uncertainty of that hour, so terrifying to you, final impenitence, the last judgment, the number of the elect, hell, and above all, eternity! eternity! These are the subjects upon which I am come to discourse, and which I ought, doubtless, to have reserved for you alone. Ah! what need have I of your commendation, which perhaps might damn me, without saving you? God is about to rouse you, while his unworthy minister speaks to you! for I have had a long experience of his mercies. Penetrated with a detestation of your past iniquities, and shedding tears of sorrow and repentance, you will then throw yourselves into my arms; and, by this remorse, you will prove that I am sufficiently eloquent."

Who doth not by this time perceive how much this eloquence excels the frigid and miserable pretensions of modern wit? In apologizing, so to speak, for having preached upon hell in the villages, Bridaine boldly assumed all the authority over his auditory which belonged to his office, and prepared their hearts for the awful truths which he intended to announce. This exordium alone gave him a right to say every thing. Many persons still remember his sermon on eternity, and the terror which he diffused throughout the congregation, while blending, as was usual with him, quaint comparisons with sublime transports, he exclaimed, "What foundation, my brethren, have you for supposing your dying day at such a distance? Is it your youth? 'Yes,' you answer, 'I am, as yet, but twenty, but thirty.' Sirs, it is not you who are twenty or thirty years old, it is death which has advanced twenty or thirty years toward you. Observe: Eternity approaches. Do you know what this eternity is? It is a pendulum whose vibration says continually, Always—Ever—Ever—Always—Always! In the mean while, a reprobate cries out, 'What o'clock is it?' And the same voice answers, 'Eternity.'"

The thundering voice of Bridaine added, on those occasions, a new energy to his eloquence; and the auditory, familiarized to his language and ideas, appeared at such times in dismay before him. The profound silence which reigned in the congregation, especially when he preached until the approach of night, was interrupted from time to time, and in a

manner very perceptible, by the long and mournful sighs which proceeded, all at once, from every corner of the church where he was speaking.

Orators! ye who are wholly engrossed about your own reputation, fall at the feet of this apostolic man, and learn from a missionary wherein true eloquence consists. The people! the people! they are the principal, and perhaps, the best judges of your talents.' (pp. 59–62.)

As we have mentioned several things which tend to injure a public speaker, and more especially a minister of Jesus Christ, we may be allowed to allude to another; we mean the employment of witty sayings or ludicrous anecdotes. Whatever of this may be allowed to the stage player, the lawyer, or such speakers as design only to dazzle the audience by some brilliant strokes for the purpose of producing a momentary effect, it is utterly unbecoming a minister of the sanctuary.—The gravity of his subject, the dignity of his character, and the momentous interests which are at stake, all conspire to impress solemnity upon his mind, to exclude from his heart every light and trifling thought, and will not allow him to be witty at the expense of hazarding interests of such tremendous magnitude. The following are Abbe Maury's remarks on this subject, corroborated by some other writers of celebrity:—

'To all those rules which art furnishes for conducting the plan of a discourse, we proceed to subjoin a general rule from which orators, and especially Christian orators, ought never to swerve.

When such begin their career, the zeal for the salvation of souls, which animates them, doth not render them always unmindful of the glory which follows great success. A blind desire to shine and to please is often at the expense of that substantial honor which might be obtained, were they to give themselves up to the pure emotions of piety, which so well agree with the sensibility necessary to eloquence.

It is unquestionably to be wished that he who devotes himself to the arduous labors which preaching requires, should be wholly ambitious to render himself useful to the cause of religion. To such, reputation can never be a sufficient recompense. But if motives so pure have not sufficient sway in your breast, calculate, at least, the advantages of self love, and you may perceive how inseparably connected these are with the success of your ministry.

Is it on your own account that you preach? Is it for you that religion assembles her votaries in a temple? You ought not to indulge so presumptuous a thought. However, I only consider you as an orator. Tell me, then, what is this you call eloquence? Is it the wretched trade of imitating that criminal, mentioned by a poet in his satires, who "balanced his crimes before his judges with antithesis?"* Is it the puerile secret of forming jejune quibbles? of rounding periods? of tormenting one's self by tedious studies in order to reduce sacred instruction into a vain amusement? Is this, then, the idea which you have

* ——— Crimina rasis
Librat in antithesis. (*Pers. Sat.* 1. 1. 85, 86.)

conceived of that Divine art which disdains frivolous ornaments, which sways the most numerous assemblies, and which bestows on a single man the most personal and majestic of all sovereignties? Are you in quest of glory? You fly from it. Wit alone is never sublime; and it is only by the vehemence of the passions that you can become eloquent.*

Reckon up all the illustrious orators. Will you find among them conceited, or subtle, or epigrammatic writers? No; these immortal men confined their attempts to affect and persuade; and their having been always simple is that which always renders them great. How is this? you wish to proceed in their footsteps, and you stoop to the de-

* Mr. Hume judiciously observes that "productions which are merely surprising, without being natural, can never give any lasting entertainment to the mind. Too much ornament is a fault in every kind of production. Uncommon expressions, strong flashes of wit, pointed similies, and epigrammatic turns, especially when they recur too frequently, are a disfigurement rather than any embellishment of discourse. As the eye, in surveying a Gothic building, is distracted by the multiplicity of ornaments, and loses the whole by its minute attention to the parts; so the mind, in perusing a work overstocked with wit, is fatigued and disgusted with the constant endeavor to shine and surprise. This is the case where a writer overabounds in wit, even though that wit, in itself, should be just and agreeable. But it commonly happens to such writers, that they seek for their favorite ornaments, even where the subject affords them not; and by that means have twenty insipid conceits for one thought which is really beautiful." (*Hume's Essays*, Ess. xix, pp. 240, 241.)

"I like none of those witty turns which have nothing in them that is either solid, natural, or affecting, and which tend neither to convince, nor paint, nor persuade. All such tinsel wit (as that of Isocrates) must appear still more ridiculous when it is applied to grave and serious matters. You ask, Will you then allow of no antithesis? Yes, when the things we speak of are naturally opposite one to another, it may be proper enough to show their opposition. Such antithesis are just, and have a solid beauty, and a right application of them is often the most easy and concise manner of explaining things; but it is extremely childish to use artificial terms and windings to make words clash and play one against another. At first this may happen to dazzle those who have no taste; but they soon grow weary of such a silly affectation. It looks very strange and awkward in a preacher to set up for wit and delicacy of invention, when he ought to speak with the utmost seriousness and gravity out of regard to the authority of the Holy Spirit whose words he borrows." (*Fenelon's Dialogues concerning Eloquence*, dial. ii, p. 26, and dial. iii, p. 146.)

"To form a just notion of Tully's eloquence, we must observe the harangues he made in his more advanced age. Then the experience he had in the weightiest affairs, the love of liberty, and the fear of those calamities that hung over his head, made him display the utmost efforts of his eloquence. When he endeavored to support and revive expiring liberty, and to animate the commonwealth against Anthony his enemy, you do not see him use points of wit and quaint antithesis: he is then truly eloquent. Every thing seems artless, as it ought to be when one is vehement; with a negligent air he delivers the most natural and affecting sentiments, and says every thing that can move and animate the passions." (*Ibid.* dial. ii, p. 54.)

Pope justly observes:—

> "True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,
> What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd;
> Something, whose truth convinced at sight we find,
> That gives us back the image of our mind.
> As shades more sweetly recommend the light,
> So modest plainness sets off sprightly wit.
> For works may have more wit than does them good,
> As bodies perish through excess of blood."
>
> *Essay on Criticism*, l. 309.

The judicious Fenelon also remarks, from St. Austin, that "in the Apostle Paul, wisdom did not seek after the beauty of language, but that the beauties of language offered themselves and attended his wisdom." (*Dialogues concerning Eloquence*, dial. iii, p. 106.)

grading pretensions of a rhetorician! and you appear in the form of a mendicant soliciting commendations before those very men who ought to tremble at your feet! Recover from this ignominy. Be eloquent by zeal, instead of being a mere declaimer through vanity. And be assured that the most certain method of preaching well for yourself, is to preach usefully to others.' (pp. 26–29.)

A man indeed that can trifle in the pulpit gives evidence that he is unfit for his calling, and must soon fall into that contempt which his frivolity has so justly brought upon him.

On the whole we commend this little volume to the attention of our readers, believing that they will find much judicious advice in few words, remarking at the same time that the *unction of the Holy One* is indispensable to give effect to our ministrations. This is that which gives life and energy to the word delivered, and without which a minister of Jesus Christ is but a *sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.*

PROGRESS OF TEMPERANCE.

Proceedings and Speeches at a Meeting for the Promotion of the Cause of Temperance in the United States, held at the Capitol, in Washington City, February 24, 1833.

No Christian, no philanthropist, no genuine patriot, can be an indifferent spectator of the temperance movements of the present day. To remove an evil of such magnitude as has been induced by the use of intoxicating liquors, requires gigantic efforts; and we are glad to find that such efforts are now making in almost every part of our land, among all classes of people, in every department of the Churches, by Christians, statesmen, and philanthropists. The account of the above proceedings will show that our representatives in both houses of congress, as well as members of the executive department of the national government, are lending the weight of their influence to suppress the frightful monster of intemperance, and to sustain the efforts of temperance societies by persuading the people to a total abstinence from all distilled liquors. Will not this noble example give an impetus to the pulsation of temperance, which will speedily cause a healthful circulation throughout every vein and artery of our republican body? We most ardently hope this issue may be witnessed.

Had we room we would gladly give the entire address of the honorable Lewis Cass, chairman of the meeting, which is alike distinguished by the justness of its sentiments, and the beauty and energy of its language. Surely the honorable secretary of war cannot exert his commanding talents and his eloquent pen in a cause of more vital in-

terest to his country's welfare, than in that of temperance. From this eloquent and appropriate address we give the following extracts:—

'I have been requested to introduce the proceedings of the evening, and to explain the objects of this assemblage, and the views and motives of those who have called it. And I do this with the less reluctance, even in this hall of legislation, because the evils of intemperance, against which we are called to bear our testimony, and in the suppression of which our co-operation is demanded, have passed, like the blast of the desert, over this fair land.

Our government rests upon public opinion, and public opinion, to be safe, must be virtuous, as well as enlightened. This magnificent depository of power would soon become as desolate as the monuments of departed freedom, which hallow, while they sadden, the fairest regions of the old world, if it were not guarded by the virtue and intelligence of the American people and their representatives. All, therefore, are interested in the great cause of public morals, and the united exertions of all may be demanded, whenever an important melioration is proposed in the condition of the community. The great avenues of communication diverge from this seat of empire to every section of our extensive republic, and the most salutary impression may, therefore, be here made upon the public mind by efforts, founded in benevolence and directed by wisdom.

And it is one of the great characteristics of the age in which we live, that men are now uniting for the accomplishment of objects, upon which the peace and welfare of society must rest, with a firmness of resolution, a contempt of danger, a sacrifice of personal considerations, and a spirit of active benevolence, which offer the fairest prospects of success. The messengers of glad tidings are despatched through the world, carrying the word of life and light to the arctic and the torrid regions, to islands and continents, to Christian and Paynim; and already the song of triumph and gratitude is heard from the Eastern and the Southern oceans, and wherever the herald of the cross has carried the name of the Redeemer and the great plan of salvation.—Beautifully indeed has this scene been described by one who, in faith and fervor, in principle and practice, approached the model of the primitive ages, and who was himself a martyr to these holy labors.

"From Greenland's icy mountains,
From India's coral strand,
Where Afric's sunny fountains
Roll down their golden sand,
From many an ancient river,
From many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver
Their land from error's chain.

What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle;
Though ev'ry prospect pleases,
And only man is vile:
In vain with lavish kindness,
The gifts of God are strown;
The heathen in his blindness
Bows down to wood and stone.

Shall we, whose souls are lighted
With wisdom from on high,
Shall we, to men benighted,
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation! O, salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till each remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah's name.

Waft, waft, ye winds, his story,
And you, ye waters, roll,
Till, like a sea of glory,
It spreads from pole to pole;
Till o'er our ransom'd nature,
The Lamb, for sinners slain,
Redeemer, King, Creator,
In bliss returns to reign."

Associations are formed for the promotion of all the great objects of moral concern, to the attainment of which individual exertions would be inadequate, and where common means and common efforts can be used. For the propagation of the Gospel, for the suppression of vice, for the education of youth, and generally for whatever can give knowledge to ignorance, stability to principle, or confidence to virtue. By this union, objects assume a greater magnitude. Efforts, upon an increased scale of usefulness, are planned and prosecuted for their attainment. The necessary funds are procured and expended. Emulation is excited, and pride and principle are brought to act in harmonious co-operation. Let no one contemn the means, and pronounce them insufficient for the end. Who shall limit the effect of human exertions, when directed to human improvement? In looking back upon the progress of society, how apparently slight do we find the causes, which have produced the most lasting impressions upon the family of man. I need not seek to illustrate the observation by examples. They abound in every page of history.

With similar views, societies have been instituted for the suppression of intemperance. Already their standards have been unfurled in the old and the new world, and able, zealous, and pious men have gathered round them and girded themselves for the combat. Let us trust in God, that the victory will be theirs. But the triumph will belong to human nature. Such a victory as no warrior ever gained, and such a triumph as the imperial republic, in the brightest days of her splendor, never decree to the proudest of her victors.' (pp. 3–5.)

After adducing a variety of arguments and facts to show the evils of intemperance, and the beneficial results to society which may be reasonably anticipated by the steady prosecution of this object, Mr. Cass concludes as follows:—

'The experience of the civilized world, during the past year, furnishes another memorable lesson upon this deeply interesting subject. A lesson which, if properly appreciated, may well console us for all the calamity with which it was accompanied. Who has forgotten that desolating pestilence, which, borne on the wings of the wind, traversed the old continent from the frontiers of China to the western limits of Europe! Vainly we hoped the ocean, which separates the hemis-

pheres, would present an impassable barrier to this mighty destroyer. But it came, and with it despair and death. But there came also the triumph of temperance. For though many a sacrifice was made among the virtuous and exemplary, still the stroke fell chiefly upon those whose constitutions had been impaired by habitual indulgence, and who were thus prepared for the disease.

Too long have those, who are yielding to this propensity, deluded themselves and others with this pretence of the necessary use of ardent spirits. It is time the foundation were broken up and the superstructure demolished. What was the state of the ancient world, where the process of distillation was unknown? The Arabian chemists were the first to introduce it, and not all the drugs of Arabia have been able to counteract its pernicious influence. There is nothing which leads to the belief that men were less able to endure fatigue, or that the average duration of human life was shorter. On the contrary, some of the most stupendous monuments of human power were erected in the early age of the world, and have come down to us unimpaired, surviving the memory of their founders and the objects of their construction. Extreme longevity was one of the characteristics of that period, and many of our most fatal disorders were unknown. A Roman soldier carried a weight of sixty pounds, beside his arms, and usually marched twenty miles a day. Every night he labored to enclose his encampment with a parapet and ditch. No fatigue nor exposure exempted an army from this duty, enjoined by the fundamental principles of their military service. Could an American soldier, with his daily allowance of spirits, or I may rather say, his daily temptation to drink, do more than this? Carry eighty pounds upon his back, march twenty miles a day, and then fortify his encampment! To the Roman soldier ardent spirits were unknown. To the American, they have been the bane of his life, and their destructive effects may be traced in every platoon of our army. It is to be hoped, that the recent regulations, which have been adopted upon this subject, will introduce a new era into our military history. Away then with this idle pretence of necessity. The necessity exists no where, but in the apologetic answers of those who, determined not to relinquish this darling habit, are yet desirous of presenting some excuse to themselves and others for its indulgence.

And why is it, that the vice of intemperance is almost wholly confined to men? True, we are sometimes appalled by the sight of a drunken woman, but such a spectacle is rare, and as shocking as it is unusual. Have they no fatigues to encounter, no sorrows to assuage, no maladies to heal? Are they liable to none of the common accidents of life, which furnish the excuse for this self abasement? They have all these, and more than these; for they have husbands, and sons, and fathers, whose neglect and cruelty, induced by intemperance, push the endurance of human nature to its utmost limit. And yet, under these trying circumstances, our females are patient and exemplary; seldom resorting to that false solace, which, if it give pleasure to-day, brings wo to-morrow. Whence this difference between the sexes? The habits of the lives of females are opposed to such a practice; their duties are faithfully performed at home. The domestic hearth is the altar where their human affections are offered, and round this are ga-

thered all that makes life desirable. In joy and sorrow, here they are found seeking consolation; not in the bowl, but in the practice of those virtues which God has given them, and which man has not been able to take away. Let us learn from them, that vicious indulgences are destructive to our health, injurious to our morals, subversive of our usefulness and respectability, and creating a fearful balance, which, in the great day of account, will leave us without excuse and without hope.

But there is fortunately one plain and safe method, by which all danger may be avoided. And that is, by entire interdiction. Abstinence, and abstinence only, from ardent spirits, will shield us from their injurious consequences. And this, in fact, is the only effectual safeguard within our power. He who says to the tide of human passion, Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther, will find his prohibition as little heeded as did the English monarch, who, erecting his throne upon the brink of the ocean, commanded its tide to be still. All experience demonstrates, that we are led by degrees along the path of life. From the smallest indulgence, the most inveterate habits arise. And when entering upon an untried course, vainly should we attempt to predict the consequences. "Lead us not into temptation," is one of the petitions we are directed to prefer to the throne of grace. A petition founded in a perfect knowledge of human nature. Temptation is best avoided by sternly resisting its first advances. And after all, what is the sacrifice which principle and prudence demand? Nothing that adds to our comfort, that extends our knowledge, that fortifies our principles, or that increases our rational enjoyment. If there be one individual, within these walls, who feels conscious he is yielding to the insidious approaches of this tempter, let me entreat him to pause, while yet he may;—to resist the enemy, while victory is within his reach. Let him survey the misery around him which this vice has occasioned. Let him look behind him, and ask if there is satisfaction. Let him look before him, and ask if there is hope. He is travelling a road which leads to destruction, and he will soon find himself urged onward by an irresistible impulse, which is at once the evidence and the punishment of his guilt. The apples he plucks are not from the garden of the Hesperides, fair and golden as they appear to him. But they are the fruit of Sodom and Gomorrah—clusters from the Dead Sea, filled with bitterness and sorrow. And let him not seek consolation in the belief that he can relinquish the practice at pleasure, and that he will restrict himself to such a quantity as will gratify without injuring him. He who finds himself in the current of Niagara must labor for life, while life is within his reach, to attain the shore and escape. Once upon the brink of that fearful chasm, which no human being has passed and lived, swifter than his own fears he is hurried to destruction. And thus it is with those who commit themselves to this fatal current of oblivion. When they embark, the stream is gentle, and resistance easy. By and by the waters are out upon the earth, and they descend with a force and rapidity which mock their hopes and baffle their exertions. *And after death—comes the judgment.*' (pp. 12–14.)

Among the speakers was Dr. Edwards, who gave the following statement of facts, with a view to show the encouraging change which has been wrought in favor of temperance;—

'More than 1,500,000 of our countrymen have ceased to use ardent spirit. Many of them, a few years ago, used it every day, and without a thought that it was improper; who, by attention to the subject, in view of the facts which have been developed, have come to the fixed and settled conclusion, that it is morally wrong for them to use it, or to furnish it for the use of others; because it is, in their view, injurious to the body and the soul, both for this life and the life to come. More than 1500 men have ceased to make it. They do not believe it right, even to accumulate property by such an employment. More than 4000 men have ceased to sell it. They will not for money continue to be accessary to the ruin of their fellow men. More than 600 vessels now float on the ocean, that do not carry it; vessels which visit every clime, and some of which even circumnavigate the globe; and not only without injury, but with a manifest increase of the health, the comfort, and the safety of the men. Without a drop of what was lately thought to be essential to mariners, they can navigate polar seas and torrid zones; can ride the mountain wave, and outride the storm and the tempest, which would shipwreck a vast portion of all the vessels where the men freely use it.' (p. 16.)

OUR NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

The present has been a year of no little anxiety respecting the fate of our national affairs. And while we disclaim all intention of entering into the party politics of the day, which indeed are often carried to an excess that every honest mind and sincere Christian patriot must deprecate, we may be allowed to express our ardent desire for our nation's welfare, for the harmony and unity of its counsels, and for that elevation of character which can result only from rectitude of conduct, from the justice and purity of its laws, and their faithful and impartial administration.

We alluded to the anxiety of the public mind. This has been evinced for some time past. All seemed to feel that a crisis in our history had arrived which might evolve events of fearful consequence to our national prosperity, if not indeed destructive to our national existence. And under the deep and thrilling excitement which these fearful forebodings produced, many a fervent prayer was offered to God that wisdom might preside in our national council when it should assemble, that our executive tribunals might be guided aright in the execution of their high trust, and that our country might be extricated from the difficulties in which it seemed involved, and that the dangers with which we were threatened might be averted. The imprisonment of the missionaries—the decisions of the State and United States' courts on their case—the unsettled state of the Cherokee Indians—the great excitement in the state of South Carolina—all seemed to raise portentous clouds in our political horizon, which threatened us with a destructive storm. To the congress, therefore, which has just adjourned, all looked with trembling expectation; and, as before stated, many a prayer went up to the God of nations, that He would inspire the hearts and heads of our rulers with wisdom in counsel and firmness of purpose sufficient to meet the crisis with such measures as should avert the threatened danger.

The danger, we humbly trust, is passed. The sun of peace, of union, and reciprocal sentiments of fraternal regard, seems again shining in our political hemisphere. The demon of discord has been defeated in his malevolent attempts against our national prosperity. The two important bills, called the tariff and enforcing bills,

which elicited so much interest and called forth such an array of talent, particularly in the senate of the United States, seem to have been as the olive branch of peace, and to be the means of checking the rising inundation of political strife, war, and bloodshed. We do not pretend to enter into the merits of these measures; but if they shall be instrumental of hushing to silence the troubled elements, and of lengthening out our happy union, they should be considered as ominous of future contentment, peace, and prosperity; and surely some little sacrifice of individual interest, and even of state privileges, should be made to secure an end of such high interest and general and lasting good.

To improve this apparent return of general harmony, as we ought, is the grand question. And who can doubt that it is the duty of every citizen to cultivate a general feeling of national concord, to put down, as far as in him lies, every sentiment of disunion, and to do all in his power to pare off the rough edges of sectional prejudices and prepossessions? Let the north consider the south, the east the west, and vice versa, as constituting a part of that whole in which every part is equally interested to preserve inviolate; and that consequently when any part of this whole 'suffers we all suffer with it.' And in the mean time let us exert ourselves to spread abroad, through all ranks of society, the rulers and the ruled, that religion which breathes naught but 'peace on earth and good will to men;' then shall God, even our God, dwell among us, and 'make His face to shine upon us, and bless us with the dew of heaven and the fatness of the earth.'

THE PROGRESS OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES.

With the revolution in England our readers are doubtless familiar. It is stated that in the recent election for members of parliament, four fifths or more are among the advocates of reform principles. This may be considered but the commencement of reform in that country. It is merely a reform in the mode of electing the representatives of the people. The parliament, which has just been chosen under the operation of the reform bill, will doubtless carry their principles into practical operation, and make an effort at effecting a reformation in many important particulars, both in Church and state. The ball of reformation, thus set in motion, may not cease to roll on, until the tithing system is done away, by which the numerous bodies of dissenters will be relieved from the undue pressure of the establishment, and those distinctions annihilated which now keep some orders of the clergy at such an awful distance from others and from their flocks; and perhaps the nobility themselves may yet find that their high privileges are in danger. We hope, however, that there will be sufficient prudence and moderation in the high counsel of the nation to prevent the stream of popular indignation, against civil and ecclesiastical oppression, from swelling into such a torrent as to inundate the country with the wild uproar of confusion and anarchy. The steady progress of religious light, civil liberty, learning, and science in that land of many of our forefathers, seems to be a guarantee for its safety from those sad convulsions to which some other portions of Europe have been doomed. And when we consider how high the tide of civil and religious liberty has risen in that and in our own country, it seems somewhat surprising that in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and in general the south of Europe should still retain the intolerant maxims of the middle ages, allowing popery to revel in all the pride of its haughty superiority over all other religions.

But while this spirit of intolerance sports itself in so many parts of Christendom with inflicting pains and penalties upon Protestants and Jews, it is pleasing to behold, even in a Mohammedan country, the opposite spirit exemplifying itself in

granting religious toleration. A correspondent for the New-York Observer thus writes from France respecting the pacific disposition of the reigning PACHA OF EGYPT:—

'A French physician, named M. Clot, went to Egypt, several years since, to practise medicine. Being a skilful man, having solid learning and great prudence, he acquired soon in that country a high reputation. He founded at Cairo a *school of medicine*, in which he instructed Egyptian youth, and he obtained, even of Mohammedan priests, permission to *dissect dead bodies*, a thing forbidden by the laws, and revolting to the feelings of orientals. The name of M. Clot was soon known to *Mehemet Ali*, pacha of Egypt. This chief, who knows how to appreciate every species of talent, and who employs all possible means to civilize Egypt, called M. Clot near his person, and gave him the title of his first physician. Some time after, having had opportunity to be satisfied with his conduct and his surgical operations, he raised him to the dignity of *bey*, one of the first marks of distinction in Turkey. The rumor was then spread that M. Clot had been forced to *change his religion*, and abandon Christianity for Mohammedanism, before being named bey by the pacha. This false accusation having come to the knowledge of M. Clot, he has denied it positively in a letter published in some French journals; and it is in this letter that we find authentic proofs that liberty of worship has been established by the pacha.

Before the administration of Mehemet Ali, a barbarous intolerance prevailed in that country; Christians and Jews possessed no rights, and enjoyed no security. Their persons and their goods were at the mercy of every Mohammedan, and the least cadi of a village could, with impunity, rob them, imprison them, or cause them to be put to death. They were not permitted to mount a horse or a mule; they were allowed only to ride on asses. When any unfortunate Christian or Jew, thus humbly mounted, happened to pass before a mosque, or to meet in the street a Mohammedan chief, he was obliged to dismount from his ass and to put foot to the ground. He was forbidden to wear garments of any other color than *black*. There was no justice for him before the tribunals: when he plead against a Mohammedan, the judge condemned him, however good his cause. In a word, Christians and Jews were exposed to all sorts of vexation and oppression, as is the case still in almost all the rest of Turkey.

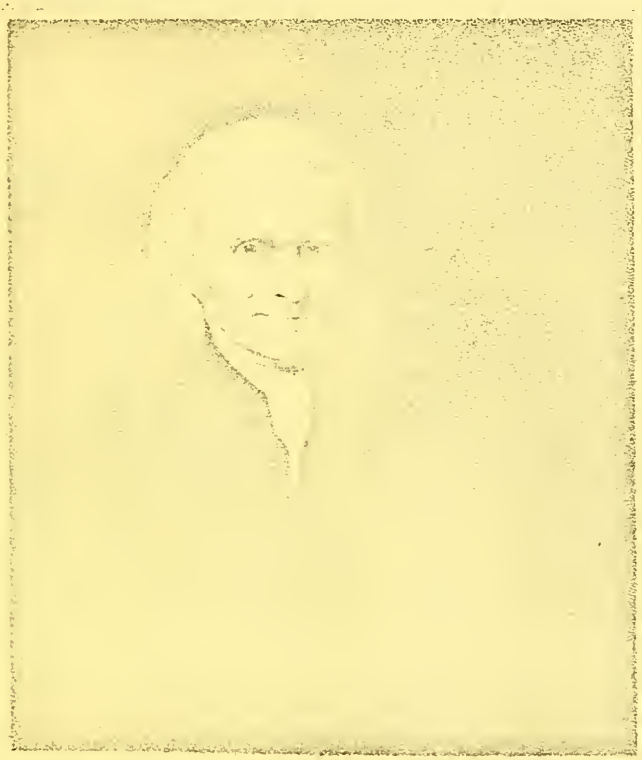
But, since Mehemet Ali has been pacha of Egypt, he has made a radical change in all these matters. He has established a perfect equality among all religions.—He has admitted Christians and Jews to sit in the tribunals of commerce, and he would have done the same in respect to other tribunals, if it had not been expressly forbidden by the Mohammedan religion. He has given his confidence and principal offices to men of merit, without regard to their religious faith. Thus the minister of commerce, the director general of the finances, the first physician of the pacha, and several other chief officers, are Christians. Among the receivers, paymasters, and persons employed in all the various offices of government, are to be found Christians and Jews. The director general of the arsenal of Alexandria, and many captains of vessels and other naval officers, are also Christians.

This is not all. Not only does the pacha of Egypt place Christians in high civil and military offices, but he allows them also the free exercise of religious worship even in public places. "Often," says M. Clot, "are seen in the streets of Alexandria and of Cairo, Catholic priests, clothed in their sacerdotal habits, walking in funeral trains, bearing the sacraments and making public processions with the utmost liberty."

Mehemet Ali has allowed the founding of several large churches, and even *convents*; he thinks every one should have a right to shut himself up in a cloister, and make vows of seclusion, if he thinks proper.'

ERRATUM.—On p. 8, first line of the article on the Life and Times of Arminius, read *Biblical Repertory* instead of *Biblical Repository*.

N. B.—The Origin and Progress of Religion in Savannah will appear in our next number.



REV. DAVID YOUNG.

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ON SPIRITUAL TASTE.

From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

Of the term taste, which, under a qualifying limit, denotes the subject of this essay, it would be useless to attempt any definition beyond the simple statement that, in ordinary speech, it is the name which designates one of the corporeal senses. This term, is not, however, used exclusively in reference to bodily sensation; but, like the terms denoting others of our senses, it is very frequently employed in order to describe perceptions belonging altogether to the mind. On the whole, it would appear that taste is of three kinds. First, there is animal or corporeal taste, a sense or faculty common, as there is reason to suppose, to animated bodies in general. Secondly, there is intellectual or critical taste, a faculty which has its seat in the intellect and judgment, and which, as Dr. Beattie says, 'fits us for receiving pleasure from what is beautiful, elegant, or excellent. in the works of nature or art.' And thirdly, by the adoption of another and still higher application of the term, there is spiritual taste, a faculty entirely distinct from the two former, and which may be considered as having its operation on the heart rather than the understanding; the term heart being understood as designating that department of our nature which is the seat of all spiritual feeling and affection.

It may appear superfluous to remark, and yet is important to remember, that, as there can be no corporeal or animal taste, where there is not animal life, so, in order to the existence of spiritual taste in any individual, there must be spiritual life. If the heart be 'dead in sins,' there is, of course, a want of all spiritual sense. And, as in such a case, the mind is 'blinded by the god of this world,' and the heart is 'hardened,' or rendered callous and unfeeling, 'through the deceitfulness of sin,' and there is no listening to 'the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely,' there is also in the same case a total destitution of spiritual taste. It is true that in the animal or corporeal man, the want of one sense does not necessarily argue the want of any other. On the contrary, it very frequently occurs that some of the senses continue longer than others, and it is possible that one single sense may survive the extinction of all the rest. Thus, for example, one who has lost the senses of hearing, seeing, smelling, and tasting, may still retain the sense of feeling, and that in a much greater degree than when all his senses existed in full vigor. But in the spiritual man the

spiritual senses all exist, or all become extinct, together. In this respect 'the man of God' is 'perfect, and throughly furnished,' as there is in him the presence and operation, in an equal degree, of all the senses which pertain to spiritual life. The loss of one spiritual sense necessarily argues the loss of all the rest; and any deterioration or improvement which takes place in one, involves a correspondent alteration in them all.

As spiritual taste is a faculty pertaining to spiritual life, so, in strictness of speech, the objects on which that taste is exercised must be spiritual also. For as it would be absurd to suppose that the palate can exercise its faculty of taste on intellectual objects, or that the understanding and judgment can perform the office of the palate, so it would be equally absurd to suppose that any thing can be an object of spiritual taste that is either purely material or purely intellectual. And from the essential distinction which exists between the three kinds of taste, and the correspondent distinction existing also between the objects on which they are respectively employed, it follows that the same individual may possess all the three faculties at the same time, or that he may possess two or one only of the three. Of animal taste we need say nothing: but it is remarkable that there may be intellectual taste where there is no spiritual taste; and, on the other hand, there may be spiritual taste in cases where intellectual taste is almost or entirely wanting. Thus persons have been known to rise to very considerable eminence as men of intellectual taste, who have nevertheless been dead to spiritual objects. And, on the other hand, persons who have little or no critical taste have been gifted with the faculty of spiritual taste in a very eminent degree. It may, however, be observed that, although there is no necessary connection between intellectual and spiritual taste, yet the introduction and exercise of spiritual taste never fails to improve the intellectual taste which may previously have existed; and that the latter exists and operates in its best and highest state then only when it exists and operates under the sanctifying and elevating influence of the former.

Considering spiritual taste as a faculty of discernment, we may remark, that they who are endowed with it have, with regard to spiritual truth in general, a species of perception which is peculiar to themselves: and that between the manner in which any proposition on the subject of such truth is apprehended by a man who is devoid of spiritual taste, and the manner in which the same proposition is apprehended by the man who is endowed with it, there is, in fact, as great a difference as that which exists between the belief of any fact without the evidence of the senses, and the actual perception of the same fact by personal experience and observation. For instance, it is an important truth that 'the Lord is gracious;' and this truth, when it is presented to his notice, the merely 'natural man' may readily believe, on the authority of others, or by a process of reasoning conducting him to that conclusion. But the spiritual man proceeds beyond a merely intellectual perception of that truth: he 'tastes and sees.' And certain it is, that 'the natural man receiveth not' in this way 'the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he' thus 'know them, because they are spiritually discerned.' There is a farther illustration of this point given by Dr. Chalmers so appropriate that I must beg permission to insert it.

'That God is every where present,' says Dr. C., 'is a truth which meets the observation of the natural man in his reading of the Bible; and he understands, or thinks he understands, the terms in which it is delivered; and he can speak of it with consistency, and he ranks it with the other attributes of God;' and he gives it an avowed and a formal admission among the articles of his creed; and yet with all this parade of light and of knowledge, he, upon the subject of the all-seeing and the ever-present Deity, labours under all the obstinacy of an habitual blindness. Carry him abroad, and you will find that the light which beams upon his senses from the objects of sight, completely overpowers that light which ought to beam upon his spirit from this object of faith. The spiritual man is the reverse of all this, and that without carrying his conceptions a single hair's breadth beyond the communications of the written message. He makes no pretension to wisdom, by one jot or tittle, beyond the testimony; and yet, after all, he lives under a revelation to which the other is a stranger. It does not carry him, by a single footstep, without the field of the written revelation, but it throws a radiance over every object within it. And there rests upon him a peculiar manifestation, by which the truth is made visible to the eye of his mind, and a peculiar energy by which it comes home upon his conscience.'*

But, important as it is to consider spiritual taste abstractedly as a faculty of discernment, it is still more important that we should view it under the notion of relish. And, understanding it in this sense, instead of stating the object of spiritual taste to be spiritual things in general, we might rather say that its great object is the grace of God. For this object especially the truly spiritual man indulges a keen appetite, and he partakes of it with a correspondent relish, as a man who is hungry eats agreeable and nourishing food, or swallows a refreshing draught when he is thirsty. And hence it is that the blessings of Divine grace are frequently referred to by the sacred writers, in metaphors borrowed from the sense of taste. Thus, when intending to describe the rich and general provision to be made for the spiritual wants of man, by the grace which is in Jesus Christ, the Prophet Isaiah says, 'The Lord of hosts shall make unto all people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined.' And, with regard to the enjoyment of that grace by individuals, we are told that they are blessed who do hunger and thirst after righteousness, because they shall be filled.

Moreover, since the great and leading object of spiritual taste (considered under the notion of relish) is the grace of God, so, by a well-known law of association, this taste or relish extends itself, though in a subordinate degree, to every thing with which that grace is known or supposed to be connected. Thus the Holy Scriptures are an object of spiritual taste or relish, because they contain 'the word of grace;' and they are accordingly commended by the psalmist as being 'sweeter than honey, or the honey-comb.' The society and conversation of the saints constitute an object of spiritual taste, because they are 'men of grace,' their 'lovely tempers' are 'fruits of grace,' and their

* Sermons preached in the Tron Church.

words are 'seasoned with grace, and fit to minister grace unto the hearers.' And, farther, the exercises of private devotion and public worship, and religious occupations and services in general, are also objects of spiritual taste, because they are 'means of grace.' And hence the psalmist expresses his attachment to such services by saying, 'My soul thirsteth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord's house;' and he speaks also of being 'abundantly satisfied with the goodness of his house, even of his holy temple.'

To specify at length the various advantages arising from the possession and exercise of spiritual taste as a faculty of discernment and relish, would be to enumerate all the blessings of that spiritual life with which it has already been asserted to be co-existent. But we may notice, in general, that it yields important advantages in the two following particulars, viz. first, as it conduces to our safety, and, secondly, as it ministers to our enjoyment.

In order to illustrate the manner in which spiritual taste, as a faculty of discernment, conduces to our safety, let us imagine the case of a man suddenly deprived of the corporeal senses of taste and smell. It is obvious that he would, in consequence of this defect, be exposed to the hazard of taking things exceedingly injurious with no suspicion of their being otherwise than nourishing and salutary. Even with the perfect use of his eye sight and in open day, he might, through some mistake on his own part, or by the treacherous contrivance of another, be induced to swallow any poisonous liquid that was colorless instead of water. And only set him in the dark, or suppose him to have lost the sense of sight, as well as the senses of taste and smell, he is then left to the hazard of accidents innumerable. And does not such a case present an emblem of the dangerous and unprotected condition of those persons who are almost devoid of spiritual taste, such persons being, in consequence of that defect, exposed to constant hazard from the spiritual poison of sinful allurements, sinful thoughts, and sinful company? In their case, not only do these various forms of spiritual poison effect their mischief before their dangerous tendency is well detected, but they are not always perceived to be injurious even when the mischief is accomplished. Our writers on the subject of animal biography have often with great propriety called upon us to admire the wise and benevolent provision, which has been made for the safety of the brute creation, in their being endowed, in general, with an exquisite delicacy of taste, which in most cases teaches them to distinguish with great nicety that which is salutary from that which is injurious, and which, without the employment of a tedious process of experiment or comparison, almost invariably directs them to accept the former, and to reject the latter. And, in like manner, the spiritual man possesses, in the faculty of spiritual taste, a sort of test, by which, when he is conversant with objects promiscuously good and evil, he is directed, as if instinctively, to choose the one and refuse the other. Let him, for instance, be thrown by any necessity or accident into the midst of sinful company and sinful occupation, and the sure effect of the near presence of objects so dangerous will be the creation of a kind of spiritual nausea, which will immediately remind him of the peril to which he is exposed: his spiritual taste being, like his other spiritual senses, 'exercised to

discern good and evil.'* And, on the other hand, as often as the same faculty of spiritual taste comes into contact with any thing which savours of the spirit of grace, it will with the same certainty instruct him to lay hold of it, as that by which the vigor of his spiritual life will be nourished and sustained.

The advantages arising from this taste as a faculty of discernment are, after all, for the most part, only negative advantages. The positive advantages appear more fully when we notice in how many ways and to what an extent this spiritual sense, as a faculty of relish, ministers to our enjoyment. That there is a genuine pleasure, and pleasure in a very eminent degree, connected with the spiritual man's apprehension of the various objects above enumerated, is made to appear at once by the consideration that every such act of apprehension is in fact the gratification of a spiritual appetite, and that such gratification must of necessity as far exceed all gratification of an animal, or even of an intellectual nature, as the sensibilities and capacity of the soul exceed those of the body, or as the things which are spiritual and eternal exceed the things which are seen and temporal. It is indeed a gratification so pure and so exalted, that he who enjoys it in any considerable degree can hardly be said to acquire any addition to the sum of his real happiness, by the addition of any supposable quantity of other gratification, whether animal or intellectual. And as to 'taste that the Lord is gracious' is a feast, the relish of which no earthly good can heighten, it is also a feast, the relish of which no earthly bitterness is able to destroy. In the midst of the most excruciating anguish which can be inflicted by bodily disease, and in the lowest state of intellectual weakness, the spiritual man still apprehends his favourite object as a satisfying portion, and feasts thereon as on 'marrow and fatness.' Nay, more; excepting only objects positively sinful, the spiritual man extracts this pleasure from every object and every circumstance around him, tasting the goodness of God in all the works of his creating hand, and in all the dispensations of his directing and overruling providence, as well as in the direct operations of the Spirit of his grace. Just as the bee extracts her honey from every flower to which she comes, the man of spiritual taste extracts a spiritual honey from almost every thing around him; and he obtains it, sometimes, of the richest flavour, and in the greatest quantity, from circumstances apparently the most painful and afflictive; as the bee often finds the best honey in the vicinity of thorns and poison.

It is a peculiar advantage connected with spiritual taste, that the objects which it apprehends with so much pleasure do not, like the objects of animal taste, perish in enjoyment; nor, like many of the objects of intellectual taste, will they ever 'vanish away.' On the contrary, the enjoyments of the spiritual man are only a foretaste of what, in an unspeakably larger measure, he will enjoy eternally: a foretaste which may serve to give him some idea of the quality of those pleasures which are at God's right hand; but not of their intensity;

* Heb. v. 14. Stuart (in loc.) says, *αἰσθητηρια* (senses) here means the internal senses of Christians; their moral powers or faculties of distinguishing and judging, although the term itself, in its literal acceptation, designates the external organs of sense.

for he cannot adequately judge of their intensity from being told that these pleasures will constitute a 'fulness of joy,' because he knows not what will be the measure of the vast capacity which that fulness is to occupy.

Once more: in the gratification of animal taste there are limits which cannot be exceeded. The faculty itself seems to reach its highest state, before the body arrives at its maturity. Even the child has as clear a discernment of different tastes, and as exquisite a relish of those which are agreeable, as one who has grown up to manhood. And there is also, in the imperfection and infirmity of man's condition in this life, an ultimate and impassable limit to those pleasures which result from the gratification of intellectual taste. But with spiritual taste it is entirely otherwise: this faculty, as well as others inherent in the spiritual man, grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength. The aged saint, who has through a long series of years been feasting on spiritual things, and has thereby been nourished to an elevated stature in spiritual knowledge, will not hesitate to tell us that his relish for such things has ever been increasing in proportion to the frequency and the intensity of his enjoyment; and that in comparison with the enjoyment which they yield after the experience of so many years, the enjoyment which they yielded in his early years was nothing. And we are not without reason for supposing that, as eternity rolls onward, there will be still a constant progression, in virtue of which this faculty of taste will continue to expand, and to augment its capacity of being gratified, that capacity being ever met with a sufficiency of objects to occupy and fill it. N. R.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF METHODISM IN SAVANNAH.

To the Editor of the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

Dear Brother:—In the fourth volume of the Methodist Magazine will be found a sketch of the rise of Methodism in Savannah. For several years past this has been thought to be materially defective; and that there were too many important facts connected with the struggle to obtain a standing in this place to be lost in oblivion. Application was therefore made by the quarterly conference to the writer of the 'Sketch' to state these facts more in detail. This, perhaps, he was better able to do than any other person now living, as he was a principal agent through a great part of the conflict, and personally acquainted with a number of transactions now known to no one else. And as no writer had noticed the account of Mr. Wesley in Savannah, given in the History of Georgia, it seemed not entirely improper to take in this matter also. According to his ability and opportunity he has performed the task. It is offered to you for publication. He has no apology to make. You and the readers will pronounce on its merits and defects.

Yours respectfully, Lewis Myers.

Goshen, Effingham co., Ga., Jan. 1833.

'The first shall be last' will emphatically apply to Savannah, in regard to Methodism, the metropolis in one of the old thirteen states, visited by the distinguished founders of Methodism, and the last to embrace it. Why this should be so, is a question which will obtain a correct answer only when it appears before the bar of infinite Wisdom. Before we notice the transactions which took place in Savannah, it will be necessary to step over into England, and glance at a few circumstances connected with the embarkation of the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley for the state of Georgia, then a British colony. In the university of Oxford, their attention had been directed to the art of holy living and dying. They and their pious associates strictly kept the rules of the university and of the Church. They visited the poor, sick, and prisoners, and contributed their surplus income to their aid, with such pious instructions as their respective circumstances required. This drew upon them the title of METHODISTS, perhaps in allusion to some prior medical department in France. This term, then given incidentally and by way of reproach, soon became conspicuous, and, in time, permanent. Mr. J. Wesley, habituated to collegiate studies, had acquired a decided preference to a university life. His sentiments on this point had been tested. It is remarked, that 'the benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia may perhaps challenge the annals of any nation to produce a design more generous and praiseworthy than the one which they had undertaken.'* They aimed at nothing less than the benefit of both settlers and natives, in time and eternity. They felt the need of a divine, corresponding with their high, humane, and pious views, to accompany, as a missionary, General Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony. Their attention was directed to Mr. Wesley. They applied to him. It was a trying moment. He paused. He consulted with his friends. He prayed to God. He caught the missionary fire, and yielded. Here appears the rise of the missionary spirit in modern times. His attention in this was directed to Georgia. But God, it seems, designed in this enterprise to give a polish to his university education, and so aid in preparing him to rouse a sleeping, and direct the attention of a waking world. His object was to preach the Gospel to the Indians. His brother Charles accompanied him as secretary to General Oglethorpe, and of Indian affairs. On 6th Feb., 1736, he first set foot on American ground. There he and his company kneeled down and gave thanks to God. So did Columbus when he first landed on the new world. 'He threw himself upon his knees, kissed the earth, and returned thanks to God with tears of joy.' Thus the two Wesleys were the first English missionaries who stepped on Georgian ground. Some time after their arrival, a missionary house was built for their accommodation. Mr. J. Wesley had not been two days in Savannah, ere he received a catechetical lecture by a German minister on one of the most important doctrines of the Gospel. After being introduced by General Oglethorpe, Mr. Wesley desired that he would give him some advice as to the course he had best pursue. He replied, 'My brother, I must ask one or two questions. Have you the witness within yourself? Does the Spirit of God bear witness with

* M'Call's History of Georgia.

your spirit that you are a child of God?' 'I was surprised,' remarks Mr. Wesley, 'and knew not what to answer.' His tutor saw it, and lowered his tone. 'Do you know Jesus Christ? Do you know yourself?' This was a subject on which all Oxford, and nearly all England, was as still as midnight. Mr. Wesley had directed the bent of his mind in inquiring how the full liberty of the Gospel was to be obtained; but as yet there had appeared no one capable of taking him by the hand, and of conducting him right to the mercy seat. The pearl of great price had been reserved until his return to England.

He soon made efforts to pursue the objects of his mission, but found the Indians so involved in war and confusion, as to give very little encouragement of success. On Sunday the 7th of March he entered on his ministry in Savannah. So crowded was the church; so attentive and serious the congregation, that his mind was raised to the highest summit of favorable expectation. The sequel will show how this was supported. In the meantime his brother went to Frederica, where General Oglethorpe principally resided, and endeavored to take charge of the settlers there until he might see an opening to the heathens. But his success was by no means in proportion to his labors.

Though his brother had interviews with some chiefs among the Indians, he never found any opening to introduce the Gospel among them; he, therefore, continued his labors in Savannah, and occasionally at Frederica and other places. He plyed himself strictly to the welfare of his charge, adhering to the rules and order of the Church of England. He also prevailed on the most serious of his flock to unite, and form a small society, and to meet once or twice a week, in order to reprove, instruct, and exhort one another. He also selected out of these a smaller number for a more intimate union with each other, which might be forwarded by singly conversing with each, and at his own house together, every Sunday afternoon. Thus, *in Savannah*, was the *origin* of the future classes and bands. He also visited his flock from house to house, and spared no pains in promoting Christianity among them. If the parishioners at large did not receive the benefit he intended, it certainly was not for want of diligence on his part. He was fully employed, dividing his labor among them. His own words are, 'On the Lord's day the English service lasted from five to half past six. Italian (with a few Vaudois) began at nine. The second service for the English, including the sermon and the holy communion, continued from half past ten to about half past twelve. The French service began at one; at two I catechised the children. About three began the English service. After this was ended I joined with as many as my largest room would hold, in reading, prayer, and singing praise. About six the service of the Germans began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but as a learner.' The reader will observe, that the first Sunday school in the English language, in Savannah, was established by Mr. Wesley.

He also engaged in manual employment. 'Three hundred acres having been set apart at Savannah for glebe land, he took from it what he thought sufficient for a good garden, and here he frequently worked with his own hands.' (Moore's Life of Wesley.) 'I and my family (eight in number) did employ all our spare time there, (Georgia,) in

felling of trees, and clearing of ground, as hard labor as any negro need be employed in.' (See his Journal.) What an example for Methodist preachers of modern times! How much better than to plunge into merchandise, and rise up bankrupts! 'He continued his custom of eating little, sleeping less, and leaving not a moment of his time unemployed.' (Moore's Life of Wesley.) Moreover, he exposed himself with the utmost indifference to every change of season and inclemency of weather—hail, snow, storm, and tempest. He frequently lay on the ground, and his clothes and hair would freeze to the earth. He would wade up to his breast in waters, and swim over rivers with his clothes on, and travel till they were dry: and all this without any apparent injury to his health. Surely, He who numbers the hairs of our head was his guardian. 'In his visits to Frederica he met with great opposition and much illiberal abuse; in Savannah he was, however, rapidly gaining influence, when a circumstance occurred which issued in his departure from Georgia altogether.'

And here the close of this part of the narrative would be hastened, had not a writer of the 'History of Georgia' thought proper to ornament his book with such details in relation to this man of God, as he may have thought best to promote his views of Methodism. Before any extracts are introduced, it will be necessary to glance at his preface, where he says, 'without map or compass he entered an unexplored forest, destitute of any other guide than a few ragged pamphlets, defaced newspapers, and scraps of manuscripts.' And, in his index, he professes to give an account of Mr. Wesley's conduct and character taken from his journal by his biographers. It should be noticed, also, that he lays a great 'claim to the lenity and indulgence of critics.' He begins by complimenting Mr. Wesley for accompanying General Oglethorpe with the 'intention of making *religious impressions* on the minds of the Indians' and 'colonists!' and gives a picture of his abstemiousness, states his having been charged with improprieties in civil and sacred matters. Among other things, that he 'attempted to establish confessions, penance, mortifications,' &c, and that he called these 'apostolic constitutions'—all calculated to produce 'civil and religious tyranny.' Where is his authority for all this? Why, according to his own account, 'ragged pamphlets and defaced newspapers!' 'That his schemes seemed judiciously calculated to debase and depress the minds of the people, to break down the spirit of liberty, and humble them with fastings, penances, and drinking water,' &c. Could this have been a comment of his own, or did he gather it in an 'unexplored forest, without map or guide?' 'That Jesuitical arts were used to bring his schemes to perfection; party divisions were made in private families; spies engaged in their houses; servants bribed to communicate family secrets to him,' and especially females were required to discover to him their secret actions, and the subject of their dreams!!! This certainly must be one of the paragraphs for which he brings in his 'claim' before the 'critics' for their lenity and indulgence. The storm of persecution that broke out upon Mr. Wesley is next introduced. As we are giving an account of the rise of Methodism at the place where the transactions alleged against him are said to have transpired, the intelligent reader will indulge us if we should ap-

pear to him a little prolix. Our historian goes on, and says, Mr. Wesley 'had preserved a great intimacy with Causton, the chief bailiff, and had said some tender things to his niece. SHE REJECTED HIS PROPOSALS, having been engaged to a gentleman whom she married soon after.' This he likely states on this lady's affidavit. On this case Mr. Wesley is silent in his Journals. Delicacy and self respect imposed it. Yet the correctness may, at *least*, be doubted. 1st. Because the action was brought against him on bills before mentioned, with which this case was connected, principally at the instance of Causton, the chief bailiff. (*Wesley's Journal.*) 2d. Said Causton was charged with having 'threatened jurors whose verdict did not correspond with his inclination and humor: of low origin:'—'intoxicated with the powers vested in him: proud, haughty, and cruel: that he compelled eight freeholders with an officer to attend at the door of the court house; who had orders to wrest their firelocks as soon as he appeared: that juries from terror of him could not act according to their conscience: that his head was turned by power and pride: and that he threatened, without distinction, rich and poor strangers and inhabitants who dared to oppose his arbitrary proceedings or claimed their just rights and privileges, with the stocks, jail, and whipping post. And that under his ministration looks were criminal, and the grand sin of opposing justice to authority was punished without mercy.' Also, 'that irons, whipping posts, gibbets, &c, were provided to keep the inhabitants in perpetual terror. Innocence afforded no protection. And to complete the climax, for some time there were more imprisonments, whipping, &c, of the white people, in this *colony of liberty* than in all British America beside.' (*Hugh M'Call's History of Georgia.*) Who can make himself appear innocent in such hands? And, if such a character could prepare and hand in a presentment of grievances for a grand jury to sign, which appears from Mr. Wesley's Journal that he did, who can even think that he used no influence in wording the affidavit of this lady according to his own notion? 3d. It appears that in the afternoon of the same day, that the said presentment was handed in, this lady was examined, who acknowledged that she had *no objections* to make against Mr. Wesley *before her marriage*. The next day Mr. and Mrs. Causton were also examined, when she confessed that it was at her request Mr. Wesley had written to Mrs. Williamson on the 5th* of July, and Mr. Causton declared, that if Mr. Wesley had asked his consent to have married his niece, he should *not have refused it.*' (*R. Watson's* quotation from *Whitehead's Life of Wesley.*) And 4th, Mr. Moore in a note in Wesley's Life says, 'I know that she ultimately broke it off; but I know also that he did not at *any time* determine on marriage. I had the whole account from himself; and I do not know that he ever told it to any other person.' He goes on to say, that 'thirteen indictments were found against Wesley, by forty-four freeholders!!' So writes the Georgia historian. This assertion needs some attention. Mr. Wesley, in his Journal, states that more than twenty of them were inimical to his person and profession. Also,

* There is a mistake in the date here. He wrote to *Causton* the 5th of July, and to Mr. Williamson on the 11th August. [See Wesley's Journal, 1st. vol. American edition.]

that twelve of the grand jurors entered a protest, three of whom were constables, and six more tithing men: who consequently would have made a majority had the jury consisted, as it regularly should have done, of only fifteen members, viz. the four constables, and eleven tithing men. Mr. Hampson, who cannot be charged with any partiality to Mr. Wesley, admits, that when the time of trial approached, a jury was packed by his antagonist, composed of a Papist, a Frenchman, an infidel, and about twenty dissenters and others, who, having personal quarrels with Mr. Wesley, had openly avowed revenge. This quotation is taken merely in self defence. No epithet is intended to bear upon any respectable order or individual. Surely our author's 'ragged pamphlets,' &c, in his 'unexplored forest,' must have misled him unaccountably. However, he pursues, hit or miss, for his hero *must* be censured. 'It will be but just to extract a few observations from Wesley's own Journal, as the record has been preserved by his biographers, Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore, and then leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.' He then introduces the circumstances connected with the introduction of Miss Sophia Hopkey (for this it appears was her name) to Mr. Wesley's acquaintance, as stated by the above biographers: and, after fixing him in the pillory, he draws his brand, and thus daubs it on him:—'To say the *best* of it, Mr. Wesley violated the laws of fidelity and confidence in recording it in his Journal!!' This book is not in our possession; but Wesley's Life, written by one of them, (Mr. Moore,) is. He thus prefaces the narrative:—'There is a silence observed in Mr. Wesley's Journal in respect to some parts of this event, which it is possible has caused even friendly readers to hesitate concerning the propriety of his conduct, or at least concerning that propriety which they might be led to expect from so great a character. But what has hitherto been defective, I am happy in being able to supply. The actors of this scene are now, we may hope, in a better world. The last of them died a very few years before Mr. Wesley. I am not therefore bound, as Mr. Wesley thought himself, when he published the account, to let a veil be thrown over this transaction; but rather to let his innocency appear as the light, and his just dealing as the noonday.' After some additional and explanatory remarks, he introduces M'Call's extract with some variation in words but not in sense. Mr. Delamotte (a friend of Mr. Wesley's) had not learned to defy suspicion. He thought he saw in her *semblance* of worth, not *substance*. He, therefore, embraced an opportunity of expostulating with Mr. Wesley, and asked him if he designed to marry Miss Sophia? At the same time set forth in a strong light her art and his simplicity. Though pleased with the attention of his fair friend, Mr. Wesley had not allowed himself to determine upon marriage. Mr. Delamotte's question not a little puzzled him. He waived an answer at that time; and perceiving the prejudice of Mr. Delamotte's mind against the young lady, he called on Bishop Nitscham, and consulted him: his answer was short; marriage, said he, you know is not unlawful. Whether it is now expedient for you, and whether this lady is a proper match for you ought to be maturely weighed. Finding his perplexity increase, he determined to propose his doubts to the elders of the Moravian Church. When he entered the house, where

they met together, he found Mr. Delamotte sitting among them. On his proposing the business, the bishop replied, We have considered your case, will you abide by our decision? he answered, I will. Then said the bishop, We advise you to proceed no farther in this business. He replied, The will of the Lord be done. From this time he cautiously avoided every thing that tended to continue the intimacy. Soon after this a young gentlewoman, who had been sometime before married to the surgeon of the colony, and had sailed with the general from Europe, sent for him, and related to him, *under promise of secrecy*, what we shall now declare concerning the hitherto mysterious part of this circumstance, adding these words:—I had no rest till I resolved to tell you the whole affair. I have myself been urged to that behaviour toward you which I am now ashamed to mention: both Miss Sophia and myself were ordered if we could not succeed, even to *deny you nothing*. This is M'Call's extract. If the reader is not tired, he may find a farther illustration in Moore's Life of Wesley. It would seem that our author, in order to march off in some style with his laurels, closes this part of his 'forest' tour with the following flourish:—'I have discussed this subject at more length than I intended, because Mr. Wesley has been spoken of by some of his followers as the superior of St. Paul, in point of religious zeal.' Now we assert, that we have been acquainted with many of Mr. Wesley's followers, and with many of their books for between forty and fifty years, and we never read or heard such an expression. It is, we confess, a little consoling that while he is retiring from the field of action, our historian indulges a small cluster of sympathy to rise in his breast toward his victim. And so he lays down his weapons by saying, 'He (Wesley) is gone to give an account of himself to his proper Judge, by whom, I doubt not, all his iniquities are pardoned.' Thus, courteous reader, we have been led incidentally to give you a specimen of 'the History of Georgia.' It might be that this was the thickest 'forest' he had to penetrate. Like Southey, in writing Mr. Wesley's Life, he got out of his latitude. We forbear enlarging farther. The subject has been so ably elucidated by Mr. Wesley's best biographers, that to attempt any thing of the kind here would be like holding a candle in the light of the sun. Even the foregoing strictures would not have been attempted, had not the charges against Mr. Wesley been found in a book with such a dignified title as 'The History of Georgia,' and even there we let them remain unnoticed upward of twenty years.

The Rev. Messrs. Thomas Humphries and John Majors, were the first missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who visited Georgia. B. A. was appointed the year before, but did not go. They arrived in 1786. In 1789 the Rev. Hope Hull was stationed on what was then called Burk circuit. He was one of the most zealous and useful men of the Church in the southern states. He occasionally visited Savannah. A Mr. John Weisenbaker, in the neighborhood of Goshen, about sixteen miles above the city, was the first man who entertained a Methodist preacher in these parts, since Mr. Wesley's day. In the city he was hospitably accommodated by Mr. John Miller a tanner, afterward elder in the Presbyterian Church. He preached a few times in the court house. In 1790 Hull was stationed in the city.

The chair maker's shop, of Mr. Lowry, corner of Bernard and South Broad-streets was occupied as preaching house. Philip Mathews also occasionally visited the city, and preached. He afterward joined Hamit's party, and finally the Protestant Episcopal Church. Hull met here the usual salutations from mobs, except in this, that they honored him with showers of old English coppers and frogs, instead of brick bats. His name appears again on the Minutes, as stationed in Savannah in the year 1793. In 1796 the names of the Rev. Jonathan Jackson and Josias Randle appear for Savannah, in connection with Burk circuit. But they had little or no success. Here close the attempts to establish Methodism in Savannah during the past century. The effort was renewed early in this.

In 1800 the Rev. John Garvin, who afterward died in Augusta, was stationed in Savannah. He also had to exclaim, 'Who hath believed our report?' He succeeded, not without difficulty,* in collecting small congregations, on the way to, and in the neighborhood of St. Mary's, southward of Savannah. He was the first missionary who visited the population along the sea shore. About this time a certain Mr. A. Cloud made his appearance in the city, with the title of 'Methodist preacher!' He had been in the Church as a travelling preacher; but about the year 1788 he discontinued, and withdrew. He was never after acknowledged by the Methodists. He succeeded in procuring a lot from the corporation, for the purpose of building a house of worship. He erected a small hall, and delivered some pious addresses to as many as came to hear. He likewise erected other buildings and rented them out. In Feb., 1802, the corporation took the matter in hand, and leased him the lot for fourteen years. Finally he had no hearers, and shut up. This movement the citizens seemed to have considered as a specimen of Methodism. In after years he rose a little in style to an Episcopal clergyman; but the writer does not know that he was ever so acknowledged by that respectable body of Christians. All that is intended by the remark here is to show some of the obstacles that Methodism had to contend with in this place.

From such repeated failures, the South Carolina Conference were led to take no farther steps for the six following years. At length many members and friends of the Church in the state of Georgia began to complain, that the capital of the state was culpably neglected. Bishop Asbury, with a zeal for God which no opposition could abate, kept a vigilant eye to all the important posts in the Union. Such complaints to him always met with prompt attention. His whole heart was called forth on the occasion. The conference responded. But because so many attempts had failed, it was concluded best to adopt the most efficient means that could be devised, and resolve to succeed, through grace, by dint of perseverance. As this was viewed a special case, the preachers were advised to make special prayer, that God would direct and accompany the undertaking with his blessing. The Rev. Samuel Dunwody, then young, modest, and unassuming, but with a mind and heart stored with knowledge and zeal far beyond his years, was fixed on. He hesitated not a moment, but started with the same composure as he

* He has been known to take a bag of corn on horseback to mill on the way to his appointments, in order to induce some to attend Divine service.

would have done had he entered on one of the most promising circuits or stations in the conference. He arrived early in 1807, and was received by Mr. Millen with his usual kindness. He procured a small room where he taught some children. His ministerial labors were confined to the family of his host, to his school room, poor house, and hospital. No Church seemed to know that there was any Methodist preacher in Savannah. At the end of the year he returned with an account of five whites and seven blacks as the fruit of his labors. The Rev. B. Capel presided in Ogeechee district, in which Savannah was embraced. The Rev. James H. Mellard was stationed there the ensuing year. He rented and preached in the Lutheran church, and part of the year in the Presbyterian church, while their pastor was gone to the north. The attention of the people was a little waked up, but no addition was made to the society. The Rev. John M'Vean followed and commenced his labors in 1809. He also occupied the Lutheran church, and was acceptable, and even popular. But at the end of this year there appears no return of any in society, and the presiding elder reported the prospect as being very gloomy. The conference for a moment paused. At length it was concluded indispensably necessary that a meeting house in Savannah should be built, and Capel's successor was charged to direct his energies to carry the design into execution. Mr. M'Vean continued the ensuing year. On the 11th June, 1810, the council gave a lot to the Methodist Episcopal Church, to build a chapel on, and their claim to the lot that A. Cloud had procured was relinquished. About this time the presiding elder received a ten dollar bill from an unknown hand toward the building. This was the first money received for this purpose. During this year about four hundred dollars were subscribed in the city, and about one hundred and fifty dollars collected. Several members of the Presbyterian congregation, with others, encouraged the project, all of which was strengthened by the catholic spirit of Dr. Kollock, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Matters now began to bear a favorable aspect, when an unforeseen occurrence took place, which threw the whole prospect into the utmost gloom. The preacher on his way to the annual conference acted in such a manner as to merit the censure of the conference. It became the painful duty of the presiding elder embracing Savannah to present the charges and the evidence. The preacher was discontinued. Tidings of this decision flew as on the wings of the wind to Savannah. The presiding elder on his arrival was called on for statements. His situation was far from being enviable. The truth told only raised the excitement the higher. Even the kind-hearted Dr. K. hurled his anathemas against the conference! The sympathy of the people was entirely enlisted on the side of the condemned preacher; and reproaches the most severe were cast against the conference;—numbers thanking God that he had graciously preserved them from ever becoming members of such a tyrannical Church! Others exclaiming, 'Methodism in Savannah is ruined for ever!' One who had hitherto been among the best friends of Methodism, told the presiding elder, 'M'V. can get two churches built in Savannah, while you can get none.' Such was the people's knowledge of the Methodist Church! Such their confidence in the conference.

While all these feelings were bursting forth, the next appointed preacher for Savannah arrived. He had a few days previous married, and came with his lady in a four-wheel carriage, attended by servants, in a style altogether beyond any thing they hitherto had been accustomed to see in Methodist preachers. A Presbyterian elder, in a very significant tone, remarked to the presiding elder, that he put him in mind of B—v—r—y A——n.* This was one of the keenest sarcasms that could have been uttered on the occasion by a pious man. To finish the picture, about this time *M'Call's* '*History of Georgia*,' noticed in these pages, made its appearance! It will readily be believed that the presiding elder, thus situated, was far from feeling himself at home. What course to adopt became a perplexing question. To abandon Savannah at such a crisis would be the means of confirming the prejudices of the people for a generation, if not a century to come. To make any attempt in the city to procure aid in building a meeting house was entirely hopeless. It was finally concluded, that this business was undertaken in the name of the Most High; that many and repeated prayers had been heartily offered up; that God did and would answer the prayer of faith; and therefore that *success would attend* a persevering and untiring pursuit of the object; and the subject became a matter of increased feeling as well as reasoning. *A Methodist chapel shall be built in Savannah* he took for his motto, and never after lost sight of it. He resolved on going in the country, and begging from door to door, for money, lumber, or any thing he could obtain in aid of the cause. The first call he made was at a cabin thirty miles from the city. The landlord was an old, rough-looking gunsmith, having a wife, and four or five children to support with his own hands. To him in the evening he opened his mission. The reply was like the appearance of the man. Next morning early he was ready to depart, apprehending poor encouragement, when the old gentleman handed him a piece of wrapped paper, adding, 'Here, if this will do you any good, take it.' On opening it a ten dollar bill appeared. The feelings which this circumstance produced were indescribable. They will long be remembered by the writer. God bless the man and his posterity. His name was David Lovett. Thence he went to the ever memorable William Maner, a staunch friend to the Methodists, and a man in good circumstances. He stated to him the object of his visit, and added, 'In all probability we shall have to run in debt in building the chapel, and if it comes to the worst, will you stand by me?' He promptly answered, 'I will.' Thus the dark clouds began to break. He proceeded and traversed each side of the Savannah river toward Augusta, and every creek along which a stick of timber had ever floated to Savannah. Among the many who contributed in their line of business, may be named Mrs. Sarah King, Col. Seaborn Jones, Gen. Twiggs, and Major Cowles. Letters were written to the principal preachers throughout the bounds of the South Carolina Conference. They responded, and used their influence as

* This B. A. had been one of the most celebrated Methodist preachers in the south, had married into a fortune, rode in grandeur, deluded a lady, and shot the officer dead who came to apprehend him. (We give lights and shades of Methodism!)

one man; and though few were in circumstances to give much, yet many members and friends had hearts to give a little. Even in Baltimore and beyond, numbers contributed their mites with a seeming pleasure seldom equalled. It is time we should return to our preacher who arrived so conspicuously. He stayed part of the year, and then retired abruptly.*

If ever there was a missionary station, Savannah was so at this time: but there was no missionary fund to be found in the Church. On the 4th of March, 1812, articles of agreement with the carpenter were signed; and the carpenter commenced the building forthwith: size, forty by sixty feet, and twenty in the clear, with a gallery on each side and in front. And in July following the Rev. James Russell, then stationed preacher, began to hold meetings in it; and in the ensuing winter it was dedicated by Bishop Asbury, who named it Wesley Chapel. Russell, possessing a genius considerably above the common level, and the art of contributing small means to great objects, appeared well qualified to engage in the conflict. He had early in youth received lectures in the school of adversity, from which he profited through life. Hardships he regarded not. Even his eccentricities were made tributary to the grand cause in which he was engaged. An unusual portion of the Divine unction accompanied his ministry. Thus qualified, he entered on the duties of his station, 'hoping against hope.' To speak of accommodating him in the city was out of the question. The conference had no funds. Only three whites and two blacks had been returned as Church members: and though willing they could only spare a morsel. The tide of feeling in the community was then rolling high against Methodism. Thus situated, he prayed to God and took courage. Sometimes a friend on the river would present him a few cords of wood, the conveyance to market and sale of which he would have to superintend. At other times, a friendly wagoner, or carman, would afford him such articles as he could spare. And he has been known to wade half leg deep in the mud, in a rice field, procuring forage to meet a contract in favor of a troop of horse, then stationed in Savannah.† For live he must, and live as he could. He found a kind friend in Col. P. Jack, then commanding a regiment there. Dr. L. Pierce about this time, stationed there as chaplain to the regiment, rendered efficient aid.

At first but few came to hear the word; but Russell in the complicated scenes through which he had to pass never forgot the object of his mission. He would preach Christ whether to one or to scores. Whether on the river, in the swamp, rice fields,‡ street, hut, parlor, or

* At the ensuing annual conference his presiding elder charged him with having deserted his post in time of danger. He defended himself masterly, and closed by saying, 'I continued until I had expended the last sixpence in my possession for a loaf of bread. The only alternative left was—*desertion* or *starvation!*'

† In the late war with England.

‡ An occurrence took place about this time which may serve as a specimen both of his zeal, and the state of feeling which then existed. An overseer on the Carolina side of Savannah river, who had known Russell in time past, on his death bed sent for him. He went, and became the instrument in bringing him to the knowledge of the truth. In his last moments he was able to triumph over death. Sometime after his widow was taken ill and wished to see Russell. The presiding elder was then in town. In the evening he invited him to go over the river with

church. In the meantime, among the neglected sick, he met with a welcome reception. Thus he went forth 'weeping, bearing precious seed.' Such a missionary could not labor in vain. At times his hearers were considered objects of sport by the rabble, and others. But at no time have the Methodists in Savannah enjoyed better days than the little band of that day. To the names mentioned in the sketch, recorded in the Methodist Magazine of 1821, may be added Mrs. Mary Beeu, who was the first brought to the knowledge of the truth under the Methodist ministry of whom we have any account. God honored the labors of the Rev. Jas. H. Mellard herein. Her change of heart was remarkable, and could not be doubted by any of the pious with whom she conversed. She died in peace.

York Minis, a black man from Georgetown, S. C., deserves notice. He contributed eight dollars to aid the building, and loaned his quarto family Bible for service in the pulpit, until the Church could procure one. His piety was undoubted by all who were acquainted with him. His master, an Israelite of the old stock, relates a number of anecdotes highly honorable to his character as a pious man. He died in peace.

Thus the foundation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Savannah was laid. In less than three years, the building which cost nearly $4500, was finished, and out of debt. At the end of this year (1812) the names of twenty-seven whites and twenty-five blacks were returned as in society. The number in society from that time to 1820 ranged between forty-six whites and one hundred and forty-seven colored. But still they appeared little known and little noticed. In 1819 the Rev. Wm. Capers was stationed there. Though large congregations attended, very little visible effect appeared. But all that Methodism asks is to give it a fair and impartial hearing. Numbers began to conclude, it might, perhaps, be no degradation to step into a Methodist church occasionally on a pleasant evening. And in 1820 the Almighty, in the dispensation of his providence, sent a rod. A disorder called the black vomit prevailed at this time. This spoke loud and deep. It forced its way to the heart. Many fled, and took refuge where they could find one. It required more than ordinary courage, even in a minister, to stand by his dying flock, and offer to them the words of eternal life in their expiring moments. Capers undaunted stood at his post. At all hours of the day and of the night he obeyed the calls of the sick and of the dying. Religion and eternity were subjects of paramount concern. Nor were the calls on him confined to the members of his own flock or congregation. The celebrated Dr. Henry Kollock had lately been called to his reward in heaven. In his latter days he and Capers formed a friendship such as Christian ministers ought to have. In his death they remained united. His mourning congregation felt the in-

him to see her. On their approach they found A—cr—m the proprietor had just arrived. They thought they saw in his countenance a gathering thunder gust.—The pastoral duties were performed forthwith; and they retired to give place for his philosophy to set his mind even. The walk was on a long dam; it was a still, fragrant moonshine; but all would not do; the storm burst, and he advanced in quick paces, attended by two or three negro men in the rear,—uttering threats and imprecations in quick succession. However, on his arrival at the river's brink, they all embarked in their canoe. He closed his oration by promising that, on their next visit, he would make them sound the bottom of Savannah river.

fluence,—and their calls mingled with those of his own charge, and his services were rendered with equal promptitude. In short, his heart was free to serve all the city. While the present generation lasts will the year 1820 be remembered with emotions of gratitude. Many came to hear the word, and were astonished to find true Methodism to be no other than rational and Scriptural Christianity. The year closed with a lively prospect of better days. In 1821 the Rev. John Howard was stationed in the city. The house was crowded to overflowing, so that it was forthwith enlarged twenty feet in length. To the wicked, he proved the son of thunder—to the penitent, the son of consolation. Many reformed and joined the Church; other Churches shared in the benefit of his labors. In a letter under date of 21st of August in that year, he thus writes:—'At our last love-feast there were an unusual number of tickets issued. At the close of this ever-to-be-remembered love-feast, an offer was made to receive members, when, to our utter astonishment, twenty-one persons came forward and offered themselves as candidates for membership in our Church;' and he added that 'one hundred and thirty-one had been added since March preceding.' This may be considered a new era in Methodism at Savannah. He was succeeded the two following years by the Rev. James O. Andrew, now Bishop of the Church, who, 'when he saw the grace of God was glad, and exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord.' In 1823 the first, and, as yet, the only annual conference, was held here. It should be noticed, also, that at this conference commenced a small society for the education of the children of travelling preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the Georgia conference, then entitled, 'The Union School Society,' from the circumstance of the Savannah Union Society generously granting the conference the privilege of holding its session in their hall. This society, for want of energy in its officers, has hitherto moved on but slowly, and has not been able to make any appropriations.

From 1821 to 1831 the number in society has ranged between two hundred and seventy and three hundred and ninety. During this space of time, its history has gone on in a more regular channel, and mingled with those throughout the United States and Territories. In fine, it may be remarked, that the spirituality of the Church is now in more danger, by being noticed too much than too little by the community at large; but by a Scriptural and spiritual ministry, and a regular and steady discipline, accompanied by the blessing of God, it promises to continue here as long as in any city in the Union. Thus in these pages it has been attempted to show how Methodism in Savannah was not—was—and is.

MAGEE ON THE ATONEMENT.

Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural doctrines of the Atonement and Sacrifice, &c. By William Magee, D. D., &c, &c.

It is now several years since these Discourses were republished in this country. The edition before us was issued in Philadelphia in

1825. It is not our intention to enter on a critical examination of this labored work, nor to point out its numerous defects. We should, indeed, have expected that a work of this character, coming from such a source, would have assumed a dignity of manner and expression suitable to the gravity and importance of the subjects it discusses. Instead of this, however, we find the author descending to low invective, to personal abuse, and to vile caricature, with a view, apparently, to render his antagonists ridiculous.

Independently, however, of these general defects which seem to us to pervade the work, there is a direct assault upon Mr. John Wesley, as unjust as it is ungenerous. Mr. Wesley has stood the fiery ordeal of criticism, as well as passed through the showers of personal abuse which have been poured upon him from a variety of quarters, and has always come forth from the conflict, not only with honor to himself, but with most evident disgrace to most of his antagonists. But among all the accusations brought against him by those who have thought it a duty to assail him, it was left for Dr. Magee, while professedly vindicating one of the most highly interesting doctrines of Divine revelation, to turn aside for the purpose of throwing reproach upon that eminent man, by attempting to fix upon him the Socinian or Arian heresy. This should have been the last sin to accuse Mr. John Wesley of. Perhaps no man ever preached and wrote more which is calculated to exalt the glory of Jesus Christ as the God-man, as the one Mediator between God and man, and as the sacrificial High Priest over the house of God, than Mr. John Wesley. His Sermons, particularly his Sermon on the Trinity, the volume of Hymns which he published, as well as the doctrine and discipline received and recognized by that Church which he was instrumental in founding, unite their voices to silence the slanderous accusation of Dr. Magee, and those who iterate his unmanly and disparaging assertions. To those who are acquainted with the admirable writings of Mr. Wesley, it will be surprising to hear the following language from the author before us. After enumerating the articles of the Established Church of England which Mr. Wesley left out of his abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer, Dr. Magee adds:—

'Thus it appears, that the Socinian is not the only sectary that would degrade the dignity of Christ.' And that all his readers may have a just idea of the dangerous heresies taught by Wesley, Dr. Magee refers his readers to '*Bishop Lavington's Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared*,' and says, 'Whoever wishes to form a just idea of the pernicious extravagancies of this enthusiastic teacher, and of his followers, will find ample satisfaction in the *bishop's book*.' (Vol. i, p. 121.) Whatever confidence we may have in the learning and general intelli-

gence of this author, when we know that he has so manifestly perverted the sentiments of another, for whatever purpose, we instinctively distrust his fidelity, and confide in the soundness and correctness of his criticisms no farther than he is borne out by the concurrent testimony of cotemporaneous writers, or such as have written on kindred subjects. So far, therefore, is Dr. Magee to be trusted in the adducement of his facts, and the accuracy of his learned criticisms, as we can test their truth and accuracy from other and more authentic sources, and no farther.

To what suspicious authority has Dr. Magee referred his readers for a representation of Wesley's doctrine and conduct! Among all the aspersers of his character, no one had less regard to truth than Lavington. Any one may be convinced of this who will read over Mr. Wesley's characteristic answers to that scurrilous writer. Witty and frothy, vulgar and abusive in the highest degree, the bishop of Exeter degraded the dignity of his official character by laboring to render Mr. Wesley ridiculous, his doctrine loathsome, and his practice suspicious; but in doing this he proved himself as destitute of candor and honesty, as he was of the knowledge of the peculiar doctrines of Christianity. All experimental religion with this defamer of Wesleyan Methodism, was treated as rank enthusiasm, and as forming a fit parallelism with the offensive features of popery. And yet this is the authority on which one who was afterward made a bishop, probably as the reward of his pious labors in defence of orthodoxy, relies for proof of the 'pernicious extravagancies' of the doctrine taught by John Wesley. How easy is it by such unfair means to prove whatever we may wish to be true!

It has been for the purpose chiefly of entering our protest against this unmanly and unjust treatment of Mr. Wesley, that we have referred to these dissertations at all; for though the work possesses some excellencies and valuable criticisms, it is by no means entitled to that celebrity which has been awarded to it by those whose more immediate interest might be promoted by its circulation. And it is with no little regret that an author writing on such a subject, should descend to pollute his pages with reflections so manifestly unjust toward one of the most holy, learned, orthodox, and successful ministers of Jesus Christ, which any Church or age has produced since the days of plenary inspiration.

Having thus discharged what we consider an act of justice toward an injured servant of God, we shall proceed to give our views on the Scriptural doctrine of atonement. This subject is approached with no little diffidence, not only on account of its own intrinsic importance, but also because of the indefinite and often contradictory manner in which it has been treated. While the Socinian strives to lower down the

dignity of the Son of God to the level of a mere man, whose precepts of morality and example alone are to instruct us, there are not wanting those on the other hand who represent Him as delivering us from all obligation to law, properly so called, and as having placed us in a state of legal freedom from guilt and condemnation. We consider both of these positions as errors to be avoided; and while it is acknowledged that Jesus Christ was both God and man, uniting in His sacred person perfect divinity and perfect humanity, it is believed that by His death upon the cross He made such an atonement for the world of sinners, that *God can be just in justifying the ungodly who believe in Jesus.*

Every truth of Divine revelation is important to be known; but when viewed collectively and relatively, some of these truths appear more immediately important than others. And if there be any one truth more so than another, it is that which relates to the atonement made by Jesus Christ for a sinful world. This to the system of Christianity is what the material sun is to the natural world. It is the grand source and centre which gives light, heat, and animation to the whole system. Take it away, and all is dark, cold, and powerless. It is therefore highly momentous for us rightly to understand this vital truth of Divine revelation. That we may do this we will inquire,

1. *Into the Scriptural meaning of this word.* Our English word, *to atone*, is said to be compounded of *at* and *one*; and that this comes from the Latin *ad* and *unus*, signifying to unite. Hence the Italian *adunare*, and the Spanish *adunar*, which signify to *unite* or *join together*; and hence *atonement* means an *agreement* or *concord* which takes the place of enmity or controversy.

From this literal meaning of the word, it has come to be used in a theological sense to signify that work done by Jesus Christ, by which an *agreement* or *reconciliation* between man and God is brought about. That we may understand the Scriptural meaning of the term, let us examine some of those texts in which it occurs.

The Hebrew verb כפר* (*kepor*) signifies to *cover* or *overspread*; and hence as a noun it represents the asphaltus or bitumen, or, according to our version, the *pitch* by which the *ark* was to be smeared within and without, Gen. vii, 14. In Exodus xvi, 14, it is rendered *hoar*

* Is it not highly probable that our word *cover* is itself derived from the Hebrew כפר, *kepor*, through the Latin *cooperio*, or the Italian *coprire*. The change of one letter for another has been a very common practice in numerous instances, as in the word ברא, *bara, to create;* in Latin, *Paro;* Italian, *Parare;* Spanish, *Parar;* French, *Parer;* and hence our English word *bear*, to *bring forth*, or *to bear fruit*. See Introduction to Webster's 4to Dictionary; in which it will be seen that all these words, which are most evidently derived from the Hebrew root, *bara*, have a kindred signification, namely, to *begin action*, to *produce*, to *form*, *renew*, to *prepare one thing for another*.

frost, which usually *spreads over* or *covers* the face of the ground. In 1 Sam. vi, 18, it means a *village*, which affords a *shelter* or *covering* from the storm. Is it in allusion to this meaning of the word that the psalmist says, 'Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is COVERED?'

Let us now examine some of those passages of Scripture in which an atonement is spoken of under the Old Testament dispensation. 'And thou shalt offer every day a bullock for a sin offering for *atonement;* and thou shalt cleanse the altar, when thou hast made an *atonement* for it,' Exod. xxix, 36, 37. 'The rich shall not give more, and the poor shall not give less.....when they give an offering unto the Lord, to make an *atonement* for your souls,' chap. xxx, 15. 'And the priest shall put his hand upon the head of the burnt offering; and it shall be accepted for him, to make *atonement* for him,' Lev. i, 4. It may be remarked that in all these passages the thing offered to God was accepted by Him, according to His own requisition, and the intention of the offerer, as an expiatory sacrifice, by which means punishment was averted from the transgressor, and his sins were considered as *covered up*, or hidden from the view of God. The victim, therefore, that was offered in sacrifice, was a *vicarious* offering, accepted instead of the sinner himself, who, by his sins, had justly forfeited his own life in the eye of that law against which he had transgressed.

This indeed seems to be the idea generally intended by the sacrifices which were made under the law. Whenever an individual had sinned, or the congregation of Israel had transgressed, he and they brought their offerings unto the Lord, and they were accepted instead of the transgressors themselves; and by this means the souls of the sinners were considered as *screened*, *sheltered*, or *covered* under the wing of Divine mercy. It need hardly be remarked here that these sacrifices could not have possessed any intrinsic value in themselves; their efficacy in *atoning* for the transgressors was derived from their Divine appointment for this very purpose, and not from their being equal in value to the souls of the people in whose behalf they were offered. Nor can they be considered as literally fulfilling the demands of Divine justice, as an *equivalent* accepted instead of the sinner himself. This indeed, instead of exalting the Divine justice, would tend to lower it down by making it accept, as a satisfaction to its violated majesty and purity, the blood of goats, bullocks, and the ashes of an heifer, things so insignificant in themselves. While, however, inflexible justice holds to the dignity of its character in speaking out its thunders against the guilty transgressor, the *mercy* of God is abundantly magnified in this gracious provision of pardon; in condescending to accept of offerings of so little value in themselves in place of the souls of those who had transgressed.

Having thus ascertained the meaning of this word as it was used and applied under the Old Testament, let us examine some of the passages where it and its cognate terms are used in the New Testament. We do not find the word *atonement* occurring in our translation except in one place, namely, Rom. v, 11,—'By whom we have now received the *atonement*,' and even here the Greek word, Καταλλαγη, seems to be improperly rendered *atonement*, as it comes from κατα, *intense*, and αλλασσω, to *change*, *alter*, or to *reconcile*; and it is so rendered by our translators twice in the preceding verse, and in chap. xi, 15; 2 Cor. v, 18, 19; in all of which places, καταλλαγη, is rightly rendered to *reconcile*, or *reconciliation*; as the apostle evidently is speaking of the *effects* rather than of the atonement itself. But though the word itself does not occur precisely in this sense in the New Testament, the *thing* is frequently referred to and spoken of in terms which we cannot well misunderstand; we mean the vicarious sufferings and death of the Lord Jesus Christ, by which the *atonement* was made and the reconciliation finally brought about. If, however, we understand by the atonement the *covering up*, the pardoning or cancelling our transgressions, then we may understand it as synonymous with *reconciliation*, or as expressive of that change which the sinner undergoes when he is converted or reconciled to God through the atoning merits of the Lord Jesus Christ. Yet, according to the usual acceptation of that word, *atonement* refers to the work done by Jesus Christ in his meritorious sufferings and death; and *reconciliation* to the effect of the atonement on the sinner's heart and conscience, in the work of regeneration and salvation.

Let us now examine a few of those passages which speak of the death of the Lord Jesus, and see if they do not fairly represent that death as a vicarious offering, which was accepted of God instead of the sinner who had forfeited his own life by his transgression. 'For when we were without strength, in due time Christ *died* FOR the ungodly,' Rom. v, 6. 'But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ *died* FOR US,' ver. 8. 'For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ *died* FOR OUR SINS, according to the Scriptures,' 1 Cor. xv, 3. According to the most plain and obvious import of these scriptures, Jesus Christ died *for* or in behalf of sinners,—He died *for* the ungodly, *for us*—*for our sins*—are terms which manifestly imply, in the estimation of every man who understands the import of language, and whose mind has not been warped by a previously received theory, that the *death of Christ* was the *very act* by which the sinful world must be delivered, if delivered at all, from the punishment due to its sins. In Rom. v, 10, we are said to be *reconciled* to God by the DEATH of his Son. Now though

the word *atonement* does not occur in either of these passages, yet, understanding that word according to its usual import, as signifying that meritorious act by which an agreement is brought about between two opposite parties, by the interference and actions of a third person, the *thing itself* is most expressly declared—declared in terms so unambiguous and unequivocal, that it is hardly possible, unless we torture language from its legitimate and most obvious sense, either to mistake its meaning, or to make it mean any thing else than that Jesus Christ died in the *place*, or *instead* of the ungodly world.

The same sentiment is inculcated in those texts of Scripture which speak of our redemption by Christ Jesus,—'Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things'—'but with the precious BLOOD of Christ, as of a lamb, without blemish, and without spot,' 1 Pet. i, 18, 19. 'For thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy BLOOD,' Rev. v, 9. 'In whom we have redemption through his *blood*, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace,' Eph. i, 7. No unbiassed mind can read these sacred texts without perceiving that the BLOOD *of Jesus Christ* is declared to be the efficacious medium through which we have redemption, even the redemption of our souls from the guilt and dominion of sin.

Against this view of the subject it has been urged by some, that these and such like expressions are to be understood *figuratively* as implying that Jesus Christ shed his blood only as a martyr to the cause of truth and in behalf of his nation. To support this objection, such expressions as the following have been quoted:—'The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church,'—'Such a man spilt his blood for his country,' &c. We allow indeed that such like expressions are in common use among men, and that they imply nothing more, in general, than that the persons sacrificed their lives in behalf of their country, or the cause they had espoused; but yet, even in this sense, they suppose that by this sacrifice they contributed to the salvation of their country, and that their death was the means of saving a great number of their countrymen and compatriots from destruction; that they became voluntary victims to death that they might thereby accomplish some great good to the human family.

But though it is thus common among men, with a view to enhance the character of the persons of whom they speak, and to emblazon their virtues, to say that their blood was shed for their country, we deny that any such language is used in the sacred Scriptures, in this indeterminate or figurative manner. Where do we read that the blood of Abel, Isaiah, Paul, or Peter, or any other of the prophets or apostles, was shed for the redemption of the world, or that their death made an atonement for sinners? They as truly died in defence of the cause of

truth as did Jesus Christ. But is their death any where spoken of as a vicarious sacrifice, as having been suffered *for* or *instead* of the death of sinners, with a view to expiate their sins, and to reconcile them to God? No such thing. But whenever the death of Christ is referred to in the Holy Scriptures, it is spoken of as the meritorious act by which sinners are bought off from the curse of the law, He having *been made a curse for us*. *His* blood is represented as *cleansing us from all unrighteousness*—and as 'speaking better things than the blood of Abel,' inasmuch as it speaks before the throne of God in behalf of sinners. Yes!

> 'His blood atoned for all our race,
> And sprinkles now the throne of grace.'

But it is no where said that the blood of Paul, or any of the martyrs, however exquisite their sufferings, or meritorious their death, that his or their blood has made an atonement for the sin of the world. One of these martyrs, however, when he saw Jesus walking, pointed to HIM and said, 'Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the SIN *of the world*.' Could such an expression be found any where in the sacred Scriptures in reference to any mere man, the comparison and the argument attempted to be derived from it might have some force, or some appearance of plausibility. But inasmuch as there is none such, the argument falls to the ground, and Jesus Christ is left standing at the head of the scheme of salvation a perfect unique, occupying that commanding attitude, and performing those high functions which belong not to either man or angel—remaining *a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec*.

Having thus ascertained and fixed the Scriptural meaning of the word atonement, let us inquire,

II. *Into its necessity*. The *necessity* of the atonement of Jesus Christ arises from the *moral and relative* condition of man. That man is in a sinful state needs no proof. It is every where proclaimed, both within our own hearts and in the actions of every individual of the human race. How he came so is a question of deep inquiry. That impure streams are flowing in every direction over the whole field of moral existence is manifest to every attentive observer; but where the great fountain of moral pollution was, whence issued these impure streams, it is not so easy to ascertain. The Scriptures indeed lead us up to this fountain; and if we have wisdom enough to follow the path which they have opened, we may be guided rightly to this source of moral pollution. At present, however, we shall take it for granted that mankind are sinners—that they are guilty in the eye of a just, holy, and good law.

Now let us look for a moment at that law against which man sinned.

This law required him, from the first moment of his existence, to *love God with all his heart*, and *his neighbor as himself*. It is eternal in its existence, immutable in its nature, and inflexible in its demands.

1. *It is eternal in its existence.* It was never made, but published from time to time as the exigencies of man demanded. We say it was *not made*; for if it had been it could not be eternal. It is coexistent with God himself, being a transcript of His own nature; and hence like Him, it is holy and just in its demands, as well as eternal in its duration.

2. *It is immutable in its nature, and inflexible in its demands.* It can never change its character to suit the whims and fancies of man, to make allowances for his faults, infirmities, or imperfections: but under all circumstances and under every dispensation, its requirements are the same, and its claims imperious and unyielding. The *inflexibility* of its demands originates from its own inherent character. It is *just* in all its precepts; and therefore can no more relinquish its claims than God, its sacred Author, can *cease* to be just. It is *holy* in its aims and ends, and therefore can no more cease to urge its demands than God Himself can cease to be holy, or than He can sanction unholiness. It is *good* in its origin, nature, and intentions; and therefore can no more be repealed or turned aside from the pursuit of its objects, than the adorable Author of all good can cease to exist, or be converted into a demon of unrighteousness. *This* is the law against which man rebelled—voluntarily and unnecessarily rebelled. *This* is the law under the penalty of which all mankind, as they existed in Adam, fell, and which they must either have suffered themselves, or be rescued by some one who should suffer that penalty for them.

But what is the penalty of this law? It was said unto Adam in paradise, 'In the day thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely DIE.' *Death*, then, was the penalty of that law against which Adam transgressed. In whatever sense we may understand the term *death*, whether as a separation from the peaceful presence of God, a separation of the soul and body of man, or a separation of the component parts of the body itself, or finally a separation of soul and body *from the presence of God and the glory of his power*, in the world to come, it is manifest that death, in either one or all these forms, was the penalty of God's holy and just law—of that eternal rule of right, of which we now speak. This being the penalty—against a law inflexible in all its demands,—it is undeniable that whoever undertakes to rescue man from its penalty, must of necessity *die*. Or if man suffer it in his own person, he must *die*, that is, he must suffer that death, whatever its character may be, which is included in the penalty of the law.

Now let us suppose that the death denounced upon Adam was a

temporal death, that is, a separation of his soul and body. In this case, if he had suffered the penalty on the day in which he transgressed according to the threatening, he must have ceased to exist as a man in the flesh; but he did not thus cease to exist; and therefore he did not thus suffer the penalty of the violated law. Or if we suppose that the death denounced upon Adam, was a mere banishment from paradise, which implied a separation from the peaceful presence of God; and if we farther suppose that this penalty was inflicted, as it unquestionably was for a time, in its utmost extent: then we must allow that Adam and Eve are still wandering as condemned fugitives under the malediction of God, cursing and being cursed; this would involve a conclusion from which every sensitive, and much more every pious heart must revolt with horror. But if *eternal death*, that is, an eternal separation from the glory of God was meant by that penalty, and if we allow that Adam and Eve are now suffering it, then we must also allow that they are now suffering the rewards of their transgression in the flames of hell! But this supposition will not do. It is fraught with consequences at which the mind instinctively revolts with a sort of chilling horror. The conclusion then is, that, whatever may have been the penalty of that law against which our progenitors sinned, they could not have suffered it in all its extent. What is the consequence? Why, either the law itself was too rigorous to be executed, or its Author has uttered a falsehood, or a substitute has been found. The latter alone is true. The *second Adam* has borne the just penalty, and averted the curse from the head of the *first Adam*. Hereby the justice and holiness of the law is secured, the truth of the threatening language of the Lawgiver to the guilty culprits is maintained, the guilty pair saved, and the whole government of God honored and rendered resplendent in the view of all intelligences.

The same reasoning will apply to mankind now. We have already seen that DEATH is even now denounced upon sinners as the reward of their iniquity. What shall we say? That this penalty is suffered in our own persons? Must we then lie under the power of death for ever? This would be equal to annihilation, and worse than Deism. Or must the soul be for ever separated from the peaceful presence of God? This is eternal damnation without any hope of reprieve. Or does the law hold us guilty without inflicting its penalty? This would be a mere mockery of our misery—a mere show of justice without its reality. Or lastly, does the law relinquish its claims on the sinner? This it cannot do without giving a universal license for the commission of iniquity with impunity. While the law remains unrepealed, it must denounce its thunders against its transgressors. And we can see no way for them to escape from its anathemas but by fleeing to the Lord Jesus by re-

pentance, and accepting of pardon for His sake, and by faith in His atoning merits.

It is true that all do die temporally. But if this be all that is meant by the death that is denounced against transgressors, then there is no longer any difference between the righteous and the wicked, as all alike suffer this sort of death.

From this course of reasoning we may perceive the necessity of such an atonement as that which was made by the Lord Jesus Christ. As Adam and all his posterity were exposed to death, in all its terrible forms, to avert the tremendous stroke from them, HE *who knew no sin*, and on whom therefore the law had no claim, volunteered to suffer it in their stead, to 'DIE the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God.'

But mankind are not only *guilty* in the sight of God, when viewed in relation to His just and holy law, they are also *helpless*. However just they may perceive and acknowledge that law to be, they find themselves incompetent to obey its precepts. This is a sad dilemma. While they 'consent unto the law, that it is good,' they find in themselves a principle of evil hurrying them along in violation of its precepts; and with whatever resolution they may attempt a compliance with its demands, this 'evil is present with' them, and brings them 'into captivity to the law of sin and death.' They, indeed, feel and know that their perverse conduct is voluntary, and hence they are justly held blameworthy. The many and fruitless attempts which sinners make to save themselves by an obedience to the requisitions of the law, are so many evidences of their weak and helpless condition; and also an evidence that they acknowledge the justness and goodness of the law which condemns them. It alters not the state of the fact in regard to this their actual condition, whether they are able to account for it or not, by assigning a satisfactory reason how and why they came into this helpless state. Though the Ethiopian may not be able to ascertain the cause for the color of his skin, yet the fact itself that it is colored is indubitable. So that mankind are in a morally helpless condition is provable by the experience of every individual who has ever come to a knowledge of his own heart, and who compares its desires and affections with the precepts of God's holy law, or with any law which is founded on the immutable principles of right. He finds in himself those desires, passions, and appetites which carry him away, in despite of all his efforts to the contrary, into a violation of such a law.

Now either the law itself which commands his obedience must be unjust, or man's nature must be not only perverse and sinful, but also weak and helpless: but we have already seen that the law given for the regulation of man's conduct is just, holy, and good; and hence it

is the imperious duty of all men to obey it; but it is equally certain that no man, while in an unregenerate state, either does or can obey it. While in this state he can no more love God with all his heart and his neighbor as himself, than he can arrest the sun in its course or check the impetuous cataract of Niagara in its terrible progress. It is as natural for him to overleap the bounds of moral obligation, while he seeks to gratify himself at the expense of others, as it is for 'the sparks to fly upward.' This is the state of man—of *all* men ever born into the world.

Now view man as being in this state in his *relation* to his God. Does he not owe Him a debt of obedience which he himself can never pay? As, in consequence of the relation which he sustains to God as his Creator, it was his bounden duty to have loved Him from the first moment of his existence to its termination; and as he has failed to do this ever since he came into being, has he not violated an obligation which he can never fulfil, and for the failure of which he can never make amends? What is to be done for him or with him? Either the law must be repealed, or relinquish its claims, or its violator must suffer its penalty, or be indebted to the services of another to do that for him which he cannot do for himself. We have already seen that the law, from the eternity, purity, and goodness of its character, can be neither repealed, nor relinquish its demands without an atonement. It remains therefore that the sinner must either suffer its penalty or accept of the services of a third person to do that for him which he can never do for himself.

To do the first would be to undergo an everlasting banishment from the presence of God and the glory of his power, or otherwise be struck out of existence. Either of these suppositions involves consequences at which the human mind shudders. To be banished for ever from God —from happiness—without even an opportunity of escape from such a dreadful catastrophe, is an alternative so dismal as to excite pity in the breast of the most obdurate among men. And shall 'man be more righteous than his Maker?' Shall he be moved to pity—to tears of commiseration, and shall a God of unbounded benevolence,—of whom it is said by one of His most favored servants,—that He is LOVE itself, have no 'bowels of compassion,'—no movings of pity toward His hapless offspring! Forbid the thought, O ye who minister around His throne of love! Suffer not a sentiment so derogatory to your adorable Sovereign, ever to find a lodgment in a human heart.

Nor is the idea of annihilation, or ceasing to be, less appalling to an ingenuous mind. *To cease to be!* Every feeling of our natures rises spontaneously against the thought. To have such a universal blank in the creation as would succeed to the total destruction of human in-

telligences is entirely incompatible with every idea we have formed of the Divine Being, as well as with every pulsation of the human heart. 'To be or not to be,' is a question not left to human volition to solve. It is instinctively solved by the decision of every man's mind—no less so than by the express declarations of holy Scripture.

Neither member, therefore, of the alternative relieves the difficulty under which the subject labors. Hence the only remaining remedy for the evils under which we groan, is the mediation of a third person. This third person is found only in the Lord Jesus Christ, whose death has been accepted as a substitute for the death with which Adam was threatened. And for this we are indebted to that wisdom and goodness of the Deity which devised and executed the glorious plan of rescuing man from his thraldom, and saving him with the power of an endless life.

The *necessity* of an atonement of some sort has been very generally felt and acknowledged by all the nations of the earth. We have already seen the views which were entertained by the Jews on this subject. And the institution of the sacrificial rites under that dispensation, by the express appointment of God, originated from the common sentiment of sinfulness which pervaded the breasts of the people, and which was brought out in all its aggravated forms by the purity of that inflexible law which prescribed their duty and denounced their doom as transgressors. The expression of this same sentiment has been made by a variety of expedients among the pagan nations. Why their numerous sacrifices? Did not the offering of these prove that they were conscious of their sinfulness? that they were consequently obnoxious to punishment, and that these sacrifices were necessary to avert that punishment by atoning for their sins? We consider therefore that every sacrifice ever offered to the Deity, whether to the true God or to a false one, was an acknowledgment, not only that mankind were sinners, but also that they needed an atonement to expiate their sins, to reconcile themselves to the God whom they had offended.

The sacred Scriptures themselves furnish abundant proof that it was a common practice among the surrounding pagan nations to sacrifice even their sons and daughters to their false gods; and so addicted were the Jews themselves to imitate the conduct of their neighbors in their idolatrous practices, that they were prohibited by an express law from making their children to pass through the fire to Moloch. This inhuman and barbarous practice of sacrificing their sons to the gods seems to have had its origin in the notion that they must offer to God whatever was most valuable in their own estimation. Hence the general prevalence of this sacrifice among the pagans; but on account of its inhumanity it was forbidden to the Jews, who might have pleaded, though most erroneously, its sanction from the example of Abraham.

The hecatombs of slaughtered beasts which were offered to the gods of the Gentiles, were but imitations, it is reasonable to presume, of the sacrifices which were established by a Divine command, among the Israelites; and they all indicated, as before observed, a consciousness of their sinfulness, and were an acknowledgment of the necessity of some atonement being made in order to reconcile them to an offended Deity.

There seems, indeed, to be no fact in the whole history of human nature and conduct, more universally established and practically acknowledged than that which relates to the sinfulness of mankind.—Jews, Christians, and Pagans, deistical philosophers, and historians, have all borne testimony to this truth; and though some modern Deists, on account of the light which they have borrowed without acknowledgment from Christianity, have derided the practice of offering sacrifice as an atonement for their sins, the rest of mankind have given this evidence of their belief in the efficacy of vicarious offerings to the Deity in behalf of offending man. We may consider, therefore, this truth as firmly settled by the concurrent testimony of sacred Scripture, and the universal observation and general practice of all nations.

Having thus established the *necessity* of atonement, we shall,

III. *Inquire into the source or origin of this merciful provision.* On this branch of our subject, though there may be but little diversity of opinion *substantially*, yet the manner in which that opinion has been expressed has led to some erroneous perceptions as to the origin of the atonement. When we hear, for instance, such expressions as the following, '*Christ Jesus came to quench the wrath of God*,'—'*to appease His anger*,'—'*to satisfy the claims of Divine justice*,'—we are apt to infer that the *wrath*, *anger*, or at least the *justice* of Almighty God required that Jesus Christ should die for the sins of the world; and that by His thus dying, the anger of the Deity was appeased. But surely such language is wholly unauthorized by the word of God. It is to be sure expressly declared that 'God is angry with the wicked every day,' &c, but this language can never justify the idea that this anger caused His Son to die on the cross for the salvation of a lost world. On the contrary it is affirmed in the most express and unequivocal terms that 'God so LOVED the world that He gave His only begotten Son,'—'that herein is love, not that we loved God, but that He LOVED us,'—and so loved us, as to 'send His Son to die for us.' These, with numerous other passages of the like import, ascribe the *source*, *origin*, or *cause* of God's sending His Son to die for the world, to the 'great LOVE wherewith He loved us, even when we were dead in trespasses and sins.'

It is by no means contended that *justice* had nothing to do in the

sacrifice of Jesus Christ. All that is meant is, that justice was not alone consulted. The *goodness* as well as the *wisdom* of the Deity, was as much concerned in this transaction as His justice. It seems, indeed, more proper to view the 'whole Deity' as engaged in the grand scheme of redemption, rather than any one particular attribute; and that property of his nature by which He is pre-eminently distinguished, and which therefore seems to temper and rule the whole, is *love*: so that we may consider the different displays of His administration but modified manifestations of His loving-kindness; hence it is said that though 'vengeance belongeth to God,' it is 'His strange work;' intimating that a resort to it is the last alternative, after all other means of lenity should have failed to accomplish the purposes of His benevolence. If, therefore, when we meditate upon the scheme of redemption, we are to take into view, as far as our limited powers will enable us to do it, the Divine character as a whole, should we not follow the direction given us in the inspired volume, and contemplate Him as being guided and governed, in regard to the moving principle of action, by that *love* by which He is so eminently distinguished? And when we speak of *satisfaction* being made for sin, should we not rather consider it such a satisfaction as the Divine perfections of wisdom, justice, and goodness, acting in perfect harmony, should receive as amply sufficient, instead of saying that justice alone is satisfied? Do not these views—though very imperfectly expressed for want of more adequate powers to grasp such a profound subject—accord with those general representations which the Scriptures give of this holy benevolent transaction?

The above exceptionable manner in which this subject has been spoken of seems to convey an idea that the coming and death of Jesus Christ wrought such a *change* in the Divine mind that He was thereby induced to *alter* his determination respecting a sinful world; that by this means he has become better disposed toward the human family, or in some way more favorably inclined to show mercy to them. But how derogatory is this to the character of Him of whom it is said, 'He is of one mind, who can change Him!' Who is *immutably* the same 'yesterday, to-day, and for ever!' Whose *goodness* is from everlasting, and whose very essence is LOVE itself! No. It was this eternal, essential property of the Divine nature, namely, LOVE, which led Him to devise and execute the scheme of salvation for the ruined world. And as LOVE was the source whence issued that stream of Divine mercy on which Jesus flowed into the world, His coming could have made God no better, no more favorably inclined to do His needy creatures good—could have produced no alteration in His mind or purpose in respect to the method of saving rebellious sinners—inasmuch

as all this sprung from love itself, was the fruit or effect of that eternal principle of GOODNESS in the Divine nature which first moved Him to extend mercy, as exemplified in the scheme of redemption, to a fallen world. It may therefore be said of this as of every other favor, that it 'cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning.' Hence those who have been redeemed from among men, are represented as ascribing their salvation to *Him that loved them and washed them from their sins in His own blood.*

The coming of the Lord Jesus into our world to make an atonement for our sins was a wonderful display or unfolding, a proof and demonstration of the love of God to man. It was so far from being the effect of hatred to sinners—though we allow that it is a manifestation of God's abhorrence of *sin*—that it is the clearest exhibition, the brightest display, the most luminous and convincing evidence of the goodness of God to man—of His entire willingness and deep desire to save him,—that could possibly be manifested to the view of angels or men. Hence when the angels are represented as announcing the Divine Savior's advent to the shepherds of Palestine, they said, 'Fear not; for behold we bring you GOOD *tidings* of great joy, which shall be to all people,'—'and suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, GOOD *will* toward men.' Here the *good will of God toward men* is announced as the burden of the message which the angels brought to the shepherds, as it was about to be exemplified by the coming of the Son of God into our world; and that this was the expression or manifestation of that eternal property of the Divine nature by which God has ever been distinguished as the GOOD Being. And to this view of the subject corresponds the declaration of the apostle Paul, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them:'—And moreover that in this very thing 'God commendeth His LOVE toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.' Our being sinners, therefore, instead of inspiring hatred in the Deity toward us, was the very reason why He was moved to give this bright manifestation of His love in providing a Savior to bring us salvation through the medium of His death.

How unspeakably precious and glorious does the whole scheme of redemption appear when thus viewed! And more especially when contrasted with that which represents the Deity as sending His Son to *pacify His own anger*, or *to quench His own wrath!* How shocking to all the benevolent feelings of our nature, as well as revolting to that feeling of veneration and filial love which the spirit of piety inspires, to

contemplate the Deity as moved to devise and execute the grand and sublime scheme of redemption from a feeling of fiery indignation—and as letting this indignation spend itself on the head of His innocent Son! But we are happy to know that such a revolting view of this subject is wholly unauthorized by the word of God. This declares that, so far from sending His Son to reconcile *God* to the *world*, He was in Christ *reconciling the world* to *Himself*: and hence the apostle says, not I pray God to be reconciled to *you*, but I pray *you be ye reconciled to God*. We do not indeed infer from this that God is pleased, or ever was pleased with the sinful actions of men. His displeasure at the rebellious conduct of Adam was manifested toward him in the touching dialogue which passed between them immediately after the latter had sinned. But while this displeasure showed itself in this manner, the goodness or tender compassion of God was equally conspicuous in the same transaction in the grand promise which He made to the trembling culprits, that 'the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head.' This was the first development of that eternal and paternal love which was finally and fully unfolded in the coming and death of the Lord Jesus Christ, and not an exhibition of his fiery wrath. In fact the displeasure of God against sin and His love to the sinner have been presented in parallel lines, which have run side by side from the period of the first transgression down to the present time; and they shall continue to mark the conduct of the Deity until time shall be no more.

Such is the GOODNESS OF GOD. Such is the source or origin of the grand provisions of the atonement. On this property of the Divine nature do wondering angels fix their attention when they are about to proclaim the glories of the Redeemer of lost men. To this source do the redeemed themselves trace the origin of their salvation, while they ascribe honor and glory to God, and to Him that sits upon the throne. And in this one point, as well as in all others, do all the inspired writers agree that 'God SO LOVED the world that He gave His Son, that whosoever believeth on Him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Having thus traced the atonement to its source or origin, let us,

IV. *Inquire into the extent of it.* On this subject there are the four following opinions:—1. That the atonement was made for the *elect only*. 2. That its efficacy is amply sufficient for *all men*, but that its application is limited to a certain number included in the eternal decree of election. 3. That it was made for all men in such a manner that all will eventually be saved. 4. That it was made indiscriminately for all men without any respect of persons: but that its conditional benefits are ultimately limited to those who repent of their sins and believe in Jesus Christ.

It is not our intention on the present occasion to inquire into the respective claims which each and all of the above opinions may have for support. As to the first, it is now very generally exploded, even by Calvinistic writers, except a comparatively few who still cling to the system of the Geneva reformer who so categorically asserted the unconditional decree of election. We believe the greater number of these divines who nevertheless desire to be classed with Calvinists, have adopted the second opinion, that the *efficacy* of the atonement is amply sufficient for *all men;* but that its application is limited to an *elect number;* and who consequently affirm that *all* may be saved if they will, but as all are held under the influence of an invincible moral inability, those only will experience the saving benefits of the atonement whose opposition is conquered by Almighty power. With neither of these opinions does the writer of this article agree. As to the third mentioned opinion, which is embraced by the Universalists, we shall endeavor to scan its truth when we come to speak of the manner in which the benefits of the atonement are received and enjoyed. We of course embrace the fourth sentiment, namely, that the atonement was made indiscriminately for all men without any respect of persons. Nor do we conceive how the truth of this proposition can well be contested by any person having the smallest deference to the declarations of Holy Scripture; as it is manifest that no truth is so clearly revealed and so unequivocally declared and asserted as that which proclaims that Jesus Christ died for *all* men without exception. A few plain texts will set this subject at rest. 'All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord hath laid upon Him the iniquity of us ALL,' Isa. liii, 6. 'The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for ALL, then were ALL dead,' 2 Cor. v, 14. On this text we may remark that the apostle considered the truth that Jesus Christ *died for all*, so incontrovertibly established that he assumes it as the ground of his conclusion respecting the universality of the spiritual death of *all men.* In his estimation, therefore, it was no subject of controversy whether or not the death of Christ was for *all men.* 'That He by the grace of God should taste death for every man,' Heb. ii, 9. 'There is one God, and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself a ransom for ALL,' 1 Tim. ii, 5, 6. These texts are amply sufficient, we apprehend, to establish the fact that Jesus Christ died to atone for the whole world.

And with a view to overthrow the position taken by the second class of predestinarians that He had no *intention* of finally benefitting other than the eternally elected by His death—notwithstanding its merits were sufficiently efficacious to procure their pardon—we will quote a few

texts to show that His *design* in dying for the world was in perfect correspondence with the gracious *end* for which He shed His blood at all. Thus in that famous text so often appealed to in John iii, 14–16, it is said at the conclusion, 'For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him MIGHT *be saved*.' Here it is declared that the design and intention of the Son of God was to save that identical world for which He came to shed His blood. It is said that John the Baptist 'came to bear witness of that Light,' (namely, Jesus Christ,) 'that ALL men through Him MIGHT believe,' John i, 7. 'We have seen and do testify, that the Father sent the Son TO BE THE SAVIOR OF THE WORLD,' 1 John iv, 14. And this is conformable to what the apostle says of God, that He 'will have ALL MEN to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth,' 1 Tim. ii, 4. These texts most assuredly vindicate the sincerity of God in respect to His *design* in sending His Son to be the Savior of the world; declaring in the same unequivocal manner that the design of His dying for the whole world was that *that self same* world MIGHT BE saved through Him, as it is asserted that 'He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world,' 1 John ii, 2.

Another important branch of this inquiry respecting the *extent* of the atonement is, whether the atonement was *conditional* or *unconditional*. We can conceive no way in which it was, in any sense, *conditional*. The coming of the Lord Jesus into our world, His sufferings and death, originated, as we have already seen, in the boundless love of God, and therefore depended not in any sense upon conditions either already done, or to be performed by man. The grand, sublime, and meritorious act by which the work of atonement was completed, was absolute and independent of all other causes and beings except that 'great love wherewith He loved us, even while we were dead in trespasses and sins' —only that the miserable and ruined state in which mankind were was the *occasion* of drawing forth and demonstrating this stupendous love in the manner in which it was exemplified in the death of Jesus Christ.

We consider therefore that the atonement made by Jesus Christ was an act of unconditional and unparalleled love,—such love as none but God the Father could show, and none but the Son of God could fully exemplify in the manner He did.

This branch of the inquiry involves also another question of no little importance. *Has the death of Jesus Christ unconditionally so satisfied the claims of Divine justice in behalf of man that he is now free from the condemnation of law?* We desire to look this question boldly in the face, and see whether we can furnish it with a satisfactory answer; for it seems to us that there is no part of this subject which

has been so much embarrassed and perplexed with bold assertions, and unsatisfactory reasonings, as this. In correspondence with the erroneous idea before mentioned, that Jesus Christ came into the world, suffered and died, to appease the anger of the Deity, it has been asserted by some that this anger was appeased by the claims of Divine justice being fully satisfied in behalf of the world of actual sinners by the death of Christ. Now we frankly confess that we cannot yield to this sentiment. It is, we believe, unauthorized by the word of God, and unsupported by any just and rational view of this subject. If the justice of Almighty God be fully satisfied in respect to man—to *all* men—both as regards their original and actual sin, by the atonement of Jesus Christ, then we would humbly ask, *Why* is the sinner held guilty? On what principle does the law condemn him? How can he be justly punished? And hence, *why is he called upon to repent?* The whole doctrine of actual guilt, of repentance, and justification by faith, is built on the supposition, that God has a just claim against the sinner, and that unless he repent and avail himself of the benefits of Christ's death, he cannot be saved, but is, and must for ever be, justly condemned.

We apprehend that one source of the erroneous views entertained upon this branch of the subject, is in confounding the *unconditional* with the *conditional* benefits of the atonement. Just so far as the unconditional benefits of the atonement extend, have the claims of Divine justice and law been satisfied in behalf of the sinful world, but no farther. Whatever was done by Jesus Christ absolutely and unconditionally in behalf of man, cannot be justly required to be done by us; and hence so far as any blessing flows to us as the pure effect of His death, independently of any condition performed by us, so far the claims of justice on us must be presumed to be satisfied.

That we may understand this subject clearly, let us turn our attention to the representation given of it by the Apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Romans. In the *fifth* chapter of this epistle the apostle institutes a comparison between Adam and Jesus Christ; and shows that just so far as the pernicious effects of the first transgression extended to *condemn* the human family, so far the beneficial effects of the atonement by Jesus Christ extended to *justify* them:—'As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life. For as by one man many were made sinners, so, by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous,' verses 18, 19. Here we have a key to unlock all those mysteries respecting the universal benefits of Christ's death. How are *many*, that is, *all mankind*, made

righteous? Surely not by acts of penitence and reformation. This is contrary to fact. In the sense in which the apostle intended to be understood, they were made righteous by *one*, that is, by the *obedience* of Jesus Christ unto *death*, even of that death upon the cross by which the atonement was made. Compare verse 18 with 10, 11. And it should be remarked that just so many were thus made righteous as had been made sinners by 'the offence' of Adam, who was the 'one that sinned,' by which 'many were dead,' verses 15, 16. Here, then, we have the unconditional benefits of Christ's death set forth in plain terms. Through His obedience unto death, all mankind were redeemed from the curse of the Adamic covenant; and through the redemption which was brought about by Jesus Christ, they were constituted righteous in the sight of God; that is, as we humbly conceive, freed from that condemnation which was brought upon them by the sin of Adam. In this way we maintain the justification and salvation of infants; not that they are born into the world free from the taint of original pollution; but as they had no actual participation in the *first offence*, so, without performing any of the conditions of the *second* covenant, they are made the partakers of its benefits. Thus the *all* of mankind are made or constituted righteous through the efficacy of Christ's death, independently of any act of their own, by an act of grace on the part of God. According to the reasoning of the apostle in this chapter, the *first* and *second* Adam are considered as public persons, each representing the human family; the one, by his act of disobedience, entailing misery upon them; the other, by His act of perfect obedience and death, procuring blessings for them; and that just so far as the effect resulting from the disobedience of the one should extend to their *condemnation*, so far the blessings flowing from the obedience of the other should extend to their *justification*. This view is supported by Wesley in his notes on chap. v, 14: 'Each of them,' says he, 'being a public person, and a federal head of mankind; the one the fountain of sin and death to mankind by his offence; the other of righteousness and life by his free gift.' To this interpretation of the apostle's argument agrees that of Professor Stuart. 'The actual and principal point of similitude is, that each individual respectively, viz. Adam and Christ, was the cause or occasion, in consequence of what he did, of greatly affecting the whole human race; though in an opposite way. Adam introduced sin and misery into the world.' * * * * 'On the other hand, Christ introduced righteousness or justification, and all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which are connected with a probationary state under a dispensation of grace, and with the pardoning mercy of God.' See his note on Rom. v, 14. This latter blessing, viz. 'the pardoning mercy of God,' cannot be numbered

among the unconditional blessings of God, only so far as it may refer to the pardoning the original offence; for it is promised to none but such as repent of their actual sins, and embrace the Lord Jesus with believing hearts. The views here expressed, however, fully corroborate the theory for which we contend, namely, that the benefits of the atonement made by Jesus Christ are co-extensive with the effects of Adam's sin, so that none shall be finally condemned *merely* because Adam transgressed the law of his God.

It is in this sense that we understand the apostle to say in chap. vi, 14: 'For ye are not under the law, but under grace,'—ye are not now under that law or covenant which was made with Adam, as the terms of your justification and salvation; but ye are under the gracious dispensation of mercy which has been opened and established by Jesus Christ, the unconditional benefits of which flow to all mankind, so as to deliver them from the proper penalty of the first covenant. In this sense the demands of the law are answered in the behalf of man. Justice and grace are hereby magnified; for justice itself makes no more claim on account of the original offence, because it is fully satisfied in what Jesus Christ, the second Adam, did and suffered in behalf of the first Adam. Hence it is said that 'He hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us.' It is certain, however, that actual sinners are not freed from the curse of the law, for it is written, 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the law to do them.' And the Scriptures are full of threatenings against evil doers; but how could this be if all the claims of law were answered in their behalf! Would it not be a flagrant act of injustice to inflict the penalty of the law upon its violators when that identical law had received its full satisfaction by the offices of a third person? And where is the scripture which affirms that Jesus Christ hath unconditionally answered the demands of law and justice in behalf of all actual sinners? If there be any such, they have escaped our observation.

But to support this view of the subject, appeal has been made to our acknowledged standards of doctrine and formularies of religion. The following twentieth article of religion has been supposed to be in opposition to the views here expressed: 'The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone. Wherefore the sacrifice of masses, in the which it is commonly said that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and dead, to have remission of sin or guilt, is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit.' A careful attention, however, to the phraseology of the article and to the times and circumstances in which it was framed, as well as the particular error it was designed to refute,

will enable us to see that it is perfectly compatible with the views we have expressed. The 'offering of Christ is that perfect—*satisfaction* for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual.'

In the first place we remark that here is nothing said about *satisfaction* to Divine *justice*, as though that had no more demand upon the impenitent transgressor. In what sense, then, was the one offering of Christ a *satisfaction* for all the sins of the world? A bare inspection into the meaning of the word *satisfaction* will enable us to understand this. *Satisfy* comes from *satis*, *enough*, and *facio*, to *do*, or to *make*, to *do enough;* and hence satisfaction refers to that *state of mind which results from a gratification of the desire.* The plain and most obvious meaning therefore is, that Jesus Christ, by offering Himself freely a sacrifice for us all, thereby *did amply enough* so to *satisfy* the claims of law and justice in respect to both original and actual sin, as that God can now remain just in every branch of His government, and yet be 'the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.'

We remark, secondly, that the latter part of the article fully justifies this interpretation. 'The sacrifices of masses' in the Roman Catholic Church were considered by that corrupt Church to be necessary to expiate the sins of the people. Against this unscriptural and absurd belief and practice the framers of this article enter their strong protest, calling it a '*blasphemous fable* and *dangerous deceit;*' and asserting, in direct opposition to this fabulous and deceitful practice of a fallen priesthood, that '*the offering of Christ once made*' is all-sufficient to atone for all sin—perfectly *enough* to satisfy the Divine mind, and to make it every way compatible with the Divine administration to pardon the sins of the penitent, without at all infringing upon the claims of justice or in any way restricting the operations of His goodness: and therefore the repetition of such sacrifices in the mass was not only unnecessary for any of the purposes of justice and love, but in direct opposition to the declarations of Scripture. This appears to be the most obvious sense of the article in question.

The same interpretation is to be put upon the words in the '*prayer of consecration*,' when the holy communion is administered, 'who made there (by his oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' The similarity of language in this quotation, and the one we have already commented on, shows them to be derived from the same source, to be aimed at the prostration of the same error and the establishment of the same great truth; namely, that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross made such perfect satisfaction to God, that no other sacrifices, such as those offered in the popish masses, were at all necessary to expiate sins. On the whole, the grand proposition contained

in these extracts is, *That the one offering of Jesus Christ is all that either justice or goodness required, or all that a God of infinite wisdom, power, and love demanded to vindicate the honor of His own government, and to make it every way consistent with His perfections, and with the greatest good of His moral kingdom, for Him to pardon, sanctify, and finally save the transgressors of His law, on condition that they repent, believe, love, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ;* and that as the sacrifices of the Jews, which were designed to have only a temporary existence, had now ceased for ever, so the pretended sacrifices of masses, offered by popish priests with a view to expiate sin, were wholly useless and derogatory to the honor of God.

That this is the true interpretation of those scriptures which relate to this subject, and of the articles already quoted, will appear evident when we notice the manifest absurdities which inevitably follow from the opposite interpretation. Let us but suppose it be asserted that Jesus Christ hath absolutely satisfied all the claims of justice and law in behalf of all sorts of sins and sinners: look at the consequences which must follow. If justice and law are perfectly satisfied, they can have no claims against the sinner; if no claims, there can be no condemnation; if no condemnation, there can be no need of repentance; if no need of repentance, there can be no room for pardon—no need of conversion, nor of justification or sanctification. Thus does this absurd doctrine annihilate at once all the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel—and indeed render the whole scheme of salvation a perfect nullity.

Moreover, if there be no justice to arrest the sinner—and there cannot be if justice is satisfied, unless we suppose the Almighty to require a double satisfaction to answer the justice of His claims—nor any law to condemn him—as there cannot be if the claims of the law have been fulfilled for him—then there is no room for the display of mercy to release the sinner, nor of grace to deliver him from the curse of the law. Such are the dreadful consequences of this *legal* scheme of *grace!* It destroys at a stroke, as before remarked, the whole scheme of salvation by grace. And surely doctrines which carry with them and bear on the very face of them consequences so mischievous must be founded in error.

Another consequence resulting from the doctrine we are combating is, that it represents God the Father as an inexorable tyrant, and God the Son as altogether selfish in his designs and conduct. That doctrine which says that God the Father was so wroth with the world after it had sinned, that He would not restore it to favor without receiving a full equivalent, most assuredly strips Him of the attribute of goodness; and represents Him in the stern aspect of an inexorable Being, refusing

to relinquish one iota of His claims upon rebel man, without receiving a full remuneration. Is this the conduct of a Being of infinite love! What would be said of an earthly potentate who should deal thus with his rebellious subjects? There stands the guilty culprit. The law condemns him. He confesses his guilt, and begs for mercy. His sovereign refuses a pardon until the utmost claims of the law are fully satisfied. His son or some other person offers to suffer the penalty of the law instead of the guilty offender, provided the offender shall be given to him as a reward of his sufferings. Is there any goodness, mercy, or grace, in all this transaction? Are not both the potentate and the substitute supremely selfish? Is not the whole a legal transaction, in which the parties concerned sell and buy for gain—the one who sells relinquishes his claim for a stipulated price; and the one who buys pays the sum demanded, and takes the subject of this traffic to reward himself for his labor? Is not the very idea of *grace* totally annihilated in all this fanciful transaction?

And shall we represent the adorable Author of Christianity as being actuated by feelings and views of a similar character? Has God the Father actually *sold* the human family to His Son for a *stipulated price?* And has the Son actually *paid* the price demanded, and thus *literally purchased* mankind, so as to remunerate Himself for what He did and suffered? Such a sentiment seems too absurd and shocking to be admitted for a moment. It seems to us that it divests the Godhead of all those perfections of wisdom, dignity, goodness, and grace, which we have been wont to ascribe to the Author of our Christianity, and converts Him into a mercenary being, repaying Himself for His losses by the sweat and blood of His innocent offspring!

These erroneous views of the doctrine of atonement are but relics of the exploded doctrine of Antinomianism, which represents God the Father as having made over a definite number of the human family to Jesus Christ in the eternal covenant of redemption, and that Jesus Christ undertook to redeem these, and these only; for which purpose He laid down His life as a sacrifice to Divine justice in their behalf: by this means all legal claims against them are for ever cancelled; so that they are, in the eternal Mind, absolved from all their sins, past, present, and to come. And allowing the premises to be founded in truth, that Jesus Christ by His death did fully satisfy all the claims of justice in behalf of these elect, it would fairly follow that they must inevitably be saved; for if justice has no claims against them, how can they be justly condemned? Their sins are all cancelled. And to assert the same thing respecting all mankind is but to assert the counterpart of Antinomianism; to carry the principle to its legitimate length is to establish the truth of Universalism. This says that God did that for

all men, which ultra Calvinism asserts He did for only a part; and both these errors originate from the same perverted view of the doctrine of atonement. It is, in fact, the very essence of Antinomianism to assert that all the claims of law and justice were absolutely fulfilled by the obedience and death of Jesus Christ in behalf of the human family; for if this be the true state of the business, then there is no longer any law either to condemn man, or to limit and bind his moral conduct; he is absolutely redeemed by Christ from all law, and therefore 'do what he will,' he must inevitably be saved.

Now in opposition to this graceless theory—for such we cannot but call it—let us view God the Father as moved, from pure, unbounded love, to provide a Savior for the world; and then view Jesus Christ, actuated by the same benevolent feeling, voluntarily coming to make an atonement for this world by His sufferings and death, by which means He did *fully enough* to satisfy the Divine Mind, to make it every way consistent with His wisdom, justice, and goodness, to pardon returning sinners; and we then behold an illustrious display of the Divine perfections in this sublime and gracious scheme of redemption—

> 'Nor dares a creature guess
> Which of the glories brightest shone,
> The justice or the grace.'

Some, whose imaginations are stronger than their judgments, have represented the Divine attributes as contending one with another—justice demanding the death of man, and mercy pleading for his release, until finally wisdom comes in and provides a victim in the Lamb of God to satisfy the stern demands of justice, at which mercy smiles, and justice yields its claims. All this may do for the imaginative mind of a poet; but it will not bear inspection. We know of no foundation in Scripture, nor in the nature of things, for these fanciful representations. God is immutable, and therefore never can change His purposes. As He is *now love*, so He was *eternally*. And as His sending His only Son to die for the world was an instance and a demonstration of this love, so is it an evidence that He *always* loved the world; and hence it follows irresistibly that the whole scheme of redemption, from beginning to end, was begun, carried on, and completed from love; and could not therefore have ever been designed or intended to conquer His hatred, or purely to fulfil the demands of eternal justice. And as we have seen that Jesus Christ, by His sufferings and death, made an atonement for *all* mankind, it follows that God is still loving to every man; and therefore that if any are not so benefited by this atonement as to be ultimately saved, the fault is their own; it is not because God either ever did or does now *hate* them, but simply because

they will not suffer His 'GOODNESS to lead them to repentance,' that they might believe in Christ and live.

Having thus shown the *extent* of the atonement, we come,

V. *To inquire into its benefits.* In this branch of the inquiry, it is necessary to distinguish between the *unconditional* and the *conditional* benefits of the atonement. We have already seen that the *atonement itself* was made by Jesus Christ, absolutely and unconditionally,—that His coming into our world in the manner He did, all His acts of wisdom and benevolence, His meritorious sufferings and death, and all that He did as *God manifested in the flesh*,—that all these things flowed from the unbounded sea of Divine goodness, and that they depended not upon any condition performed or to be performed by man for their having been done:—they were the pure effect of Divine benevolence.

From this view of the subject, it seems necessarily to follow that there are certain benefits which flow from these acts of benevolence, also *unconditionally*. Among these we reckon,

1. *Our existence.* If the curse denounced upon Adam had been actually inflicted on him, in its literal acceptation, he would have had no posterity. His life, therefore, seems to have been lengthened out, and consequently he was allowed to propagate his species, in consequence of the promise which was made to him immediately after he had sinned, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head. Personal existence, therefore, and all those temporal blessings which are connected with it, except such as are given as the reward of our industry, are among the unconditional benefits of the atonement.

2. As a consequence of this is the initial justification which, as a '*free gift*,' comes upon all mankind. This includes the justification of infants, so that they are not condemned merely on account of Adam's sin. In this sense the 'free gift' has come upon all unto justification of life. Infants are considered justified, not because they are innocent, or freed from the contamination of original sin, but because *all* men are included in the scheme of redemption, and because, having committed no actual sin, they participate in the unconditional benefits of Christ's death.

3. All the means of grace which are provided in the Gospel of our salvation. This includes the preaching of the Gospel, the invisible operations of the grace and Spirit of God upon the understandings and consciences of men, all the calls of mercy which are sent to induce sinners to repent, to believe in Jesus Christ, and to reform their lives. These are all sent to mankind, in the first instance, anterior to any condition performed by them, and therefore flow from the benevolence of the Deity, in consequence of the atonement and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ.

4. We may mention in the next place, the visitations of mercy with which all mankind are favored, even those nations who are not blessed with the light of the Gospel. When it was said unto Abraham, 'In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed,' a reference was unquestionably had to Jesus Christ; for, as the apostle Paul has said, 'He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy seed, which is Christ;' intimating, that whatever blessings were conferred or to be conferred on mankind, they flow through the Lord Jesus Christ as the result of His meritorious works, sufferings, and death. Hence, although the heathen know Him not, yet are they indebted to Him for the temporal and spiritual mercies which they enjoy; and those among them, who, living up to the light of their own dispensation, may be finally accepted in the sight of God, are so accepted through His atoning merits. And that the heathen are blessed with the invisible rays of light which emanate from Him who lighteth every man that cometh 'into the world,' who can doubt? That which hath been called '*natural conscience*' by some, the '*light of reason*' by others, and by some others, '*moral sense*,' is nothing more nor less than a conviction of truth wrought in the minds of all men by the '*gift of God through Jesus Christ*,' a measure of the Holy Spirit which is 'given to every man to profit withal.' Thus do the unconditional benefits of Christ's death and the effects of his powerful intercession, extend in a greater or lesser degree to all mankind, teaching them the necessity of denying themselves of all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and of living soberly and godly in this present world.

5. We might lastly mention that all the doctrines contained in Divine revelation flow to us as the unconditional benefits of the atonement. What had we, what had Abraham, Moses, or the prophets, the apostles and Christians, ever done to deserve, or to procure these inestimable blessings? Absolutely nothing. Hence all those sublime truths unfolded in the book of God, respecting His character and attributes, respecting the plan and methods of salvation, all relating to a future state of happiness and misery,—for 'life and immortality are brought to light by the Gospel'—must be classed among those unconditional benefits which are bestowed upon the Christian world, independently of and anterior to any condition performed by man.

We now have an open door—a door wide and continually open—for mankind to enter and take possession of those conditional benefits which are freely offered to them in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Among these we reckon,

1. *The power to repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ.* Though the power to apprehend and receive truth be natural to man—that is, God has created him or caused him to come into being with

original faculties to enable him to understand and appreciate Divine truth when it is presented to him—yet he can never repent of his sins, nor reform his life, much less believe in Jesus Christ with a heart unto righteousness, unless he faithfully and conscientiously improve the first convictions of truth which are presented to his mind. The original talent, whether it be a natural or gracious one, must be improved before it will increase in our hands. In consequence of the atonement of Jesus Christ, all men are blessed with a portion of Divine light or grace, by which they are empowered to perceive and apprehend the truth, to feel and know that they are sinners, and consequently that they need a pardon and a deliverance from their sins; and it is on the conscientious and faithful improvement of this gift that they are enabled to repent of their sins and return unto God.

To say that mankind have '*natural power*' to repent, to believe in Christ, and thus to save themselves, is to contravene all the laws of Divine revelation, and to render nugatory all the provisions of the Gospel of our salvation. No truth is more clearly revealed or more unequivocally expressed, nor more in accordance with every man's experience, than that which saith, 'Without me ye can do nothing.' Indeed, it seems to be one of the cardinal truths of Divine revelation, not only that every 'good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights,' but also that we '*are saved by grace*,' both from our natural disinclination to every thing spiritually good and from those actual sins which have rendered us guilty in the sight of God. Hence all Christians may and must adopt the language of the apostle, '*By grace I am what I am*,' and say furthermore that it is *only* 'through Christ strengthening me I can do all things.' The command of God to 'all men every where to repent,' to all men to '*make to themselves new hearts*,' no more proves that they have *natural* ability to repent and thus to comply with the command, than it does that they can make themselves holy independently of Divine grace, because God has said, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy.' Such commands are founded on the supposition that a gracious ability has been given to enable mankind to comply with them. The strivings of the Spirit, together with all the motives furnished in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, are superadded to the natural endowments of men, to awaken, to persuade, and to draw them to a sense of their duty, and to enable them to comply with the Divine requirements.

We think it is susceptible of moral demonstration that it is *naturally and totally impossible* for any man under the gracious provisions of the Gospel, either to repent or believe without the aid of Divine grace. Whatever man might have done under other circumstances, it is now as much impossible for sinners to see the truth

without spiritual light, or to receive Jesus Christ without Divine aid, as it is for a man at mid-day to see the objects which surround him in the visible world without the light of the sun. The impossibility arises from this fact:—The Sun of righteousness *has arisen upon our world* —his beams *have* illuminated every part of it—*all men*, of every tribe and nation, and *every individual* of each tribe and nation, *are* enlightened as they come into the world—they grow up to maturity, and die under the rays of light which beam forth from this glorious Sun of righteousness. These are facts plainly and unequivocally revealed in the Gospel—just as plainly revealed as it is that Jesus Christ 'tasted death for every man,' and that He 'is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' Now so long as this is the case, so long as *grace is* given to *every* man, and so long as the true light *does shine into all hearts*, how can *any* one *see without* that *light*, or repent without that grace! We therefore affirm that *God cannot*, until He entirely change His method of salvation, or withhold from the world those blessings which He now vouchsafes to it, either *require* or even *permit any man* to repent without grace or believe in Christ without the aid of the Holy Spirit. *It is impossible in the nature of things.* You might as well plunge a man into the ocean, and then require him to swim without water, as to bring a man into a world so filled with the mercies of God, rendered so resplendent by the rays of the Divine glory, and then require him to obey the injunctions of the Gospel independently of the helps which that Gospel so manifestly affords. The reason of this impossibility is not founded so much in the natural incapacity of man to apprehend and follow the dictates of Divine truth—though this incapacity unquestionably exists—as it is in the ample provision which our gracious God has made for the present and future salvation of all men. The doctrine, therefore, which has been recently set afloat by a certain class of divines, *of the natural ability of all men to repent and love God without grace*, is a reflection upon the character of God, contravenes the economy of grace, and indeed renders nugatory the entire system of salvation as revealed in the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A power to exercise repentance toward God is therefore reckoned among the conditional benefits of the atonement of Jesus Christ.

2. It is equally manifest that the faith whereby a sinner is justified; or more properly *justification itself;* is another of the conditional benefits of the atonement. Believing in Jesus Christ is all along represented in the sacred Scriptures as the condition of our justification. 'He that believeth shall be saved,'—'he that believeth not shall be damned.' 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' The import of this language cannot be well misunderstood. It plainly

implies that justification, though it be an 'act of free grace, whereby He absolveth us from all our sins,' is granted only on condition of our believing in Jesus Christ 'with a heart unto righteousness.' And hence Christ is said to be the 'end of the law,'—that is, the scope and design of the law is answered—'for righteousness to every one that believeth.' This doctrine completely overturns the theory of the Universalist. Though the atonement is amply sufficient to make it consistent for God to pardon all actual sinners on the condition of their receiving a pardon by faith in Jesus Christ, yet it remains equally true, that all those who obstinately refuse thus to accept of the profiered pardon, cannot be ultimately benefited by the atonement made by Jesus Christ. It is just as plainly revealed and as unequivocally declared that 'He that believeth not shall be damned,' as it is that Jesus Christ expired on the cross for the sin of the world. And hence the *conditionality* of our salvation through the atoning merits of Christ is incontrovertibly established, while the doctrine of *unconditional* election, and of *universal* salvation falls to the ground, as a necessary consequence of the firm establishment of the former doctrine. Justification, therefore, must be classed among the *conditional* benefits of the atonement.

3. The same must be said of *sanctification*. As the former is received by faith alone, so the blessing of sanctification is received in answer to the prayer of faith. It is indeed promised to those who 'walk in the light as He is in the light;' of such, and only such, it is said that He 'cleanseth them from all unrighteousness.' It is to the 'just' persevering believer, that the 'light shineth more and more unto the perfect day.' Though we can claim no blessing as the *reward* of our faithfulness, yet God has seen it best in the wise arrangement of His method of saving sinners, to suspend the bestowment of this, as well as all other conditional blessings, on the condition of our persevering in the 'work of faith, the labor of love, and the patience of hope.' To all such the Lord Jesus becomes 'sanctification and redemption.'

4. We may add, that our preservation in the perils of temptation, our deliverances in the hour of danger, all the consolations of the Holy Spirit, and all the supplies of wisdom and firmness, and grace to help in all times of need, are afforded us in answer to prayer, and on condition of our 'steadfastness in the apostles' doctrine,' 'in watchings and fastings.' Though all these blessings flow to us in virtue of the merits of the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ, they are withheld from the disobedient and unthankful, and bestowed only upon those who are 'the willing and obedient.'

5. Eternal glory at the right hand of God, is bestowed on those only who persevere to the end in the path of holy obedience; for thus runs

the inspired promise, 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'

And how much the spread of the Gospel depends upon the faithfulness of Christians, who can tell? It seems to be certain, however, that the conversion of the world to God, depends in a great measure, upon the manner in which Christians, and more especially Christian ministers, improve their time and talent. This is an awful consideration! Look at those portions of the globe, where once the light of the Gospel shone, where the 'golden candlesticks' were once held in the hands of Jesus Christ—Now dark and desolate. Why is that light extinguished? Why are these candlesticks removed? Will any one boldly attribute these sorrowful events solely to the sovereignty of God? He dare not. May not the reason then be found in the unfaithfulness of those upon whom that light once shone, and for whose benefit these candlesticks were lighted up? Hence they were removed from among them, and a long and a dismal night has succeeded.—An awful warning to all Christian people to listen to the tremendous admonition of the Savior, 'If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness.' If the light itself be turned into darkness, how inexpressibly great indeed must be that darkness!—When to the natural darkness of the mind is added the darkness occasioned by the total withdrawment of all Gospel light, who can penetrate the dense cloud of ignorance, superstition, and idolatry, which will gather around the human mind! This tremendous curse, with all its attendant misery, temporal and spiritual, has been long inflicted upon those nations who so shamefully abused the light when they had it.

This also affords an admonitory lesson for Christians in the present day. While they are called upon by the most sacred ties, by the most propelling of all motives, and by the most awful of all warnings, to 'let their light so shine before men, that they may glorify their Father who is in heaven,' they are invited by the same strong considerations, to use their best exertions to extend the blessings of Christianity among their fellow men. If they would avoid the curse of barrenness of soul from being inflicted on themselves, and avert the judgments of Almighty God from their posterity—such as have fallen upon the inhabitants of Asia and Africa—they must faithfully improve their opportunities of doing good, of 'building up the waste places of Zion,' and of contributing according to their ability, to drive the ploughshare of the Gospel through all lands, and rest not contented until they see the 'good seed of the kingdom' sown in their furrows and ridges; and then, if the present race of Christians do not live to see it, their posterity shall witness, instead of sterility in their own souls, and blindness and darkness on all around them, a plentiful harvest gathered into the garner of

God. These are the great and innumerable blessings procured for the human family by the atonement of Jesus Christ; and hence, if we do not come into the full possession of them, it must be our own fault; and therefore they are conditionally bestowed upon mankind.

Again we say, What awful considerations are these! Justification from the guilt of sin—sanctification by the blood of the everlasting covenant—preservation in holiness through life—everlasting happiness after death—the establishment and universal spread of the Gospel among men—all depend, under the blessing of God, upon the manner in which we improve our time and talent. Should not this awaken us to diligence? Should not this consideration alarm our fears, and incite us to apply ourselves to every means within our power to bless ourselves and our fellow men, with 'all the fulness of the Gospel of God?'

What a glorious light burst upon our world when the Lord Jesus Christ made His appearance in it! The promise of His coming had been made to Adam—He had been seen by Abraham—sung by Moses and the prophets—beheld more intimately by John the Baptist—until at length His wondering disciples were saluted with the overpowering language, 'Behold my hands, and my feet, be no longer faithless, but believing.' He had been dimly typified under the law, and His atonement obscurely represented by its bloody sacrifices; and hence many prophets and kings had waited for this 'desire of all nations,' and this 'salvation of God.' But when He came in His own proper person, and exhibited the marks of the promised Messiah in His own character and conduct, the ancient symbols were broken—the types and shadows fled away—the prophecies were explained—and the high expectations of those who were waiting for the 'consolation of Israel' were realized. And although His death upon the cross seemed to disappoint the hopes of His timid disciples, yet the effulgence of that light which issued from the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea on the morning of the resurrection, dissipated their fears, and shed a radiance at once cheering and delightful, upon all those predictions respecting His humiliation and sufferings, which seemed to be of doubtful interpretation. He who was 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,' now demonstrated the Divinity of His person, and thus confirmed the trembling hopes of his disciples in His ability to 'save them to the uttermost.' The darkness, therefore, of that day which shrouded the Lord Jesus while he writhed in agony upon the cross, was succeeded by such a ray of light as the world never before beheld, and which has continued to enlighten the wandering sons of men even to the present hour, and it shall continue until time shall be no more.

But it is time to bring this subject to a close. Many thoughts, in-

deed, rush upon the mind as naturally connected with the Scriptural doctrine of atonement. As was said at the commencement, this doctrine appears to be the sun of the spiritual firmament, which gives light and heat to all the inferior planets which roll in the symbolical heavens. And surely a sun from which is emitted such diversified and resplendent rays, must be immensely great, and inconceivably glorious. Hence the Godhead of the Lord Jesus is clearly inferable from the doctrine of the atonement. Surely every one must respond to the language of the poet,

'None but GOD *such* LOVE can show.'

The proper deity of Jesus Christ is so inseparably connected with the Scriptural doctrine of atonement that those who reject the one, seem necessarily to lay aside the other. Hence the various classes of Unitarians, whether they rank among the Arians, Socinians, or Deists, uniformly discard the doctrine of the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and its correlative truths, justification by faith in His name, the new birth, and sanctification by the blood of the everlasting covenant; and as these must be classed among the most distinguishing and vital truths of Christianity, the rejection of the atonement of Jesus Christ tends to sap at once the very foundation of our most holy religion. 'Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth.' See how imperceptibly, but not less surely, those undermine Christianity who strike at the Godhead of its Author! By stripping Him of the robe of divinity they divest Christianity also of its peculiar garments, even of that glorious attire by which alone it is distinguished among other systems of religion. Take away the atonement for the sins of the world, by Jesus Christ, and you reduce Christianity to a system of mere morality, without motive or energy, as powerless to renovate the perverted nature of man, and as inefficacious to pardon and wash away his sins, as heathenism itself.

But let it come supported by its living Head, as 'God over all, blessed for ever,' veiling for a short season only the splendor of His divinity in the mantle of humanity, that he might 'suffer for the sins of the people,' and you have an omnipotent arm on which you may lean and be safe. Let Christianity be illuminated by that effulgence which burst from behind the clouds which eclipsed its glories for a few moments while He hung upon the cross, and you behold a bright 'light to enlighten the Gentiles,' 'a pillar of fire,' to conduct you safely through this wilderness to the Canaan above, where the triune God reigns and shines in glory everlasting. Let those meritorious streams of 'water and blood,' which issued from Immanuel's side, but touch the heart of the sinner, and he is cleansed from his foul leprosy, and leaping, and

walking, and praising God, he goes on his way rejoicing toward the new Jerusalem.

We cannot close this interesting subject without adverting to the invaluable volume of revelation from whence we derive our knowledge of this important and soul-cheering doctrine. That man is guilty and morally diseased, is a truth which may be, and we believe actually is, tested by every man's experience. We feel in our own hearts the rankling of inordinate desire, of irregular passions and appetites; and we see symptoms of the same disordered nature in all with whom we have intercourse. We feel also, that in the same proportion as we suffer ourselves to be led by these unruly passions, we contract guilt and condemnation. So far our experience goes, and no farther. While we groan under an innate sense of our disease, we see no adequate remedy. Guided, however, by the light of Divine revelation, we look up to the cross on which Jesus Christ expired, and we see issuing from beneath it a stream of pure and living water which, we are assured, 'is for the healing of the nations.' Of this water we drink, and feel that our disease is removed, and a healthy and vigorous action is felt throughout all our moral powers. For a knowledge of this sovereign remedy, as well as the means to make it effectual to our salvation, we are indebted solely to the book of Divine revelation. With what gratitude, therefore, should we receive and study the pages of this holy book!

Nor does this doctrine *nullify*, but *establish*, the law. 'Do we make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law.' If there be no law to condemn the sinner, he needs no Gospel to pardon and justify him. 'By the law is the knowledge of sin.' Take away the law and its sanctions, and you render the whole doctrine of atonement perfectly nugatory; for as 'sin is the transgression of the law,' if there were no law to transgress, there would be no necessity of the blood of atonement to pardon our transgressions.

Those, therefore, who attempt to annihilate the law under a pretence of exalting the Gospel, by thus rendering the Gospel unnecessary, destroy both law and Gospel at a stroke. Indeed the whole system of the Gospel, as contradistinguished from the law, properly so called, most manifestly presupposes the inefficiency of the latter to save us, and for this good reason—because it is armed with naught but terror for its transgressors; but if it were abrogated by the coming of Jesus Christ, so that it is no longer binding upon mankind, surely its terrors would cease to alarm their consciences. Man's inability in his unregenerate state to obey the precepts of the law forms no valid obection against its perpetually binding influence. On the contrary it is this very thing which renders the Gospel necessary for our salva-

tion: 'For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, hath for sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit.'

Note to page 274.—'I pray *you be ye reconciled to God.*' There is a sense undoubtedly, in which Jesus Christ '*reconciled the Father to us.*' When we understand *reconciliation* in the sense of being brought into *union* or *fellowship*, it is certain that Jesus Christ reconciled the Father to us; and does still reconcile Him to sinners, by His continued intercession; for without the death and intercession of Jesus Christ, no such *union* or *fellowship* could have been brought about. Or if we understand it as *approving* of what is done, then God the Father is reconciled to us through the death of His Son, whenever we repent and believe in Jesus as our almighty Savior. But if we understand by reconciliation any *change of disposition*, purpose or design in God, in no such sense could Jesus Christ have reconciled the Father to the world. The change must be effected in us; not in God. We are at enmity with Him; and not He with us: and therefore the enmity must cease on our part, and not on His. Moreover, when it is said that the 'wrath of God abideth on us,'—that He 'is angry with the wicked every day,'—that He 'will render vengeance to His enemies,' it certainly supposes that He is dissatisfied with the conduct of sinners; and therefore that the demands of law and justice are by no means satisfied in their behalf—not, however, that we are to understand by such like expressions that God is actuated by a *hatred* to the souls of sinners, or that He is possessed of that *wrathful passion* by which an angry man is distinguished; but simply that He is unreconciled to the wicked conduct of sinners, and that He stands opposed to them, notwithstanding all that Jesus Christ has done, and will finally punish them unless they 'flee from the wrath to come,' by a timely repentance and reformation.

REVIEW OF REESE ON THE CHOLERA.

A plain and practical Treatise on the Epidemic Cholera, as it prevailed in the City of New-York, in the Summer of 1832; *including its nature, causes, treatment, and prevention. Designed for popular instruction. To which is added, by way of Appendix, a brief Essay on the medical use of Ardent Spirits; being an attempt to show that Alcohol is as unnecessary and mischievous in sickness as in health. By David Meredith Reese, M. D.—Conner & Cooke, New-York.*

In our number for October, Vol. III., New Series, we gave an historical account of this frightful disease, from its commencement in India, in 1817, down to its arrival in this country, together with a short account of its ravages on our own continent during the summer of 1832. The high excitement which was produced by the sudden appearance, and desolating progress of this disease, has left indelible impressions upon the public mind, and induced fearful forebodings of its return. Indeed it has already returned. Contrary, however, to its course last year, it has begun its ravages where before it terminated, and is now travelling from New Orleans up the banks of the Mississippi and Ohio; and the probability is that it will again sweep over many portions of our land.

It is not to be wondered at that the appearance and progress of such a desolating foe to human life should strongly excite the attention of professional men. Like the yellow fever, and other epidemics, it has given birth to conflicting theories among different members of the medical faculty, respecting its origin, character, and mode of treatment; showing that even those who assiduously and exclusively devote themselves to the healing art, are often baffled in their estimation of the causes of many diseases which afflict humanity; and also that their efforts, however wisely and diligently applied, cannot prevent the execution of the original decree denounced upon rebellious man.—'*Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.*' During, however, the prevalence of this awful scourge, as well as since its temporary cessation, a number of treatises have made their appearance on the character, and the probable means of curing the cholera, respecting the relative merits of which, not being physicians ourselves, we are, of course, incompetent to decide with accuracy. So far, however, as we are able to judge, from what we have witnessed of the character and ravages of this disease, we think very favorably of the treatise before us. The author had ample opportunities of testing his theory by an extensive practice during the prevalence of the epidemic in our city last summer; and though it could not be expected that all would be cured of a disease so new, and of such a malignant character, yet we have reason to believe that Dr. Reese was quite successful in arresting the

disease in numerous instances, and of restoring his patients to health, as well as preventing, by a timely application of remedies, its fatal influence upon the system.

One objection against putting works of this character into the hands of people generally is, that the uninitiated into the science of medicine are unable to understand them. In the treatise before us this objection ceases, in a great measure, to exist. For though it is hardly possible to avoid the use of all the technicalities of the science in treating on the causes, symptoms, and remedies of disease, yet the author has happily succeeded in adapting his style to the comprehension of the generality of readers, so that they may understand and profit by what they read. And those who are accustomed to the author's style of writing will at once recognize in this the same clearness, terseness, and sprightliness, by which his writings are distinguished, as well as the same zealous endeavor to mend the morals, while he labors to enlighten the understandings of his readers.

In front of the title page are the outlines of a map of the city of New-York, on which are depicted the several places where the cholera at first and mostly prevailed, and where the several hospitals for the accommodation of the sick poor, were located. From this it appears that it commenced its ravages in *Cherry* and *Roosevelt* streets, within the circle of the fourth ward, though almost simultaneously it made its appearance in *Reed*, *Washington*, and *Duane* streets, in the third ward, and at that sink of iniquity, a disgrace to a civilized city, the *Five Points*, where are congregated, in crude and disgusting masses, those whose 'steps take hold on hell:' These several places, being at some distance from each other, furnish Dr. Reese with an argument in favor of his theory, that the cholera, though *infectious*, is not *contagious*, but is indigenous to any place which is previously prepared for its generation by the infectious state of the atmosphere, from filth and intemperance. It very soon broke out in other sections of the city equally distant from each other as the former, such as *Greenwich Village*, *Bellevue*, *Laurens* street, *Corlaer's Hook*, *Yorkville*, *Haerlem*, and finally in almost all parts of the city. To the reader of this book, the accompanying diagram, with its explanations, will afford facilities in tracing the cholera to the places where it first commenced its attack, and the manner in which it made its frightful progress into different parts of the city, and the adjacent villas.

Having thus presented to the reader a concise view of the origin and progress of the cholera in the city of New-York, and stated the various opinions of professional men respecting its character, the author gives his own opinion in the following terms:—

'I conceive the essence of cholera to consist of a retirement of the circulating mass of the blood from the external surface of the body,

and its consequent accumulation in the larger and internal vessels. This is the first symptom in all cases, whether with or without observation, and indeed is the only diagnostic which is uniform and infallible in the early period of the disease. Indeed, a coldness of the skin is often complained of either before or at the commencement of the diarrhœa, regarded as the first stage of the disease, and arises from the absence of the blood from the capillary vessels. This loss of balance between the external and internal circulation soon results in an inverted excitement, during which the insensible perspiration from the skin ceases, and in bad cases the exhalations from the lungs are partially or altogether suppressed; and hence the voice is so strangely altered, even before asphyxia has supervened. In many instances nature is successful in expelling the morbid impression by the diarrhœa, especially if vomiting be superinduced early in its course, either spontaneously or by the salt and water or mustard emetic, as was frequently and judiciously exhibited.

The prostration of the nervous system, by the epidemic influence, is not only found to accompany the premonitory diarrhœa, but is sensibly felt by those who, by judicious means of prevention, avoid the exciting causes, and entirely escape the disease. A sense of exhaustion, however, if it be accompanied by a coldness of the skin, and intestinal evacuations of a watery character which are large and frequent, will, unless speedily relieved, develope the alarming characteristics of cholera.

Thus it will be perceived that I regard the general and almost universal morbid sensations complained of during the prevalence of cholera, as only giving evidence of liability to an attack, by the operation of the remote cause having excited a predisposition, or epidemic constitution, as it is sometimes called. And more or less of the signs of this predisposition were found to exist in the whole community wherever the epidemic has prevailed. It was known by a disturbance of the digestive organs, a sense of heat, fulness, and uneasiness or pain in the abdomen, a furred tongue, a sense of general debility, with occasional cramps of the muscles, especially at night. And thousands in New-York, and elsewhere, felt these evidences of predisposition, and yet altogether protected themselves from an attack by prudence and discretion in their habits of living, and were not even afflicted with a single "premonitory symptom."

In like manner, the diarrhœa and other premonitory symptoms, as they are called, are all to be understood as only giving evidence that some one or more of the exciting causes has been applied, and that, under the epidemic constitution or predisposition, the disease itself is about to be developed, unless the indications of nature be followed, and the morbid agency controlled. Still, however, the patient cannot be said to have cholera, nor will he yet suffer from an attack, if judicious means be used. Hence it has been truly affirmed that in this stage the epidemic need never be fatal, and accordingly preventive treatment is urged upon all who suffer from premonitory symptoms as indispensable. I insist, however, that the thousands who have been cured of these symptoms, have not suffered an attack of cholera.

I apply the term, therefore, only to that train of phenomena which

present themselves subsequently, if the premonitory diarrhœa be present, which is by no means universal. For in many cases, particularly during the rise and at the climax of the epidemic, the attack has been sudden, and even instantaneous, and the patient is "seized with the cholera," or in the language of many of the patients in Paris, who represent themselves as struck with a blow: "Frappé comme d'un coup de baton." In India, by the testimony of Dr. Johnson, there were no premonitory symptoms.

Most generally, however, it must be confessed that, in this country, the onset of the disease has been preceded by diarrhœa of some hours, and frequently of some days' duration. In all cases in which this premonitory diarrhœa ceases spontaneously, is checked by art, or is inadequate to the expulsion of the disease, which is often the fact in bad cases, an attack of cholera, properly so called, will supervene. The patient will now have pain in the bowels and in the chest, vomiting, with coldness of the skin, tongue, and breath, increasing prostration of strength, spasms in the limbs, and often in the abdomen and thorax, and the pulse will be found to be laborcd, and indicate that state of the circulation known among physicians as one of suffocated excitement. If these symptoms be not promptly relieved by art, the patient will very soon fall into a state of *collapse*, as it is vaguely called, evinced by asphyxia, or a total loss of pulse at the wrist, impeded or obstructed breathing, an increase in the character and extent of the spasms, a profuse, morbid perspiration over the whole body, with a thirst that is intolerable, a total suppression of the urinary and other secretions, and an alarming increase in the vomiting or purging, or both.

These are the true characteristic symptoms of cholera, and without the most of these the patient cannot be said to have the disease, whatever signs of predisposition, or premonitory symptoms, he may have presented. When most or all of these alarming features have subsisted over three or four hours, the case will often defeat the best directed efforts. If, however, they have just appeared, or have existed but for an hour or two, they are not so formidable as has often been represented. Into this state, justly denominated the *incipient collapse*, most of the cases had fallen in the early progress of the epidemic, before physicians were called, and the treatment of such symptoms was therefore the first lesson we had to learn.

The reaction and consecutive fever, of which so much has been said, I have already affirmed to have no peculiarity by which they can be distinguished from these morbid phenomena when they are the sequela of other congestive diseases; and their obstinacy and danger are ordinarily the result of previous neglect or mismanagement. Experience has amply demonstrated that even after convalescence commences, by a single act of imprudence or excess in eating, and especially if any irritating medicine be given as a purgative or otherwise, the most disastrous results will follow. Several instances occurred within my knowledge, in cases which had decidedly convalesced, that by taking a single glass of wine or brandy to strengthen them, or a simple dose of rhubarb or castor oil, injudiciously prescribed by some officious neighbor, a consecutive fever was ushered in which resisted every remedy, and terminated fatally in a few days. In some few cases the

same result was observed to follow by indulging that morbid hunger which attends convalescence, by a single meal. These and similar facts show the importance of the greatest possible caution in those who have passed safely through the severe form of the disease, and that during their recovery their food should be of the simplest kind, and but sparingly taken; and above all, that they should take no kind of stimulating drink or irritating medicine.

Relapses were seldom if ever observed to occur; but mismanagement, soon after recovery, was followed by this fever of which we have been speaking. Numerous instances of a second attack of cholera were witnessed, some of which were fatal; but such second attack was invariably the result of gross imprudence or excess, and generally in the use of ardent spirits.'

Next comes the consideration of the *causes* of the cholera. And here the author combats, we think successfully, the theory of its *contagiousness*:—

'The history of this formidable disease, in the various countries which have been successively the theatres of its ravages, has uniformly furnished the same evidences of its origin, spread, and fatality; and therefore when we become acquainted with its course in any one city or country, we are prepared to understand its nature and causes as fully as we could by the most detailed account of successive visitations in different and distant places. For this reason I shall not dwell in detail upon its history in the various countries where its track has been one of devastation and death; nor shall I trace its progress through our own country, many portions of which have been visited during the last year; but must refer to the works professedly written on this department of the subject. But I propose to myself only a brief summary of the etiology of cholera, as it prevailed in the city of New-York during the months of July, August, and September, 1832, and refer to its history in other places only by way of illustration.

Among the supposed causes of cholera, the opinion most general among the unprofessional, and one which receives the sanction of many distinguished physicians in other countries, and of a few such in America, is, that it arises from a specific *contagion*, and of course that it is communicated from one place to another by persons or things, as the small pox and other contagious fevers are propagated. The obvious and irreconcilable difficulties in the way of this doctrine, exhibited with uniformity in every place where it has prevailed, have, however, compelled its advocates to invent a modification of their theory, and hence they have adopted the terms "*contingent contagion*," as expressive of the opinion that it is contagious *only under some peculiar atmospheric circumstances*. This theory, however, only involves the subject in still greater obscurity. For if the disease be strictly a contagious fever, it can originate from no other cause than *contagion*, and hence the term *contingent*, as applied to contagion, in this case is absurd. Even its advocates concur in admitting that it may and often does originate from other causes, and that it afterward *becomes* contagious by reason of adventitious circumstances, though it is *not* so without them. This is virtually an abandonment of the known laws of contagion, and seems

to be the dernier resort of those who have not the magnanimity to abandon their favorite theory, though a multitude of facts have demonstrated its fallacy.

That the cholera arises from contagion, under *any* circumstances, is only believed in this country by those few physicians who are professed contagionists, and who prove their consistency by applying their doctrine to epidemic dysentery, typhus, puerperal, and yellow fever, as well as cholera. The facts, however, occurring in the late visitation of this latter epidemic, have caused many of these to renounce their preconceived opinions, and it may be safely affirmed that, among the intelligent and enlightened, both in and out of the profession, there exists very little confidence in the contagious nature of cholera at the present time.

It is evident to the most superficial observer, that we must look elsewhere for the causes of cholera than to emigration or importation, as the disease has appeared in cities and countries whose *cordon sanitaire* and quarantine regulations have successfully protected them from other contagious diseases for centuries; and it has also originated in individuals, and under circumstances where the supposition of contagion is excluded by absolute impossibility.

The numerous opinions which have been started by Asiatic, European, and American physicians, have been so various and even opposite in their character, that it would only perplex the reader even to name them. The remote, predisposing, exciting, and proximate causes have all been named by different writers, and scarcely two have agreed concerning either, although equally dogmatical. Hence the mystery which has been thrown around the whole subject, the terrors existing in the community, and the signal fatality which has attended the disease. Even among those who have become convinced that it is strictly an epidemic disease, many have imagined that it defies all analogy, and therefore represent it as a "*nova pestis.*"

It has been long known that some peculiar state, condition, or modification of the atmosphere, whether with or without other meteorological phenomena referable to the air and the soil, does occasionally result in the prevalence of disease over certain districts of country. And it is equally well known that the disease thus superinduced bears a striking resemblance in each individual case, and that these cases often multiply until scarcely a family or individual escapes more or less of its influence. When only a small section of a city or neighborhood is thus visited, while other adjacent sections are entirely exempt, we attribute it to some local cause capable of affecting only the atmosphere in its immediate vicinity, and we call such diseases *endemical* or *endemics.* But when the whole of a city and parts adjacent, or a larger district of country, is involved in the visitation, we say they are *epidemics.* In what this obnoxious something in the air consists, this blight, poison, or whatever it may be called, is a problem yet unsolved, and for the obvious reason that its existence is not cognizable by the senses, nor can it be detected by analysis, but is known only by its effects.

All these endemics or epidemics are viewed by the uninformed as contagious or catching, and for no other earthly reason than because

several members of the same family are affected at or near the same time. This was once the fact among the common people when intermittents or agues and fevers first began to prevail; they were deemed catching or contagious; and were such attacks equally fatal with cholera, they would still excite equal consternation in new-settled countries, and cause the like abandonment of relatives and friends.

By the term contagion, however, physicians understand a disease communicable from a sick to a healthy body by contact, and of course transmissible to any distance by persons or things, such as small pox, for example, which is a contagious fever. Among the distinct characteristics of such fevers the three following may be considered most prominent:—

1. They arise from no other source than contagion. This is invariable; and hence, if a contagious fever could be once exterminated from the earth, its re-appearance would be impracticable from any known cause.

2. They attack but once during life, and the subject is ever after free from a return, however much exposed. The exceptions to this rule are so few and far between, that they do not invalidate the general rule, but rather prove it.

3. They are capable of being communicated by engrafting or inoculation; and this is the case, not only with fevers of this class, but even with local diseases which are contagious, as small pox, cow pox, &c. This, therefore, plainly distinguishes contagious from infectious epidemics; for the latter cannot be inoculated, having been tried with cholera, yellow fever, and many others.

Now, as neither of these constituents of a contagious fever are found to be true of cholera, there can be no foundation for regarding it as *contagious*.

But the term *infection* is one often confounded with contagion, and for want of the necessary discrimination here much ambiguity has been created on this subject. A contagious disease may be justly denominated infectious, but a disease strictly *infectious* cannot possibly be contagious. All endemics and epidemics are said to be infectious, by which term we mean that the district of country suffering under them is infected by the cause whence they originate. For example, a neighborhood is laboring under the prevalence of ague and fever, and the air is so *infected* with the cause of this malady, that most, if not all, of those who visit it in health contract the disease. But the diseased person, or any number of such, may be removed into a healthy neighborhood, and they cannot infect the air, nor can any or all of them propagate the malady to others who have not been within the infected district. This is the case with nearly all our vernal and autumnal epidemics, such as bilious, intermittent, remittent, and malignant fevers. Hence they are no longer viewed as contagious, and quarantine regulations to prevent their introduction are now nearly exploded in every enlightened country.

But although we know enough of these and kindred epidemics to abjure all apprehension of their contagion; and although they are now every where regarded as strictly atmospheric, and their origin traced to exhalations from the decomposition of animal or vegetable sub-

stances, under the combined influence of moisture and heat; and although barometrical and meteorological science has thrown some light on the cause and causation of these maladies; yet the precise nature of this miasma, malaria, or whatever it may be called, has hitherto baffled investigation, and seems to defy our scrutiny. Still, however, we know enough of its *modus agendi* to assist us in detecting and removing the sources whence it originates, and in controlling and removing its effects upon the public health, by the appropriate means within the power of enlightened science; and this knowledge, imperfect as it is, has every where diminished the severity and fatality of such epidemics, as well as prevented their more frequent recurrence.

That there are several striking points of analogy between the several epidemics so familiar to us in America, and the cholera of the last season, as it prevailed among us, must have been obvious to all who have made observations upon the one and the other. The peculiarity of the previous season, the alternate heat and moisture of the air and surface of the earth, the unusual influx and reflux of the tides, have one or all been remarked in every place. The great *prevalence* and *spread* of the disease in those sections of different cities where intermittents and remittents are usually common, and the almost entire *exemption* of those sections which had been cleansed, ventilated, and filled up, to prevent the recurrence of yellow fever where it had formerly appeared, as in the first ward of New-York, and Fell's Point in Baltimore, are facts which are too obvious to escape notice, and which are strongly corroborative of this analogy. Besides the sudden disappearance of the cholera on the *first frost*, as seen in Canada, in our several cities, and especially in New-Orleans, cannot fail to remind us of its similarity, in this respect, with the yellow fever and our other autumnal epidemics. And the still more striking fact, that the yellow fever appeared in New-Orleans, as usual, during the last season, and was soon followed by the cholera, both diseases for a time raging together; and in a more concentrated state of the morbific cause, the former giving place to the latter; are circumstances which go very far to show that both diseases originated from the same cause, differing only in the degree of its intensity.

Besides these several points of resemblance, the particular locations in which the cholera exhibited its most appalling features, and resulted in the most signal fatality in every city where it prevailed, demonstrated very clearly that its origin was to be traced altogether to local causes. Witness the localities of the Five Points, Corlaer's Hook, Laurens-street, Harlaem, &c, in New-York; and similar facts were exhibited in the neighborhood of the brick yards at Philadelphia; Ruxton-lane, in Baltimore; and on the line of the canal, near Washington, D. C. Witness also the memorable mortality at the alms house at Poughkeepsie, Bellevue in New-York, and the Arch-street prison, Philadelphia. All these are so many clear and convincing arguments in favor of the fact, that the exhalations from filthy and ill-ventilated streets, alleys, and houses, and those from crowded apartments where personal cleanliness or wholesome fare is neglected, absolutely originated the malady, and also gave it its alarming character.'

'The following table exhibits the articles of food and drink which,

in this city, were distinctly observed to excite the attacks of cholera in individual cases among the predisposed. They are placed as nearly as possible in the order in which they were observed to produce this result:—

DRINKS.

Ardent spirits,
Beer and ale,
Wine.

FOOD.

Pork, fresh and salt
Lobsters and crabs,
Green corn,
Clams and oysters,
Watermelons,
Cucumbers,
Strawberries,
Peaches and pears,
Blackberries,
Cherries,
Most other fruits,
Beans and peas,
Cabbage and greens,
Cheese.

MEDICINES.

Every form of spirituous liquors and fermented drinks,
Opium in any form,
Rhubarb, jalap, and other drastic cathartics,
Nostrums of all kinds.

It may be found that there are individuals who continued to eat and drink most, and perhaps all of these articles with impunity; but still it is the fact, that cases occurred almost daily so immediately after taking each of them, that it was difficult to avoid the impression that these were the exciting causes. Especially was this the case if these articles were eaten or drank just before going to bed; and a full meal, under such circumstances, produced an attack before morning, in numerous instances, however simple the fare. In some melancholy instances a little crackers and cheese, with a glass of beer or wine, taken before retiring at night, has developed the disease in a fatal form before morning, and in persons who were not previously sensibly indisposed.

The fact that some few persons continued to drink rum, and eat pork and beans, cucumbers, watermelons, and the like, through the whole course of the disease, without suffering an attack, are to be regarded as extraordinary escapes, and by no means render it safe to imitate them, when, in an overwhelming majority of cases they were found to be so mischievous. And on a recurrence of the epidemic, therefore, prudence will dictate that we avoid those articles which experience has taught to be pernicious and unsafe.'

The following are Dr. Reese's directions respecting the mode of treatment:—

'To the predisposed, including all the inhabitants of the region where the epidemic has commenced its ravages, I would recommend the following rules:—

1. Let care be taken to avoid all unnecessary exposure, especially to the night air; let the feet be kept dry and warm, and the skin protected by flannel, changed twice at least in the week.

2. Let an entire change be adopted in the *quantity* of food taken into the stomach, as well as its quality. The articles eaten should be such as are easy of digestion, and all of these very moderately. A full meal will often bring on an attack, whatever be the kind of food taken.

3. Avoid all undue excitement, whether physical or mental; any exertion long continued, and especially to fatigue, will frequently prove an exciting cause. Hard labor, close study, or an indulgence of the exciting passions of the mind, must be carefully abstained from.

4. Above all things, take no medicines as preventives, by whomsoever recommended; and especially no vinous, spirituous, or malt liquors. Any stimulant, of whatever kind, habitually used, even in moderation, is found to give a predisposition to all epidemic diseases, and especially to cholera, frequently becoming the exciting cause of the most desperate and unmanageable attacks.

5. Preserve a calm composure of mind, as far as possible, and indulge a confident security of immunity from an attack while you thus avoid the exciting causes. The depressing passion of fear, when cultivated, often excites the disease.

But to those who are attacked with what are called "premonitory symptoms," which most frequently arise after some imprudence, I would recommend that they view the diarrhœa, not in the light of an attack of cholera, but as an admonition that they have erred in subjecting themselves to some exciting cause, and that they are now *liable* to an attack. And as nature has aroused for its own protection, let them on no account interrupt or suppress this salutary process by astringents, tonics, or stimulants of any kind; and, above all, avoid opium, brandy, or wine, as you would shun the face of a serpent.

If there be any considerable nausea or vomiting present at the commencement of the diarrhœa, or if these precede it, drink half a pint of salt and water, go to bed, apply a bottle of hot water to your feet, and promote a gentle perspiration. The effect of the salt and water will be, that you will vomit the contents of your stomach, and a slight purgation will follow. If you are not then entirely relieved, you may find it necessary to take fifteen grains of calomel, and perhaps follow it in four hours with an ounce of castor oil. If, in the mean time, you eat nothing, and drink *cold water* only, your premonitory symptoms will be over, and all hazard of an attack is removed.

But if you have been living abstemiously, you will have little nausea at first, and you may take therefore fifteen or twenty grains of calomel at once, and alone. This done, will, in ninety-nine cases in a hundred, fully answer the purpose, if aided by the recumbent posture, and the other means mentioned in the last paragraph, and the appearance of bile in the discharges will give evidence that the danger is over. It is sometimes necessary, however, to repeat the dose of calomel, and even follow it with oil, if the diarrhœa have existed for any length of time, and been neglected.

If it have been neglected too long, and with the diarrhœa there be a tightness in the chest felt on breathing, or any increase of the spasmodic twitching of the muscles has supervened; and especially if the calomel does not have its desired effect, and the characteristic dis-

charges continue notwithstanding; then the patient should be bled. Indeed, so important is this course, that, as an auxiliary to the calomel, it should be pursued in all violent cases. Professor Sewall, of Washington, D. C., directed all the cases of "premonitory symptoms" among the laborers on the canal, to be bled, with the other appropriate treatment we have named, and although a signal fatality had previously occurred, not a single death took place from the day on which the bleeding practice was commenced. My own experience has fully tested the propriety of this course, nor do I recollect a single case treated by me in the premonitory symptoms by bleeding and calomel, which was my usual practice, which afterward suffered an attack of the disease, although many of them had been neglected, and were violent when I saw them. A few hours after the bleeding, the bilious discharges from the bowels following a single dose of calomel, gave evidence of the entire removal of the morbid action, and all the symptoms immediately subsided.

Nearly all the cases of mortality in New-York occurred among those who had neglected the premonitory symptoms, or what is worse, had treated them by opium and brandy. We except, of course, the few instances which came on suddenly, without any premonition. These, therefore, were generally in the stage of collapse or asphyxia, as it is called, sometimes the blue stage, and which has been minutely described in a previous chapter. This was the condition of most of those who were carried to our hospitals, and whatever may be thought of the treatment generally pursued in those of this city, and whatever has been said of the fatality occurring in them, it is but common justice that it should be known that a large majority of the patients sent to the hospitals had been for hours in this blue stage or collapse, before their admission. And when the additional fact is remembered, that most of these were dissolute, filthy, and drunken subjects, the mortality will cease to be wonderful, and it will rather be matter of astonishment that any such were cured by any treatment. Though unconnected with either of the public establishments, and although I strongly reprobate the plan of treatment pursued in some of them, yet it is due to truth, that these important facts should be known and appreciated; and the gentlemen concerned are entitled to this exhibition of facts, in any strictures which are made upon them or their hospital practice.'

We will take the liberty to add here, on our own responsibility, that if there be a skilful physician within reach, be sure to send for him on the appearance of the first symptoms of the disease. This advice is founded on the certain fact, that in nine cases out of ten, during the excitement occasioned by the prevalence of the cholera, those who are attacked, or those who only imagine that they are attacked, are unfit to prescribe for themselves, and therefore are as likely to induce the disease if they have it not, or to aggravate its virulence if they have, as they are to remove its cause by the application of means. And there is every reason to believe that many died of the cholera from injudiciously taking medicine to prevent its approach, while others might have been restored to health by a *timely* application to a physician who

understands his business. And it is no less surprising than true, that in the time of such a serious calamity, for the sake of gain, nostrums will be prescribed by quacks, vended by mercenary traders, and eagerly devoured by ignorant and timid men and women, all of which are much more likely to prove prejudicial to health than to be either preventives or restoratives. We therefore seriously advise all who can, whenever assaulted with this or any other dangerous disease, to procure with all possible despatch a skilful physician.

We recommend to all our readers the following directions as means of preventing the cholera :—

'First, then, I remark, that as the remote cause exhibited itself first in filthy neighborhoods, the corporation should, *before the warm weather commences*, see that our streets, lanes, alleys, yards, and houses, are thoroughly cleansed and ventilated, and that all our docks, slips, wharves, and sewers, be carefully purified, and *kept so* by the vigilant inspection and authority of officers appointed for that purpose.

Secondly. They should also see that all marshes, pools, or ponds of standing water, should be drained and filled up *early in the spring*, and wherever there are *filthy* stables, whether for horses or cows, or pens in which swine are kept, they should be removed from the city, unless their filthiness can be prevented.

Thirdly. Let our constituted authorities absolutely prohibit the traffic in *ardent spirits*, by wholesale or retail, in any population, great or small, when the approach of the cholera is threatened. If this cannot be done in anticipation, it should by all means be enforced on the first appearance of the disease in any city, town, or village.

Fourthly. Let all our prisons, alms houses, or other crowded apartments, as those of the poor especially, be daily subjected to inspection, cleansing, and ventilation, and let special attention be paid to the quality of the meat and other articles of provision.

Fifthly. Let physicians be appointed and stationed, day and night, in every neighborhood, on the first appearance of the epidemic, to be accessible at all times by the poor, for the treatment of the premonitory symptoms, and let the plan of treatment be agreed on by the medical department of the board of health, requiring uniform and discreet depletion, and absolutely forbidding the use of opium or ardent spirits, either as a preventive or cure, except under such restrictions as said department might accurately define.

Sixthly. Let clean hospital buildings be provided convenient to every section, to which those who by neglect of the premonitory symptoms, or by mismanagement or imprudence of any kind, shall suffer an attack, may be promptly sent, and let the plan of treatment be defined and enforced; and on any extensive fatality occurring in any one of these, let there be an immediate change in the professional head of the medical department.

Seventhly. Let measures be taken to enlighten the people generally in the nature of the disease, its causes and curable character, and especially its non-contagiousness, and this may be done by the circulation of handbills and tracts.

Eighthly. Let a system of diet and regimen be promulgated according to the dictates of enlightened science, and let this system be recommended through the clergymen of every congregation, especially insisting upon total abstinence from all stimulating or astringent drinks.

If these or equivalent means be employed in anticipation, or on the first appearance of the epidemic in any place, its prevalence will be short, and the terror occasioned by its fatality will be greatly diminished, if not entirely removed. But if our municipal authorities will neglect their duty, until the filth of our streets, wharves, and other public places, become proverbial, as during the past summer, and only *begin* their activity and zeal when the miasma has been generated, the mischief will be to a great extent irreparable; and the very processes of cleansing, to which they may afterward resort, too often will be found only to aggravate the rage of the epidemic. And if the corporation, amid the devastations of another scourge, should it again sweep through our city, will continue to sanction the sale and use of spirituous liquors in such perilous times, as was done in New-York by three thousand licensed dealers: then we may expect a repetition of the calamitous results which spread such a gloom over our city and country during the last summer; for experience has shown how short is the transition from the grog shop to the hospital, to the grave, and to perdition.

The facts which the history of the past exhibits of the connection between cholera and rum, cannot be too often repeated, nor too strenuously urged upon our rulers or upon the public. Thousands are now dead of cholera who fell by taking a little port wine, "brandy and water, or generous wine," to prevent their being sick, and this too, disgraceful to say it, by high medical authority. In some instances, this was undoubtedly the sole agent which excited the disease and rendered it fatal. In this city the grog shops were visible nuclei, around which the epidemic raged with unwonted fury; and death, not disease, seemed to reign over the neighborhoods where these haunts of the destroyer were the most numerous. Many of the keepers of these abominable styes of pollution, and some of their families, were swept away; and horrible to relate, other lovers of rum and its "wages" would reopen the shops thus vacated by the pestilence, and deal out cholera and death until they too became the victims of their temerity. In many instances, after burying one or more of their families, the keepers of these grog shops would become alarmed, close their doors, and fly from the city. But some of them were so covetous of the "wages of unrighteousness," that they would return in time to reopen their doors on Saturday nights, continue in the midst of their victims until Monday morning, when they would again leave the scene of danger, thus securing their Sabbath custom. Hence, as was frequently remarked, the reports were so fearfully augmented on each successive Monday and Tuesday, and universal panic pervaded all classes of our citizens, except the honorable corporation, who seemed to share but little in the consternation, and profit less by the lesson we were thus so dearly taught. For, by their authority and license, these deeds of infamy were perpetuated until the cold weather of the autumn arrested the epidemic, after thousands had fallen martyrs to the licensed and unlicensed dealers in rum.

I forbear to pursue this subject farther, for the heart sickens at the bare recital of these shocking scenes, which might have been arrested, to a great extent at least, by the corporation, had they yielded to the conviction which death made so apparent, and suppressed the sale of ardent spirits during the epidemic by rigid enactments, as was done at Washington, D. C., with complete success. Instead of which they prohibited the sale of fruits and garden vegetables, which, compared with rum, were innocent; thus "straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel."

With regard to disinfecting remedies, they must be regarded as at best equivocal in their character and in their effects. The burning of tar, brimstone, and other combustible substances, produce no other good effect than the kindling of large fires with any other material; and their offensive odour is not therefore compensated for by any specific virtues. The chlorides of lime, soda. &c, are undoubtedly useful in attracting putrid and unpleasant odours of whatever kind to themselves; and yet the chlorine, when used to the extent it was in some places, was quite as offensive to the olfactories, and even as unhealthy, when inspired into the lungs, as any of those for which it was prescribed as an antidote. These disinfecting agents are, therefore, of much less importance, and much less to be depended on, than people have been led to believe. To sprinkle chloride of lime freely into the gutters, privies, stables, and other filthy places in the city, may be a judicious expenditure on the part of the corporation; and for the filthy apartments of houses where the disease, or death, has left an offensive stench, the chloride of soda in solution will be an appropriate antiseptic, to be sprinkled on the floors, or placed in a vessel on the floor. If either, however, be carried to excess, as is too often done, they cease to be useful, and are often directly mischievous.

On the subject of personal and individual means of prevention, I shall content myself with very brief remarks, having partly anticipated this department of prevention in a former chapter.

A state of predisposition, or an epidemic constitution, as it has been called, is already superinduced, when the disease begins to prevail, in every man, woman, and child, who has been living but a few days and nights in the atmosphere of the infected city or neighborhood. It is altogether absurd, therefore, to talk of *preventing* our being predisposed, or of escaping by leaving the neighborhood, after being impressed with the remote cause. The true means of prevention, and those which would be almost universally successful, are the avoidance of the exciting causes, and thus rendering the state of predisposition one of perfect and entire immunity from the disease. All preventives recommended on any other principle proceed from ignorance or imposture, most generally from the latter; and all such remedies, therefore, which profess to prevent an attack, by being taken before the individual is sick, are but the stupid prescriptions of mountebanks and quacks, not excepting the use of 'brandy and water, or generous wine,' which are the best entitled to the epithet of quackery, of any in the whole catalogue of the nostrums for prevention.

First, then, let all indigestible food, of whatever kind, be avoided by those who are, or have been, exposed to the remote cause, and let there

be no excessive indulgence in the morbid appetite by which an epidemic constitution is often characterized. The living should be plain, simple, and more sparing than usual, for the simple reason that most persons in health eat twice as much at their meals as is either necessary or useful. To deny ourselves all vegetables and fruit from a superstitious fear, and, at the same time, load the stomach with an increased allowance of flesh, fish, and fowl, is the very climax of absurdity. Such preventive management has often excited the disease.

Second. Adopt the maxims of enlightened science, on the subject of ardent spirits, wine, beer, cider, and all other intoxicating drinks, and practise *total abstinence* from these and all other articles which stimulate the body beyond the healthy standard. This is the most important in the scale of preventive measures, and should be universally adopted, without regard to previous habits and modes of living. If persons have continued in the daily use of spirituous liquors, or wine, for years, without having sensibly suffered in their health; yet now that they are impressed with the remote cause of cholera, and have imbibed a predisposition, there is, there can be, no security, but in abandoning their habit at once. The cautions that have been given about the danger of changing the customs of living, and insisting upon a continuance in the usual allowance of ardent spirits, are but another of the changes which have been rung by the apologists for rum, and the publication of these directions have multiplied the victims of the pestilence wherever they have been followed. If there be any one fact unequivocally taught by the experience of the last year, it is this: that rum, in any one of its forms, is not only a frequent exciting cause of cholera, but the most frequent of all its causes; and hence it is as true here as it has been proven to be in Albany, that among those who suffered an attack from other exciting causes, but few died; and among those in whom the disease was excited by ardent spirits, but few recovered. In Albany, it was accurately ascertained, and has been published by her indefatigable State Temperance Society, that but two cases occurred among the thousands of citizens who adhered to their pledge of total abstinence, as members of their society. This fact should be every where known, and every where appreciated, that the mischievous and fatal use of spirituous liquors, either as a preventive or cure, may never again so fearfully multiply the victims of the pestilence in any place, or among any people.

Third. Next to moderation in eating, and total abstinence from ardent spirits, and other stimulating articles, strict attention should be paid to the condition of the skin, which, in such perilous times, ought not to be overlooked. Flannel next the body should be worn universally, and on a sense of chilliness occurring, the individual should bathe the feet in warm water before going to bed, and adopt some domestic expedient for inducing a gentle perspiration. Exposure to damp and wet weather was frequently followed by an attack.

Lastly. The mind should be preserved in a state of calmness and composure, and all undue excitement or depression be scrupulously avoided. Although the depressing tendency of fear has often excited the disease, yet the exciting passions, indulged to excess, as anger,

&c, have also been productive of the same result. Instances of this unhappy result, from both of these causes, must have occurred under the observation of every extensive practitioner in this as well as other epidemic diseases.'

The volume closes with an 'Appendix on the medical use of ardent spirits, attempting to show that alcohol is as unnecessary and mischievous in sickness as in health.' Here we think the doctor has laid siege to intemperance, or the use of alcoholic liquors, in the very citadel of its advocates; and if he carry his point, the last strong hold of the enemy is demolished; but if not, it is impossible to dislodge and vanquish him. For so long as it is maintained that alcohol has its use as a medicine, its manufacture and traffic can be justified. We may succeed in banishing it from our side-boards and tables as a drink; but if it be admitted that it is necessary to health in any one case, or that the druggist may mix it up in his drugs, in the form of paregoric, cordials, &c, then its manufacture and sale may not be totally dispensed with—then will its venders justify themselves—then will its purchasers found a plea of necessity for its use—and then, also, will tipplers and drunkards continue in the land. As well-wishers, therefore, to the mighty cause of temperance, which is rolling on with accumulated force, we hope the doctor will be able, not only to maintain his position, but to hurl destruction into the camp of the enemy—that he will be able to convince all his brethren in the practice of medicine that the medical use of ardent spirits is both unnecessary and mischievous—then it will be easy to dissuade them from its use altogether—and then will drunkenness be speedily banished from the land, inasmuch as all arguments in vindication of its manufacture are fully answered. But we repeat, that so long as its use is tolerated and justified by the medical practitioner, so long will the enemy dwell in the land; all lovers of ardent spirits, or of alcoholic liquor, will successfully plead for its use, either to prevent or to remove indisposition; and being their own physicians, they will, on the least derangement of the stomach, or the slightest symptoms of disease, resort to this pernicious nostrum for relief; and so long as this is the case, so long the *manufacturer* will *distil* it, the *vender* well *sell* it, and the *inebriate* will *drink* it; and thus the curse of drunkenness will be entailed upon us and our posterity. But let us hear Dr. Reese on this branch of the subject:—

'In attacking this dernier subterfuge of ardent spirits, I am aware that I am liable to be ranked among those ultras in physics and in morals, who are ordinarily denounced as enthusiasts, fanatics, visionaries, and the like; and thus, too often, by an opprobrious epithet, the advocates of truth are confounded in their honest and well-meant endeavors, by censoriousness rather than by argument. Indeed, I shall have arrayed

against me, not merely all the male and female quacks in the land, with their boasted experience and alcoholic nostrums; but I must contend with the sages and philosophers of medical science, many of whom have written largely on the wonderful and sovereign efficacy of brandy and gin, as specifics, in various diseases. Besides all this, there are in the standard text books, pharmacopœias, and dispensatories, thousands of valuable medicines prepared in alcohol, and thousands more of worthless medicines, which owe all their boasted virtues to their alcoholic menstrua. And add to all these the fact, that a great proportion of our regularly educated physicians have each a score of recipes or prescriptions, which, from time immemorial, have been given in gin, or spirits, or rum; and which they find both popular and profitable. And when it is recollected, in addition, that the experience of almost every family furnishes instances of relief in certain complaints by some form of alcoholic medicine, it will be seen that the array in behalf of the medical use of ardent spirits is a formidable one indeed.

But none of these things move me from the purpose I have distinctly avowed—to assail the 'medical use of ardent spirits,' as not merely unnecessary and injurious, but as the most powerful and mischievous source of intemperance, with which the nation is now afflicted, and the only considerable obstruction to the benevolent designs of the temperance reformation.

The present fashionable use of ardent spirits as a medicine begins at birth, and is only relinquished when the individual is dead. No sooner is a child born into the world, than it must be intoxicated by the fumes of spirits, externally applied to the whole surface of the body, by some superannuated nurse, who has been taught to do so from time immemorial. This practice, although so universal, is a vile and mischievous one; and I never knew any motive for its continuance but the opportunity it affords the nurse to swallow a little during the operation. I never allow it in my presence, but direct cold water in its stead; and I believe many infantile diseases, in delicate children, result from this washing in rum.

If the child is not stupified by this outward operation, and continues to cry until it is troublesome, there are mothers, grandmothers, nurses, and often doctors, I am ashamed to say it, who will order herb tea with a little *gin* in it to make it sleep; and this convenient quietus of gin is repeated, when sleep is desirable by the indolence of the nurse, every day and night, until the dose requisite for the purpose is so large that it is difficult to give so much, or the infant's stomach rejects it; and then comes the far-famed Godfrey's cordial, paregoric, or some other sleeping draught made of rum and opium, or some other intoxicating ingredient. Thus in earliest infancy does the medical use of ardent spirits often inflict injury which sends the child to a premature grave, or inflicts upon it a feeble constitution for life. Now, all this use of alcohol, as a medicine, is understood by every man of sense in the profession to be not only useless, but hurtful; and yet it is still suffered, because to oppose it, is to encounter the prejudice of every old lady in the land.

This, then, is one argument by which the necessity of keeping alcohol in the house, as a medicine, is insisted on; and it is as unanswera-

ble as any other which the advocates or apologists for rum in medicine can furnish. And I affirm, in its refutation, that for the purpose of washing a new-born infant, cold water in summer, and tepid water and soap in winter, is the only proper material; and that, to make it sleep, or for any other of the purposes for which gin and the like is given, the mother's milk, and this alone, should be introduced into the stomach; or, where this is unavoidably absent, sweetened milk and water. There are more children killed in infancy by gin and alcoholic medicines, than die from all our infantile diseases besides.

But I cannot pursue this subject farther, and will pass on to remark, that another mischievous medical use of alcohol is the practice of bribing children as they grow up to take medicine in sugar-dram. When they become sick, and medicine is required, they are often induced to take it by mixing it in toddy, and then drinking a glass of the same to wash it down. The evil is not merely the counteracting effect of the alcohol, but that the child is taught that it is not only right, but desirable; and an artificial appetite for it is thus created, which increases, until it often results in the destruction of health and life.

In many families, it is common to have a bitters, as it is called, made of garlic, or herbs of some kind, good for worms, colic, or some other of the nameless diseases of which children are often only supposed to suffer; and these bitters are frequently drank by all in the house, parents, children, and domestics. These bitters are, for the most part, prepared with alcohol for a menstruum, and have made more drunkards in this country than perhaps all other causes combined. Witness the famous bitters of Dr. Thomson, of Albany, who boasts of having sold thirty barrels in a single year. These are made of Malaga wine, and are drank and recommended for the sake of the alcohol that is in them, by the lovers of rum, as a medicine. See also Dr. Solomon's Balm of Gilead, by which he made a princely fortune, and Dr. Dyott's cordial, which has been little less successful. These, with all the tribe of stomachic bitters, cordials, elixirs, and medicamentums, are but devices founded upon the medical use of ardent spirits, and for the most part possess no active properties other than the alcohol imparts. So manifest had the ruinous effects of all this class of medicines become, as early as the days of the venerable Rush, that he banished them from his materia medica, and taught his students in the university of Pennsylvania, from his professorial chair, that all such medicines were pernicious to the health, as well as destructive to the morals of the community. And when his patients would ask permission to take his prescriptions in gin, or spirituous liquors of any kind, he would reply, "No man shall look me in the face in the day of judgment, and say, Dr. Rush made me a drunkard." And he would often add, "If God will forgive me for making drunkards in the early part of my practice, when I knew no better, I will never make another." If his mantle had fallen upon his successors, happy would it have been for the nation and for the world.

But, alas! in the face of the ten thousand facts which this subject has presented, no prescription has been and is more common with very many physicians than a mixture of tonic bitters, to be mingled with

gin, or some other form of intoxicating liquor. No marvel that dyspeptics should multiply on every hand, when such practice is pursued with almost every derangement of the digestive organs; nor is it any wonder that drunkenness should become so wide-spread an evil, when a large proportion of our adult population are regularly dosed with alcoholic medicines.'

That the prospect of its banishment from the materia medica is not an entirely hopeless one, we gather from the following asseverations of Dr. Reese, which, if well founded, give us reason to expect that this last strong hold, where the monster intemperance has 'fled for refuge,' may be, and speedily will be, demolished:—

'The question, the momentous question, then, for this generation to solve is, whether ardent spirits possess this claim to immortality, or whether their medicinal virtues, if they have any, shall furnish a pretext for the perpetuation of their irreparable mischiefs to the bodies and the souls of men. I affirm the negative of this proposition, and with very many of my professional brethren, fearlessly proclaim, that the article may be safely and entirely exiled from the materia medica, without diminishing our resources in "wrestling with death." And whether we shall be successful in effecting this object, so soon as we deem it desirable or important, in this country, or not; there is every indication in the signs of the times that our transatlantic brethren are aiming at this result; for since the facts disclosed by the cholera in every part of the earth, over which its march has been witnessed, many of the ablest physicians of England, and some in India, have strenuously urged the necessity of utterly proscribing its manufacture and traffic by legislative authority, and prohibiting its use among the people by penal enactments. And the proposition of abolishing alcohol from medicine, and removing all its compounds from the dispensatories, has found many advocates in England as well as in this country; so that a "Temperance Pharmacopœia and Materia Medica," may ere long be introduced into both countries simultaneously, and the way is preparing by recent events so rapidly, that it will excite neither indignation nor surprise.

Still, however, physicians may abolish it from their catalogues of remedial means, and dispense with those compounds of which alcohol is the menstruum, and the medical use of ardent spirits will not then be annihilated. For justice to our profession requires it to be understood, that but a very small part of the medicinal use of alcohol is taken by our advice, but very much indeed is taken directly in opposition to that advice. In this department, more than any other, it may be said, that every man is his own doctor, for those who would not take a dose of salts, or castor oil, without the best professional advice, will, nevertheless, not scruple to take brandy or gin *as a medicine*; because, forsooth, it is so innocent that, with this kind of physic, they can prescribe for themselves; and because, moreover, they need a repetition of the dose more frequently than it is convenient to see the doctor or economical to fee him.

And now, to the real friends of temperance scattered over the land,

I would affectionately urge the importance of combining the influence of their example against the use of ardent spirits, not only "*as a drink*," but "*as a medicine*," for in this way only can the doctrine of "total abstinence" be consistently maintained, and in this way only can we hope for success in banishing the accursed thing from the country and the world.

I have said little about wine or beer, except under the generic name *alcohol*, of which these are the species. The one is the lion, the other are the whelps; and if the former is destroyed, and declared by public sentiment to be neither good for food nor physic, the latter, and all the modifications of distilled and fermented liquors, will soon share the same fate. Already a wine-drinking, beer-tippling advocate for temperance is becoming an offence in the public estimation, and the recent desperate effort made by professional men, as well as others, to elevate wine, and especially beer, as possessing medicinal qualities preventive of cholera and the like, are beneath contempt, and only serve to show the dying struggles of alcoholic medicines for a name and place among men.'

We have dwelt the longer on this important and deeply interesting subject, because we consider it so vitally connected with the welfare—present and eternal welfare—of mankind. The hopes of posterity are for ever blighted, unless this most monstrous and devastating evil can be arrested in its onward course, and finally banished from all our borders. We therefore most heartily recommend the book before us to all our readers, while we conclude our extracts with the following closing remarks of the author:—

'My object has been to show that the sale and use of ardent spirits, if a necessary evil, are not *necessary* for *medical* purposes. If the evil is necessary at all, then, it must be *as a drink*, and who is prepared at this late period to avow this opinion, even among those who license it, who make it, who sell it, or who drink it? The fact is, that rum, in no one of its forms, is *necessary*, unless it be to the work of filling alms houses, penitentiaries, state prisons, and grave yards! If necessary, it must be for that accursed *revenue*, the price of pauperism, crime, and blood! If necessary, I say again, it must be for filling the land with unutterable wretchedness, and peopling hell with myriads who might else escape the withering curse of Him who has said, "No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God."

Away, then, with this vile plea of *necessity*, as a pretext for making widows and orphans by thousands, and inflicting upon thirty thousand of "our fellow citizens annually the death of a fool and the burial of an ass." And let the public voice unite in declaring, by precept and example, that all intoxicating liquors are *neither necessary nor useful*, "as a drink or as a medicine," and are "henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men."'

Having thus given our readers the views of a physician, who is, or at least ought to be, thoroughly acquainted with the human system, and with the remedies necessary to arrest the progress of disease, we will

submit a few additional remarks as theologians. When urging upon mankind the necessity of entire abstinence from the use of alcoholic liquor, wine and beer as well as ardent spirits, we have been frequently met with an objection derived from the direction of the Apostle Paul to his son Timothy: 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' But this text, so far from weakening the force of the arguments in favor of total abstinence, not only from what are generally denominated *ardent spirits*, but also from *wine* as a common drink, that it greatly strengthens them; for it would appear that so uncommon was the practice of drinking wine, that the conscientious Timothy dare not allow himself in its use without an express authority from his father in the Gospel. Had it been a common practice for Christians to indulge themselves in the use of wine, is it to be supposed that Timothy would have needed this apostolic license to induce him to use it? The expression, 'Drink no *longer* water,' most manifestly implies that water *only*—for the use of tea and coffee we may presume was then unknown—had been the common beverage of the evangelist, and of course of the Christian Church generally. Besides, it should be remembered that the use of *wine* was allowed only medicinally on account of the weakness of his stomach, and of his 'often infirmities.' What has this to do with its daily and habitual use by persons in health?

It is furthermore plead that the use of wine was allowed to the Israelites by an express grant from their God; and that therefore its use now is justifiable. But we think that, granting the truth of the first member of the argument,—which indeed we must grant,—the other by no means follows. It is generally allowed, we believe, by those who have studied this subject, that whatever fruits are indigenous to a country contribute to the health of its inhabitants; and that those which are imported are less or more deleterious to health. Allowing the truth of this position, it will not follow that because wine was allowed to the Israelites, therefore its use may be justified among us. If we examine the Mosaic law in respect to animals that might and might not be eaten, we shall find that those only were prohibited which had a deleterious influence upon the health of the people, when used as an article of food. Thus swine's flesh was forbidden to them, because the eating of it had a tendency to induce that loathsome disease, the leprosy, which was so prevalent in that country. And it is highly probable that the juice of the grape was allowed, because, being indigenous to the country, the grape vine growing spontaneously, it promoted, when used moderately, the health of the inhabitants. Why should not those who plead for its use because they were allowed to drink it, discard the use of swine's flesh, because *that* was *forbidden* to the Israelites? To be consistent throughout, they should lay aside the use of

oysters, clams, &c, as well as pork, out of regard to the Divine command.

But how prone are mankind to pervert the use of God's creatures! How soon did those people so abuse the use of this beverage that the most awful woes were pronounced upon them! 'Wo to the drunkards of Ephraim!' 'Wo to them that rise up early, and drink until wine inflame them.' And may we not presume that this intemperate use of wine, which had become so prevalent among the Jews, was one reason why the early Christians used it not at all, as has appeared evident from the case of Timothy?

Those, therefore, among us, who so loudly declaim against the use of rum, and brandy, and gin, and whatever other name may be given to *ardent* spirits, and yet plead for the use of wine, ale, strong beer, &c, are only substituting one evil stimulant for another, and can never justify themselves either on Scriptural principles, or on the principles of economy or utility. The whole posse of them must be discarded, or we shall never effect a thorough reformation. If the doctrine laid down in the book before us be true, and we firmly believe it is, then the whole catalogue of alcoholic liquors, whether in the form of cider, cider brandy, wine or French brandy, whiskey or Holland gin, beer or ale, may be safely dispensed with; and hence the time is coming when he alone shall be considered a truly temperate man who shall proclaim a war of extermination against the whole army of liquors which induce intoxication.

Under these views we cannot but wish success to every effort that is made to drive these enemies of God and man from all the land. Let not the sacred Scriptures be perverted, nor reason dethroned, to uphold and defend a practice which annually carries thousands to a premature grave, and fills the countries where it prevails with desolation and wo—which 'turns a fruitful field into a wilderness'—by exerting a blighting influence upon the intellectual, moral, and physical powers of man—that banishes peace from the domestic circle, makes children orphans, and turns the fairest portion of God's creation into broken-hearted and sorrowful widows.

REVIEW OF THE MISSIONARY FIELD.

Fourteenth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

We have now entered upon the *fifteenth* year of this Society's labors, and may say in truth, 'Hitherto the Lord hath helped.' We have now before us its *first* Annual Report, which shows how 'small and feeble' were the beginnings of this noble enterprise. We indeed well remem-

ber with what fear and trembling we took hold of this cause, lest a failure at the outset might prevent the realization of the hopes and wishes of its friends. Methodism had already accomplished much. In the midst of poverty, reproach from its enemies, who either knew not or were unwilling to appreciate its true character, it had gradually pressed its widening way among a willing people, until hundreds of thousands had felt its renovating and sanctifying influence; and though missionary in its character from the beginning, such were the calls of the people in many places, and such the openings of Providence among heathen tribes, together with the general sentiment of the Churches in favor of more extended missionary exertions, emphatically so called, that a Society of this character, which should come strictly under the control and direction of the proper authorities of the Church, was generally felt to be both expedient and necessary. Accordingly a plan was digested, and submitted to the people for their approbation. Though some hesitated, and others, from not understanding the primary objects of its friends and advocates, threw obstructions in the way, the great majority, both of preachers and people, soon hailed the existence of this Society as an auspicious era in the history of American Methodism; and subsequent events have fully justified the anticipations of those who projected this plan of more effectually extending the Redeemer's kingdom among men.

In their first annual Report, after detailing some of the incipient steps taken by the Society with a view to prepare for more active operations, the managers conclude with the following remarks:—

'These things not only remind us of our duty, and encourage us to perseverance with renewed diligence, but also lead us to adore that gracious Providence, which has appeared to smile upon our undertaking, and to direct its operations. That Gospel which has been gradually illuminating the human understanding, is, we humbly trust, about to rise with increased splendor, and by its radiant beams enlighten the whole length and breadth of this western hemisphere. To accomplish an end so desirable and so glorious, this Society shall become an efficient auxiliary.

When we cast our eye upon the map of the world, we behold millions of our fellow men, either enslaved by degrading superstition, or immersed in all the darkness of heathenism. The natives of our wilderness, the original proprietors of our soil, as well as many of the civilized inhabitants of our new states and territories, in addition to the many to be found in every town and neighborhood, remain yet to be converted to God. What a call for the united exertion of the Christian world!

The voice of humanity, of mercy, the voice of God, calls aloud to the Christian philanthropist to lend his aid for the accomplishment of the conversion and eternal salvation of these immortal souls. And shall the call be unheeded? This Society would echo the sound of

Divine mercy, and call upon its patrons and supporters for their animated exertions to extend its beneficent influence among mankind.

The managers feel, with no common weight, the importance of the duties assigned them, and the high responsibility resting upon them, in the management of the concerns of the Society. And while they look up to God for wisdom and grace to direct and support them, they would throw themselves at the feet of their brethren, and solicit the united exertions of preachers and people, to encourage, by every laudable means, a liberal support of the institution. It is no common cause you are called to support. It is the cause of God; a cause which involves the salvation of those souls for which Christ bled."

This, to be sure, seems like the language of faith; and the results of the Society's labors have amply proved that it was well founded. Being conscious of the purity of their intentions, the managers of the Society could confidently rely on God for help and success.

The amount of receipts into the treasury for the first year was only $823 04; but as no missionaries were yet actively employed in the field, the principal part of that sum was in hand, ready to be appropriated whenever it should be called for, according to the provisions of the Society's constitution.

Such was the commencement of a Society which has since achieved, by the blessing of God on its exertions, wonders in the conversion of sinners, both among our own white population, and the aborigines of our country, but particularly the latter; about eight thousand of these having been brought into Church fellowship, in the United States and in Upper Canada. And the conversion of these natives to the knowledge and experience of Christianity, has had a most happy and reviving influence upon the Church generally, imparting a new and more vigorous impulse to Christian exertion and enterprise of every sort. Like the mountain streams which descend from the springs in the remote hills and valleys of the wilderness uniting in their course to form mighty rivers, which swell and overflow their banks, and thus fertilize all the plains below; so the conversion of these hardy sons of the forest has produced the most happy and powerful action upon the Church generally, exciting gratitude, prompting to more united and vigorous exertion, and calling forth those streams of benevolence which set in motion every generous feeling of the Christian's heart. In this way, *those who water are themselves watered again.*

According to a provision of the Constitution of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it is the duty of its managers to make a report of the transactions of the Society and the state of the funds, to the General Conference every fourth year. A reference to these reports will show the progressive state of the Society from year to year.

The whole amount received from April 2, 1819, the time the Society was formed to April 23, 1824, the date of the first quadrennial report, was $14,716 24
Expended during the same period, 11,011 40

Leaving a balance of 3,704 84

The following is the second quadrennial report presented to the General Conference in 1828.

Conformably to a requisition in the constitution of this society, the managers respectfully present to the General Conference a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the society during the four years past. The whole amount received is twenty-two thousand one hundred and sixty-three dollars and eighty-one cents. Of this sum, there have been received within the bounds of the

New-York Conference,		$7,200 18
New-England	do.	869 14
Maine	do.	127 32
Genesee	do.	703 54
Canada	do.	2,541 07
Ohio	do.	252 28
Illinois	do.	55 50
Tennessee	do.	1,012 00
Mississippi	do.	1,276 31
South Carolina	do.	2,375 37
Virginia	do.	1,275 99
Baltimore	do.	3,990 00
Donations from sundry individuals, not included in the above		485 12
		22,163 81
Balance in hand April 23, 1824,		3,704 83
Amount of disposable funds during the past four years		$25,868 64

During the same period there have been paid for the support of missions and mission schools, twenty-five thousand seven hundred and one dollars and fifty-three cents. Of this sum there have been paid within the bounds of the

New-York Conference		931 34
New-England	do.	350 00
Maine	do.	350 00
Canada	do.	4,165 04
Ohio	do.	5,150 00
Illinois	do.	3,025 00
Missouri	do.	440 00
Tennessee	do.	1,900 00
Mississippi	do.	2,662 81
South Carolina	do.	5,383 86
Baltimore	do.	150 00
Printing, postage, and other incidental expenses		1,193 45
Balance in hand April 15, 1828,		167 11
		$25,868 64

From the above exhibit, it appears that there has been paid more than received, during the four past years $3,537 72

For a more particular and detailed account of the transactions of the society, the managers refer to the printed reports, herewith presented.

In submitting to the General Conference this second quadrennial report, the managers cannot refrain from an expression of gratitude to God for the signal success He has given to the sacred cause in which they have been engaged—for the confidence and support they have received from their brethren and friends—and for the enlargement of the missionary fields, particularly among the natives of our country.

That this glorious work may go on and prosper more abundantly, the managers beg leave respectfully to suggest to the general conference the propriety of adopting measures to ensure a more vigorous, general, and simultaneous exertion among the several annual conferences, that all, both preachers and people, may combine their strength and influence to carry forward the kingdom of righteousness and peace among the inhabitants of our lost world.

The Committee of the General Conference, to whom this report was referred, remark as follows:—'From this statement, namely, that $3,537 72, had been expended for the preceding four years more than had been received, it will appear evident that, for the energetic prosesution of the missionary enterprise, plans must be adopted and pursued with vigor and unanimity;' for, 'while some of the annual Conferences have done much in aid of the missionary cause, others have done but little, and some nothing at all;' and by an inspection of the above report it will be perceived, that nearly one third of the whole amount was raised within the bounds of the New-York Conference. With a view, therefore, to enlist more effectually all the Conferences in this benevolent enterprise, the General Conference recommended, 'that within the bounds of each annual Conference, there be a Conference Missionary Society auxiliary to this Institution, with branches, under such regulations as the Conferences respectively shall prescribe.'

In consequence of this recommendation, together with the enlargement of the missionary field, a new impulse was given to the circulation of the life-blood of this flourishing branch of the Church, new missions were established, and a more vigorous action generally felt throughout the entire body. But while prosperity generally attended the exertions of the Society, and additional friends were raised up to aid in its forward march, some difficulties were thrown in the way of its operations among the aboriginal tribes, particularly the Choctaws and Cherokees. No human eye could have foreseen the effects which the action of the general government had on the domestic peace and national tranquillity of these people. So many of them having embraced the Christian faith, and become at least partially civilized, it was fondly hoped, by the friends of Indian improvement, that they might be built up as a civil and religious community, and thus have been preserved from that deterioration which had so generally followed these people on the advance of the white population. In the

breaking up, however, of these settlements, these hopes seemed to be blasted. *But God looketh upon the mountains, and they melt down before him.* Though they suffered a temporary loss by their removal, and a dark gloom was cast over their future prospects; it is still hoped that these things may work together for their good. Those who were scattered abroad by these means, are now collecting together west of the Mississippi, and forming a community of their own, under such regulations as they shall see fit to adopt; and some of those men of God who were instrumental in their conversion have gone with them, preferring to share in their sacrifices and sufferings, rather than to leave them to become a prey to the destructive errors and vices of heathenism. Thus a way is opened in that vast wilderness west of the Mississippi, for the introduction of the Gospel among the native tribes; and whether they are destined, by an inscrutable Providence, to an utter extermination, or to be preserved as a monument of Divine forbearance, we shall have the satisfaction of having been the means of snatching some of them as brands from the burning, and of having exerted ourselves for their present and eternal good.

But we return from this cursory glance at the state and prospects of these aboriginal missions, to notice the progress of the Society.

The following, which was presented to the last General Conference, will show the state of the funds for the four preceding years:—

The Third Quadrennial Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

For a full view of the transactions of the society for the past four years, the managers beg leave to refer the General Conference to the annual reports of the society during that period. In obedience to the constitution of the society, the following account of the moneys received and expended is presented:—

Year.	Received.	Expended.
1829	$14,176 11	$ 9,233 75
1830	13,128 63	10,544 88
1831	9,950 57	11,497 60
1832	11,397 80	12,916 26
	$48.653 11	$44,192 49

Leaving a balance in favor of the society for the four years of $4,460 62, and showing an excess of receipts over the four preceding years of $26,489 90.

It will be seen from the above exhibit, that there has been a diminution of the amount of funds for the last three years, although there has been more received this year than last. The causes of this decrease in the funds of the society are worthy of grave inquiry; and it is believed that the chief cause is in the fact, that the managers have been obliged every year to report a balance in the treasury. It is hoped,

however, that the present General Conference will provide for the removal of this cause, by complying with a recommendation of the managers for a more extended and efficient prosecution of foreign and domestic missions.

The signal success which has hitherto attended the operations of the society, while it affords matter for gratitude and praise to God, inspires the managers with confidence in striving to go forward in this good work: and so long as such vast fields are continually opening for missionary enterprises, and the General Conference shall provide for their cultivation, the managers pledge themselves to use their best endeavors to support and encourage them, by their prayers and by their efforts, to supply the pecuniary means.

These suggestions from the board of managers, together with the general conviction which was felt for more extended operations in this branch of our work, induced the General Conference to provide for opening new missions, and for the more energetic prosecution of this department of labor; and the annual report now before us shows that these measures have had a very salutary influence. According to the report of the treasurer, $17,097 05 have been received into the treasury, and $20,117 27 expended, making an excess in the expenditures over the past year of $7,455 28. This shows that the missionary spirit is becoming more and more active, and that there is a disposition in the religious community to meet the pecuniary demands of the society.

Twenty-eight new missions have been commenced during the last year, most of which bid fair to reward the laborer for his toil and sacrifices. Measures have also been adopted for the opening of a new mission among the Flat Head Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains. With these extensive fields before us, and those encouragements arising from past success, we have every motive for persevering efforts in this holy cause.

CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY.

It is probably known to most of our readers that a controversy of a very important character has recently been commenced in the city of New-York, (as also in Philadelphia,) between the Rev. Dr. Brownlee, of the Middle Dutch church, on the Protestant side, and the Rev. Drs. Powers and Varela, and the Rev. Mr. Levins, on the side of the Catholics. Whatever may be the effects of this controversy on the interests of true religion, it seems quite manifest that it can have no very beneficial effect upon the temper of the gentlemen who are en-

gaged in it. This we judge from the specimens which have passed before us. Though neither party appears to be wanting in talent to manage his cause, nor of logical tact in repelling or evading each other's argument, there appears no little adroitness on the part of the Catholic writers to avoid the main points of controversy, and especially to shun those points on which they must be conscious that they are the most vulnerable. Eight letters have already passed between them without having yet settled the 'Rule of Faith.'

That all Protestants agree in taking the canonical Scriptures, in their most plain, literal, and obvious sense, to be the only rule, and at the same time a sufficient rule of faith and practice, has been long known, equally by Protestants and Catholics; and that the latter superadd the traditions of their Church as forming a part of this infallible rule, is a fact of equal notoriety; why then spend so much time, and exhaust the reader's patience, in discussing this point? We must confess that the Catholic priests display no little tact, but at the same time some want of that candor which should characterize a Christian polemic, in pressing upon their antagonist the proofs of the inspiration of the Bible. Is this a mooted question between the parties? Is it yet to be settled whether the sacred Scriptures were given by Divine inspiration? Whatever the Deist may claim in behalf of his skepticism on this question, when he enters the arena of controversy with the Christian, surely a professed minister of a Christian Church, when controverting with another Christian minister, has no right to press this question. Nor can he, in fairness, hold his antagonist under obligation to run through the whole field of argument, to collect all the materials which lie scattered over this vast field, to fortify himself against the attacks of infidelity. In doing this, therefore, in the present instance, the Catholic priests, as it seems to us, have given us reason to suspect that they are fearful of the tremendous artillery which their antagonist might bring from this sacred magazine, to bear upon the tottering edifice which has been so long propped up by the force of human skill and power, and which they have so often felt was in no little danger of tumbling over their heads. What! Shall a professedly Christian polemic put on the harness of the infidel, and demand of a minister of Jesus Christ the proofs that the Scriptures are the word of God, before he will measure with him his strength?

But we perceive the sad dilemma of these champions of Romanism. They have been taught to believe that the only channel through which the evidence of the Divine inspiration and authenticity of the holy Scriptures has been transmitted to us, is the Roman Catholic Church; and hence by forcing their antagonist upon this debatable point, they would drive him to the necessity of subscribing to their own favorite

dogma, that something besides the Scriptures themselves, forms a rule of faith for Protestants as well as for Catholics. Dr. Brownlee, however, was fully prepared for them even on this point. While he allows, as he ought, that we are indebted to the Church, as it existed among the Israelites, primitive Christians, &c, for the records of our salvation, he refutes successfully the false notions entertained by the papists, that that branch of the Church which acknowledges the infallibility of the Pope of Rome, has been the only depositary of these sacred records. He contends, moreover, and that very justly, that this forms but a very small part of even the *external* evidence of the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures. Superadded to the testimony derivable from prophecies fulfilled, from the miracles which attended the announcement and establishment of both the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, he contends for those *internal* marks of truth which every where pervade the Book of God, and which irrefutably proclaim the Divinity of its origin—that the sublimity, purity, and the admirable fitness of the doctrines of the Bible to the condition of man, as well as the morality and justice of its precepts, are irresistible evidences in favor of the Divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. And though the relative position in which Dr. Brownlee stood, laid him under no obligation to enter into this argument, yet he has not shunned to meet it with manly firmness, and thereby to show that the subtle Deist would have no better chance to escape from his grasp, should he see fit to grapple with him, than these bold champions of modern Catholicism can have, however dexterously they may wield the controversial sword.

There is one point, however, in which both sides seem to be equally vulnerable. We allude to the divisions, both in sentiment and practice, as well as in affection, which have taken place among both Protestants and Catholics. The latter endeavor to impugn the Protestants' rule of faith, and to show that it is insufficient to settle points of controversy, from the fact that there always have been and are still such a variety of sects among them, differing so widely as do the Lutherans and Calvinists, these last and the Arminians, the Presbyterians and Episcopalians, the Trinitarians and Unitarians, &c. On the other hand, with a view to retort upon their antagonists the force of this argument, the Rev. Dr. Brownlee presses his opponents with the well-known facts that the Catholics have been and are still as much divided among themselves as the Protestants—that pope has been arrayed against pope, going even so far as to fulminate against each other the thunders of excommunication—one erasing from the decrees of the Church what had been advanced by his predecessor as infallibly right—that the Jansenists and Jesuits were not less violent in their disputes against each

other, one lighting up the *torch of St. Augustine*, while the other prepared the *snuffers for St. Augustine's torch*, and a third formed a *gag for the Jansenists*—that these were as fierce in their disputes as were the Calvinists and the Remonstrants—and also that the Franciscans finally broke into as many sects, each maintaining its distinctive peculiarities with as much asperity and vehemence as have the various classes of Predestinarians—and that even though the generality of Roman Catholic writers agree in maintaining that infallibility resides somewhere in the Church, they differ much in respect to the particular branch of the Church to which it should be ascribed; whether in the pope himself, the pope and council, or the council alone—it being manifest that while some have sacrilegiously exalted his holiness 'above all that is called God,' there have not been wanting those who have shrunk from this bold blasphemy, and have accordingly undertaken to bind his hands and to limit his power by the decrees of bishops and cardinals. It is therefore in vain for the Roman Catholics to plead for the infallibility of the Church from the unity of its councils or the homogeneousness of papal decisions, as they have manifestly differed as much among themselves, and have evinced their differences by as much bitterness and fiery zeal, to say the least, as are to be found on the records of Protestant history. Hence, were it even allowed that the Church has the right of the exclusive interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, no proof is found for the *infallibility* of her interpretation from its having been uniformly the same, because such a sameness cannot be made to appear: on the contrary, this Church has been most awfully distracted at several times by internal factions, by the mutual onsets of fiery zealots, and even by the reciprocal fulminations of rival popes; and furthermore, what has been declared to be infallibly right by one pope, has been pronounced infallibly wrong by his immediate successor. These feuds and divisions should make the advocates of modern Catholicism cautious how they appeal to the several sectarists among the Protestants as evidence against the infallibility of the Scriptures as a rule of faith. Against the weakness of human judgment in their interpretation, the appeal may be made with powerful effect. The rule is good, but those who explain and apply it are often bad, and always under the influence of a judgment, if not biassed by prejudice and prepossession, yet liable to be led astray by that weakness which is inseparable from humanity.

But taking the Scriptures as our guide in all matters purely religious, it seems to us that it cannot remain a subject of any dispute whether the practices which have sprung up from time to time in the Roman Church, are erroneous or not. On this point, we think Dr. Brownlee handles his antagonists with no little effect, by showing them that

in all those matters which are peculiar to them, and which, therefore, form the main subjects of controversy between them and the Protestants, they have introduced *novelties* into the Church—that they belonged not to primitive Christianity. As his remarks upon this branch of the controversy appear to us to be worthy of preservation, we shall quote them for the information and edification of our readers. They are taken from his VIIIth letter to Drs. Power and Varela, and Mr. Levins. He notices

'First—THE POPE'S SUPREMACY. Now, I give notice to you and my readers that I shall not stop here to refute these doctrines. I merely establish the origin and date of these, in order to show that popery, *proper*, is a mere novelty in the Christian world. Our refutation shall be offered when we reach these, in "the dependency of our argument."

All Romanists admit the pope's supremacy; but relative to the authority attached to his supremacy, there is the greatest diversity of sentiment. There are four kinds of faith touching it, among them: one class gives him a mere presidency: a second, an unlimited sovereignty: a third, makes the pope equal to God: the fourth, very modestly, makes the pope actually superior to God! This I shall discuss again; I shall wait to see whether my learned priests will venture out to deny this division. Ignorance of their own writers may very probably induce them to deny this.

Now according to the doctrines of the pope's supremacy, Peter was made the first supreme: and having died in A. D. 66, he was succeeded by some obscure beings, upon whose names even the Romanists cannot agree. But the holy Apostle John survived Peter at least *forty* years; and so these obscure, but absolute supremes, were placed over this holy and beloved apostle. This was really outrageous in the Roman Church! And, moreover, this Apostle John has never had the grace of God, nor the good sense, to acknowledge this supremacy; nor deport himself as a dutiful son. On our priests' principles, Drs. Power and Levins must denounce the holy John as a rebellious son of holy mother! What! live forty years, and write so much Scripture, yet say not one good word for his holiness, and his essential supremacy! Padre Levins ought, forthwith, to excommunicate his memory, with bell, book, and candle! Gentlemen, why has not this been done by holy mother?

'This is not all: the early holy councils stood out against the same supremacy. About A. D. 450, the council of Chalcedon resisted Pope Leo in the question of his supremacy. In A. D. 418, the sixth council of Carthage resisted *three* popes, one after another. Mighty opposition was directed against this sacerdotal usurpation, by the clergy of France, England, Africa, and Asia, and even Spain, and even Ireland! So late as A. D. 860, the bishops of Belgia denied that the pope's decree should bind them; they boldly denied his supremacy, and set his bulls at defiance:—"We assault thee," said they, "with

thine own weapons, who despisest the decree of our Lord God." See Illyr. Catal. Test. Verit. p. 80; Morn. Exer. p. 223.

The best and early fathers warmly opposed the pope's supremacy. St. Augustine was the fourth who signed the famous decree of the African Milevitan council. This decree was made against all appeals from the African Church, by bishops or members, to the pope: and it was made in opposition to Popes Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine. See Manse's Collect, Counc. Tom. iv, p. 507; Venet. edit. 1785.

Jerome opposes it. Hear his words:—'The Church of the Roman city is not to be deemed one thing, and the Church of the whole world another. Gaul, Britain, Africa, Persia, India, and all barbarous nations adore one Christ: and observe one rule of faith. If you look for authority, the world is greater than a city (Rome.) Wheresoever a bishop is, whether at Rome, or Constantinople, or Alexandria, or Tanais, he is of the same worth (or authority) and the same priesthood.' 'But all are successors of the apostles. Why do you produce to me the customs of one city?' To Evagr. tom. ii, p. 510, Paris edit. of 1602.

Again, here is 'a stinger' from your St. Jerome:—'Bishops should remember that they are greater than elders (presbyters,) rather by custom, than by truth of the Lord's appointment: and that they ought to rule the Church in common.' On Titus, lib. i, cap. i.

Hear Theodore's memorable words:—"Christ alone is head of all: but the Church is his body; and the saints are the members of his body; one is the neck; another the feet." "By his legs understand St. Peter, the first of the apostles." On Sol. Song, Par. Lat. edition 1608. So far from making Peter the head, he is considered the legs, which are supported by the feet, as you well know!

Then there is Tertullian's famous sentence, which your Romish writers have mangled so scandalously—supposing that we, ignorant heretics, had not seen, nor read, that honest witness against your supremacy:—"Survey the apostolical Churches, in which the very chairs of the apostles still preside over their stations; in which their own epistles are *recited*, uttering the voice; and representing the presence of each of them! *Is Achaia nearest to thee, thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast the Philippians and the Thessalonians. If thou canst go to Asia, thou hast Ephesus.* If thou art near Italy, thou hast Rome, whence to us, also, authority is near at hand." Præs. adv. Her., cap. xxxvi, p. 215, Paris edit. 1675. Now it is a notable circumstance, that the Romish writers, when they quote out of Tertullian, leave out all that is here put in *italics;* namely, all but the last sentence, touching Rome!! Mr. Hughes, of Philadelphia, had his scourging lately for doing this!

I shall gratify you, gentlemen, with one refreshing quotation more. And if you do not give up your pope's supremacy, as universal bishop, then, on your own principles, are you the most obstinate heretics. For I quote from your own infallible and holy pope, and one whom you have deified too, and do invoke with incense, prayers, and holy wreslings; I mean Pope St. Gregory. Padre Levins very gravely tells us that he loves antiquities, and all old things—were it even like "holy mother," a very old sinner! Well, you must know that a bishop

of the Greek Church first claimed supremacy, and the honor of universal bishop; until the fathers of Rome, pretty honest men at that time, rebuked his iniquity, and shamed him out of it. Now hear the infallible pope and Saint Gregory—who wrote this in the close of the sixth century, namely 590. Having shown that Peter, and Paul, and John, were all members under one head, he says:—"No one desired to call himself the universal, or universal bishop." See Regist. Epist. lib. v, p. 743, tom. ii.

Again, for this is too good to be quitted by me:—"I do confidently say that whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or is desirous to to be called so, in his pride, is the forerunner of antichrist. Because, in his pride, he prefers himself to the rest; and he is conducted to error, by a similar pride. For as the wicked one wishes to appear a God above all men; so whosoever he is, who desires to be called the only bishop (solus sacerdos) extols himself above all other bishops.' Lib. vii, Indict. Epist., 15th edit. of Paris, 1705.

Once more, for this is delectable. In his eulogy to the bishop of Alexandria, he solemnly affirms that 'the primacy of Peter descended to three sees; namely, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome.' Tom. ii, p. 887, Paris edit.

Once more; for I am determined that Pope St. Gregory, if possible, shall save you from the mortal sin of holding the Roman pope's supremacy. Hear your holy saint:—"If any one in that Church assumes that name," he was speaking of universal bishop, "which, in the opinion of all good men he (his rival in the east) has done; then the whole Church (may it never happen) falls from its state, when he who is called universal falls. But let that name of blasphemy be absent from the hearts of Christians; which, when it is really assumed by one, the honor of all priests is taken away.' Regist. Epist., lib v; Indic. 13; Epist. 20, Paris edit. 1705.

Thus I have proved by arguments and testimony from your own Church, that the supremacy, and infamous usurpation of power by your pope, is a novelty in the Christian world. It was not fully gained by the "man of sin" until the consummation of truth's overthrow, in the darkest hour of the darkest ages.

Second. The invocation of saints is a novelty, introduced by the "man of sin," also. This originated in those bold and figurative expressions, and the apostrophising of the departed martyrs, common among declamatory preachers. Invocation of saints began to show itself sometime after the beginning of the *third* century. It was violently opposed by the truly faithful, until the *seventh* century: and finally it was established, in spite of all opposition, only in the *ninth* century, when the Church was driven into the wilderness.

We have the testimony of St. Augustine against you on this point: "He is the High Priest who has entered within the veil; and who alone of those who have appeared in the flesh, does intercede for us." On Psa. lxiv, vol. iv, p. 633, Bened. edit. Paris, 1685.

Athanasius, in 340, is also against you: "God only is to be worshipped; and angels themselves are aware of this;—they are all creatures, and are not to be worshipped, but are beings who do worship God." Third Orat. against Arians, Paris edit. 1627.

Theodoret, in 451, says: "The council of Laodicea, also following this rule, and desiring to heal that old disease, made a law that people should not pray to angels, nor forsake our Lord Jesus Christ." On Col. iii, Paris edit. Lat. 1608.

St. Chrysostom declared [in the beginning of the fifth century] that "there was no need for minor intercessors with God."—"With God it is not thus; for there is no need of intercessors for the petitioners; neither is He so ready to give a gracious answer when entreated by others, as by ourselves praying to Him." On Matt. cited by Theod. Eclog., &c.

More full is this saint on that passage of "sending away the woman of Canaan." "Mark the philosophy of the woman; she entreats not James, nor John, nor comes she to Peter; she breaks through the whole company of them, and saying, I have no need of a mediator, but taking repentance as a spokeswoman, I come to the fountain itself: I have no need of a mediator; have THOU mercy on me." See his Disc. on this part of Matt. xv, Paris edit. 1621.

Gregory Nyssen denounces creature invocation: "Moses, and the tables, and the law, and the prophets, the Gospel, the decrees of all the apostles, forbid equally our looking to the creature." "The word of God has ordained that none of those things which have their being by creation shall be worshipped by men, (sebasmion,) that is, venerated by prayers, or prayed to." See his 4th Orat. in Eunom. tom. xi, p. 144, Paris edit.

I shall only add Epiphanius of A. D. 336. He is a strong witness against the atheism of saint worship or invocation: "Neither is Elias to be worshipped, although he were alive; nor is John to be worshipped, [proskunetos,] bowed down before and prayed to.—Nor is Theela or any of the saints to be worshipped [bowed down before, or prayed to.] For that ancient error shall not prevail over us, of forsaking the LIVING GOD, and of worshipping creatures.—For they worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, and became fools. For if an angel will not be worshipped, how much more will not she (the Virgin Mary) who was born of Anna?" See his book against the HERETICS, 79, p. 443.

Now will you permit me to refresh your consciences, gentlemen, with a contrast of Romanism with this primitive Christianity of the fathers? In face of the Holy Bible, in which the Holy Ghost commands us not to pray to or worship creatures; in the face of the testimony of councils, by the sainted fathers, you thus pray: "O holy Mary! —obtain for us, by thy intercession, light to know the great benefit which Christ has bestowed on us." "O holy virgin, obtain for us, by thy intercession, that our *hearts* may be so visited by thy holy Son, &c." "O most pure mother of God!" What revolting blasphemy! God's mother!! Mother of God!! Paganism never breathed such atheism. GOD HAS NO MOTHER! The infinite and invisible BEING, GOD, HAS NO MOTHER! What a most brutish mind conceived this idea! What a brutalizing prayer this is to teach men! Christ our Mediator, as *man*, had mother; but as *God*, he had no mother. But I go on: "O mother of God, we beseech thee, obtain for us, by thy intercession, grace to lead pure and holy lives, &c." Again: "O most blessed

virgin, graciously vouchsafe to help us to accomplish the work of our salvation, by thy powerful intercession! Amen." See Dr. John Power's Catholic Manual; Rosary of the B. Virgin.

The following I copy from "The Roman Catholic Prayer Book, or Devout Christian's *Vade Mecum*." It will be seen how Dr. Power and the Philadelphia book differ in translating the same passage. Will the bishops not take care, and look after such pope-daring innovations! "O most blessed virgin, graciously vouchsafe to negotiate for and with us the work of our salvation, by thy powerful intercession! Amen."

Again: "Confiding in thy goodness and mercy, I cast myself at thy sacred feet, and do most humbly supplicate thee, O mother of the eternal Word, to adopt me as thy child, and take upon thee the care of my salvation." "O God, grant, we beseech thee, by the Virgin Mary, his mother, that we may receive the joys of eternal life, by the same Christ our Lord."

I copy the following from the Litany of our Lady of Loretto. The litany means a solemn supplicatory prayer: "Holy mother of God, pray for us! Mother of our Creator, pray for us! Mother of our Redeemer, pray for us! Mirror of justice, pray for us! Seat of wisdom, pray for us! Ark of the covenant, pray for us! Gate of heaven, pray for us! Refuge of sinners, pray for us! &c, &c."

But this is not the worst: one thing I am prepared to show that the various Roman works which appear in English are designed to impose on Protestants, and to conceal the real doctrines of Rome. Only look into their Latin books,—there you behold their frightful idolatry in its full growth and perfection. Here is a specimen: "Holy mother,—Ora patrem, jube filio,—pray to the Father for us, and command thy Son, &c." Again: "O felix puerpera, nostra pians scelera, jure matris impera Redemptori! O happy mother, atoning for our crimes, lay thy commands on the Redeemer, in right of thy being his mother." And to consummate what all heathenism never conceived, in their comparative piety, a Roman saint, namely, Bonaventura, whom the pious and faithful do worship on July 14th annually,—has gone over the Psalms of David, has stricken out Lord, God, &c, and has inserted holy mother, our lady, &c. Thus: "In thee, O lady, do I put my trust, &c." "Let our lady arise: let her enemies be scattered, &c." "O come, let us sing unto our lady: and make a joyful noise unto the queen of our salvation!!" Psalm cx: "The Lord said unto my lady. Sit thou on my right hand, &c, &c!!!" See Bonav. psalt. of the B. Virgin; his works, tom. vii, Rom. edit. of 1588; and Hist. Sec. Char. August. de Comer. B. M. Virg.; and Morn. Ex. p. 523.

And, lest these may be deemed too antiquated, I shall show that, in all that is idolatrous and wicked, the Romish Church is *immutable*. The present pope, Gregory XVI., in the circular sent forth on his entering upon his office, solemnly rendered his adorations to the holy virgin, and calls upon all the clergy to implore "that SHE who has been in every calamity our patron and protectress, may watch over us, and lead our minds by her heavenly influence to those counsels which may prove most salutary to Christ's flock." "That all may have a happy and successful issue, let us raise our eyes to the most blessed Virgin Mary, WHO ALONE DESTROYS HERESIES! WHO IS OUR GREATEST

HOPE! YEA, THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE!" See Laity's Directory, 1833.

Third. The use of IMAGES in the churches is a novelty. Here I must be brief. The best of the fathers condemns the use of images: one council in A. D. 300 condemns the use of pictures in churches. In 700 the council of Constantinople solemnly condemned them, and ordered their expulsion from the churches. In 754 the seventh Greek general council solemnly condemned image use and worship. About the ninth century this idolatry seems to have been established.

Fourth. The doctrine of PURGATORY is a mere novelty. I shall, in due time, if requisite, produce *nine* of the best fathers against, it with St. Augustine at their head. It is most manifestly borrowed from the pagan fire-purification of souls. And it has been a terrific screw in sacerdotal hands to extract from trembling mortals more money than perhaps all the African slave trade ever has accumulated! These two evils, namely, SLAVERY and the priests' fiction of PURGATORY, have been permitted by the wrath of Heaven to be let in upon a guilty world! The one dealt in human bones and sinews and blood: the other, as St. John saw in vision, traded in human souls!! The lust of GOLD is the object of BOTH! This golden doctrine of popery is only some four hundred years old. It was ultimately established in Rome by the council of Florence, A. D. 1430.

Fifth. Priests' CELIBACY—that capital "old bachelors' joke," which vexes padre, yes, *father* Levins so much. This is a diabolical usurpation of freemen's rights, to which none but the most heartless of the species,—men I can scarcely call them,—have yielded a wicked and slavish submission. Every priest knows that it is not only uncommanded in the Bible, but it is set down as a striking characteristic mark of Antichrist. The great apostasy from Christianity was to be known by "forbidding to marry!!" And every one knows, who has looked into history, that the pope, Gregory VII., in the year 1074, made this infamous usurpation on the rights of man, and took away marriage from the priests. So that this same celibacy of the priests is only some seven hundred and sixty-three years old. Before that, every priest, like other honest men, had his own wife. Since that they have been "HOLY FATHERS" without wives!

Sixth and seventh. TRANSUBSTANTIATION AND THE MASS. This grand peculiarity of popery is a mere novelty also, in the religious world not only, but even in the rational world—a doctrine which represents the priests creating their Creator, and making a wafer to be really the human flesh of Christ, and which, therefore, by their own confession, makes men *cannibals!!* I am perfectly grave, gentlemen. I ask you what it is, in the wafer, when you put it, with awful solemnity, on the tongue of the humble faithful? You reply it is "the flesh and blood really and truly of Christ's human nature." Then does not every one see that they eat and swallow down *human flesh*. If that makes them not cannibals, then words have lost their meaning, and you have lost your senses, reason, and all!!

Against this monstrous and most disgusting doctrine of the mass I can produce *seventeen* of your early and best fathers, namely from Irenæus to St. Augustine. It began about the middle of the fifth century,

ripened by degrees unto the ninth, and along with auricular confession, with all its mischief and wickedness, transubstantiation and the mass were established into a doctrine of the Church by the decree of Pope Innocent III., in the fourth council of the Lateran, in the year 1215. See Mosh. iii, p. 143, Glas. edit. And hence they may be said to be six hundred and eighteen years old!

Eighth. The taking away the wine or holy cup in the sacrament of the holy supper is a novelty. Pope Gelasius, in the year 492, pronounced this abstraction of the cup "an impious sacrilege." See Corp. Juris Can. Pars 3, Dist. 3.

Ninth. THE ADORATION OF RELICS was introduced about the same time with the invocation of saints; and arose from the perversion of mementoes or keepsakes left by martyrs and those dear to the Church. To adore relics or venerate them religiously is to adore dust and ashes! So says St. Augustine: "Timeo adorare terram, &c. I fear to adore earth, lest He (God) condemn me." The council of Carth., 5th Can. 15, says: "Placuit, &c. It has pleased us to request the most renowned emperor that relics may be taken away; not only such as are kept in shrines and images, but in what place soever, woods or trees." Willet, p. 391. So late as the year 730 the synod or council summoned by the emperor, Leo III., did, with only one dissenting voice, decree that "the worship of images and relics was mere idolatry." This decree was fully enforced by Leo, and the Churches were purified effectually of them. See Morn. Exer. p. 257, Lon. edit.

Tenth and last. THE KEEPING THE BIBLE IN A DEAD LANGUAGE, AND REFUSING THE FREE AND UNLIMITED PERUSAL OF GOD'S HOLY WORD, is a mere novelty in the Church. This usurpation, so characteristic of ghostly tyranny, which denies to the laity the Holy Bible, is condemned by the uniform tenor of Scripture. And I can produce *thirteen* of the most eminent Greek and Latin fathers who maintain the Scriptures to be the sufficient rule of faith, and who insist on all men perusing and studying them. Of these the most prominent and eloquently persuasive are St. Augustine and Chrysostom. These shall be produced if the priests gainsay this.

Thus, I trust, I have succeeded in establishing my position, that popery, characterized by these peculiarities, is a mere novelty in the Christian world.

"Where was your religion before Luther?" This hackneyed question, put by Roman Catholics, has been answered thus:—1. By a counter question: "Where was your face this morning before it was washed?" 2. "It is found where your religion never can be found, namely, in the Holy Bible." 3. "It has been found in that unbroken line of faithful and holy men, descended from the Italic Church, and perpetuated in the line of the Waldenses, Albigenses, and Lollards; not omitting the faithful in the Greek, the African, and old Syriac Churches."

I shall conclude this letter in the bold words of Voetius, to which all sound and intelligent Christians will subscribe: "IN THE FIRST SIX HUNDRED YEARS OF OUR ERA THERE WAS NO CHURCH, NO ONE DOCTOR, NO ONE MARTYR, NO CONFESSOR, NO ONE FAMILY, NO ONE MEM-

BER OF THE CHURCH; NEITHER IN THE WEST, NOR IN ANY OTHER PART OF THE WORLD, THAT WAS PROPERLY AND FORMALLY A PAPIST."

I am, gentlemen, yours truly, &c, W. C. BROWNLEE,
Colleg. Min. of the Middle and North Dutch Church.
New-York, May 14, 1833.

That the Scriptures condemn these practices must be evident to every unbiassed mind. That they are equally repugnant to the dictates of sound reason, who will dispute? The plea which is set up in favor of these, or any other practice which seems abhorrent to the common sentiments of mankind, that the reason of them is involved in mystery, is a plain indication that the rational vindication of them is abandoned, even by their professed advocates. And surely the infallibility of that Church should be suspected which can ordain rites and ceremonies so perfectly absurd in themselves as to shock the common sense of mankind, to outrage the dictates of sound reason, and so manifestly opposite to the express declarations of Scripture. The wonder is that mankind should ever have become so perverted in their judgments, should have so surrendered up their reason to the direction and safe-keeping of others, as to have received the absurd dogmas which have been imposed upon them by the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church! Could we, however, bring ourselves to believe in absolute predestination, as taught by John Calvin and those who literally embrace his peculiar faith, we might find an apology for these mental aberrations of men, in the efficient operation of Divine decrees. And surely those who so pertinaciously hold the *eternal* and *absolute decree* of Calvin ought to be extremely lenient toward their polemical adversaries, lest, according to their own principles, they should be found fighting against the decrees of God. They should remember, also, that the ashes of Servetus mingle in the same earth with the dead bodies of those who have perished in the flames of the inquisition, or under the more lingering groans of the wretched victims who have fallen under the displeasure of papal Rome. One would suppose, indeed, that the abominations of popery were of themselves sufficient to render suspicious that doctrine which ascribes all these things to God, as their efficient cause; which asserts that all things are according to the good pleasure of His will, because they come to pass in conformity to His original decree. And from the spirited manner in which Dr. Brownlee detects and exposes these deprecated evils of the Roman Catholic Church, we should think he cannot be a hearty believer in the universal decrees of God, and their efficient operation upon the human heart, in such a sense as to render man a mere passive agent in the hands of God; but fixing his foot upon the broad basis of human responsibility—such a responsibility as grows out of the freedom of

human volitions and actions—he waves his controversial sword in the air of universal benevolence, and strikes a most deadly blow at this corrupter of pure Christianity. May it bleed and die at his feet!

We cannot but regret, indeed, that the pages of ecclesiastical history should have unfolded so much of human weakness and malignity as have been developed in the conduct of professed Christians toward each other. While it may be impartially said that the Latin Church has made herself 'drunk with the blood of the saints,' the Protestants also have stained their hands with the blood of reputed heretics. Both parties, therefore, have reason to humble themselves before God, to confess the sins of bigotry and persecution, instead of endeavoring either to palliate the offence, or of retorting upon each other by arguments drawn from such an impure source. The deeds have been done. This it is as useless to attempt to deny, as it is to offer the lame apology of the spirit of the times for such conduct, and much more so than it is to make Christianity responsible for these 'deeds of darkness.'

Let but the Bible be consulted in the light of this subject, and it will be perceived that Christianity no more approves of such a persecuting conduct than it does of murder aforethought. Why then should the enemies of Divine revelation reproach Christianity with crimes which can be justly chargeable *only* upon its professed, but deluded and perverted followers? Shall the innocent Jesus be held responsible for the treachery of his disciple, Judas? As well might we charge the base treachery of the apostate Arnold to the account of the accomplished and patriotic Washington, as to charge the baseness, the hypocrisy, or the persecuting spirit and conduct of the professed disciples of Jesus Christ upon Him, or upon that system of religion of which He is the Author. When will mankind be candid enough to distinguish between a cause and its professed advocates?

If, indeed, Christianity offered a plea in justification of the evils we are deprecating, as has been done by some honest, but mistaken Christians, for the mental and moral aberrations of persecuting fanatics, then might its enemies triumph, and fortify themselves with arguments against the tremendous truths it unfolds. But it does no such thing. 'Put up thy sword into its sheath,' is the steady and determinate language held by the adorable Author of Christianity, and which is echoed by all his true disciples, toward those who resort to the use of 'carnal weapons' to defend their cause. So far, therefore, as either Romanists or Protestants have resorted to this sort of conduct, or so far as they attempt to defend it, they have wounded, and do still wound, the blessed cause they have espoused. And hence it is the more surprising that any man should, at this time, in this age of light and benevo-

lence, be so lost to a correct knowledge of the sacred principles of Christianity,—should so far mistake its benign and heavenly spirit and temper, as well as the motives which it presents to human beings—as to attempt to justify or even apologize for the conduct of that Church. or that individual, who has bathed its or his hands in human blood. For this service neither God nor man will thank them. But as the Roman Church has, at different times, carried on an organized warfare against the saints, under the detestable name of heretics, so far it has proved itself to be any thing rather than the 'chaste spouse of Christ.' And we hope that no Protestant will ever weaken his cause by an attempt to justify those who have disgraced themselves, by exhibiting this 'mark of the beast in their foreheads.' Let Christianity, as she ought, stand clear from the blood of all these men, and she shines with a splendor peculiarly her own, and which disclaims all connection with these 'deeds of darkness' which could have been perpetrated only by those whose judgments were clouded by the 'smoke from the bottomless pit,' and whose passions were inflamed by the fire of hell.

In the course of their agument against the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith, independent of the interpretations and traditions of the Roman Catholic Church, the priests bring in a quotation from the preface of Mr. John Wesley to his volumes of sermons, accompanied by their own remarks, as follows :—

'We know not if Dr. Brownlee ever saw the following confession of the famous Wesley, one of the strictest adherents to the Protestant *rule of faith* and *judge of controversy:* we shall give it as one of the most perfect developements of the practical consequences of *this rule:* —"I am not afraid to lay open to you," said the reverend enthusiast, "what have been the inmost thoughts of my heart. I have thought that I am a creature of a day, passing through life as an arrow through the air. I am a spirit come from God and returning to God, just hovering over the great gulf, till a few moments hence I am no more seen. I drop into an unchangeable eternity! I want to know one thing—the way to heaven—how to land safe on that happy shore—God himself has condescended to teach the way—for this very end he came from heaven. He hath written it down in a book! O give me that book—at any price give me the book of God! I have it—*here is knowledge enough for me.* Let me be *homo unius libri.* Here then I am far from the busy ways of men—I sit down alone, only God is here. In his presence I open, I read this book, for this end to find the way to heaven. Is there a *doubt* concerning the meaning of what I read? Does any thing appear *dark*, or *intricate?* I lift up my heart to the Father of lights—Lord, is it not thy word? *If any man lack wisdom let him ask of God! Thou givest liberally and upbraidest not.* Thou hast said, *If any man be willing to do thy will he shall know.* I am willing to do. Let me know thy will. I then search after and consider *parallel* passages of Scripture, *comparing spiritual things with spiritual.*

I meditate thereon with all the attention and earnestness of which my mind is capable. If any *doubt* still remains I *consult those* who are experienced in the things of God; and *then* the *Scriptures*, whereby being dead they yet speak.' And what I *thus* learn, that I teach." Here, Rev. sir, we have your rule of faith, and judge of controversies, aptly expressed in the above much admired passage;—it also contains its own refutation. The Methodist reformer first asserts, that in the Bible there is knowledge *enough* for him, that he wants no other book, yet almost in the same instant, he is forced to confess that there is *not* knowledge enough in the Bible; for, after praying, searching, meditating, *comparing* texts with texts, he tells us that he consulted the experience of living witnesses, and the writings of the dead, for knowledge in *dark* and *intricate* passages, where Scripture alone could not remove his doubts—and then concludes, that, what he thus learned, not from *the Bible only*, but from the testimony of *dead* and *living* witnesses, in addition to it, *that he taught*. But did he succeed, even with those helps to remove all his *doubts* concerning the way to heaven, which it was his object to find for himself, and then show others? Let him speak for himself:—"I have set down in the following sermons," says he, "what I find in the Bible concerning the way to heaven. But some may say I have *mistaken* the way myself, although I take it upon me to teach it to others. IT IS VERY POSSIBLE THAT I HAVE"!!! Wesley owns, then, it was very possible he had mistaken the way to heaven, though under the guidance of the *Spirit of God*, speaking in the Holy Scriptures. You, sir, must express a similar admission if as candid as the Methodist founder. You have nothing but your own private judgment, which can never give an *infallible* assurance to your followers that you are not leading them astray. Hence we Catholics conclude, and strictly and fairly, that the Protestant rule of faith is false, and that the Scripture interpreted by *every* man is not the means which Christ has established to show us the way to heaven, and to make us "land SAFE on that happy shore."'

To this Dr. Brownlee replies as follows:—

'As for honest *John Wesley*, it is not in my way, nor yours either, to drag the name of that good man into our controversy. Your arguments, however, take in a wide range; or, to use a hunter's phrase, "your gun scatters its shot too much." You start an idea, and there is no saying where you end. As Cowper says, you

> "Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
> Through Gaul, through Greece, into Noah's ark."

Gentlemen, you ought in honor, to quote the avowed creeds and confessions of the Church. No society is accountable for the private opinions of its members, while they are innocent speculations. I have no doubt that you have misquoted honest *John*. For you must know that his failings leaned to virtue's side. So far from making your quoted concessions, *John Wesley* actually plead for *perfection* in this life! But I am unwilling to be thus drawn away to personalities. I leave his defence to Dr. Bangs, of the Christian Advocate; only adding that you had better tread lightly on the ashes of *John Wesley*, and similar worthies, for

"If Christian worth in heaven rise,
Ye'll mend ere ye come near him!"'

Now, though the Catholics have not materially misquoted the Rev. John Wesley, they have unquestionably misconceived, and therefore misrepresented his meaning. When he said that the book of God contained knowledge *enough for him*, he certainly never meant to insinuate that this excluded all other sources of knowledge, all helps to a right understanding of that book from commentaries or elsewhere. To put such a construction upon his words is most manifestly to pervert them. Nor are the Protestants in general to be so understood when they aver that the sacred Scriptures are the only and sufficient *rule* of faith. A rule, or canon, or law, is one thing; the manner in which that law is understood and applied is another; and however much an individual may misapprehend and misapply the law, it does not alter the nature of the law itself, nor render it less infallible. The constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land; and when an American citizen professes his belief in the binding force of that instrument, declaring that it contains all the provisions necessary to secure his life and liberty, will any understand him to say that he cannot misunderstand it, or that he needs no extraneous helps from other sources rightly to understand and apply this rule of his actions, and this charter of his rights and privileges?

The universal practice of Protestants should have excluded such an interpretation of their professed belief in the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures as a rule of faith and practice. Do not nearly all of them adopt certain articles of faith, comprising in few words their sense of the requirements of the Bible, as to doctrines, ordinances, and moral precepts? And although a belief in every minutia of these symbols may not be considered essential to salvation, yet it is requisite to ensure a membership in each denomination respectively; and although these expository views of the doctrines, ordinances, and precepts of Christianity are not considered by their compilers and adherents as *infallible*, like the Divine word on which they are built, and from which they are professedly derived, yet they are supposed to contain brief summaries of all that is required in sacred Scripture for salvation.

Nor are these to be considered as appendages, additions, or supplements to the Holy Scriptures; but merely as expositors of the leading principles of Divine revelation. Nor will any man say that this classification of Divine truth amounts to the same thing among Protestants as the infallible decrees of popes and councils do among papists.

Nor do we consider it just to say that Mr. Wesley acted inconsistently with himself, as a firm believer in the infallibility and sufficiency of the book of God, in allowing that he *might be mistaken*. This pos-

sibility of a mistake referred to his manner of *interpreting* the Scriptures, to the way in which he *understood* them; and not in any wise to the Scriptures themselves, either as a whole, or in respect to any part of them. And surely this unaffected modesty well becomes a fallible mortal. Had this same virtue, so befitting erring man, characterized the leaders of the Roman Catholic communion, we should have witnessed a greater and more profound veneration for the Holy Scriptures, and much less confidence in merely human authority; nor can we any more perceive the incompatibility existing between a belief in the infallibility of a record and our liability to misunderstand it, than we can between the imperfection of human vision and the perfection of the sun's rays.

Whether Dr. Brownlee intended his remarks respecting Mr. Wesley as a compliment, or as a decent way of disposing of the argument which the Catholic priests attempted to derive from the passage they quoted, we cannot tell; but surely a man clothed with such a panoply as that with which John Wesley was armed, deserved a more respectful appellation than a mere '*honest John*'—although it must be admitted that an '*honest* man is the noblest work of God.' With *bigoted* Calvinists, however—and such will no more pardon John Wesley for the wounds he inflicted on their favorite theory, than the Roman Catholics will forgive Luther and Calvin for striking such a death blow at the sale of indulgences and other mummeries sanctioned by that community—this acute, this learned, this laborious and successful minister of the Lord Jesus, has been generally shrouded in a mantle of ignorance, and his reputed errors of judgment apologized for from the honesty and goodness of his heart. And while this extorted praise is awarded under circumstances which make it the more valuable, the name of '*honest* John' will ever be associated in the minds of those who best know his worth with all the excellences which adorn and beautify the human character, as well as those qualifications which originate from profound learning, an acute and penetrating mind, and a heart deeply imbued with the grace of God, and also a life unwearyingly devoted to the best of all causes. That he was encompassed with those infirmities which are inseparable from humanity detracts nothing from his character, any more than the offensive epithet of '*reverend enthusiast*,' by which the Roman priests have seen fit to distinguish him, will at all lessen him in the estimation of those who impartially estimate his worth.

The controversy under consideration is not yet finished. And while it is in progress we would respectfully suggest to both parties—for when viewed as immortal beings from whom a strict account will be demanded by the Judge of all, they are equally worthy of regard—one thought, and one, too, which we would also press upon our own hearts,

and that is, that whatever advantages we may obtain in argument on some speculative points, they will yield but little satisfaction unless accompanied with a correspondent conquest over evil passions and appetites. Unless these are subdued by the gracious influence of the Divine Spirit in our hearts, so that the whole soul is brought into subjection to the obedience of Christ, whether we be classed among Protestants or Roman Catholics, in the sight of God we are but *as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.* And we trust that our reverend brother, who has taken up the sword in favor of the Bible and the general cause of Protestantism, is actuated by a higher motive than merely to obtain an argumentative conquest over his hardy antagonists, and by a nobler ambition than to shine in the department of theological warfare—and that therefore he will derive far greater satisfaction from a consciousness of having vindicated the honor of God's truth in 'meekness of wisdom,' and by 'the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left,' than he would to be crowned with the laurels of victory over a prostrate foe—yea, that his pious soul would exult to be the humble instrument of 'converting a sinner from the error of his way,' much more than in merely putting to 'silence the ignorance of foolish men.' In the mean time we must be allowed to express our decided conviction, that if Protestantism, as distinguished from Catholicism, be not the true interpretation of Scriptural truth, we may despair of ever finding it this side of heaven—we mean in respect to all those great cardinal doctrines which so eminently characterize the grand system of Christianity.

With one more general remark we must close what we have to say at present. We have been both pained and disgusted while looking over some portions of this controversy; and though we think Dr. Brownlee is not entirely free from that asperity which is so apt to mingle itself in controversial writings, we must be permitted to say that the Catholic doctors have addressed their antagonist in language which every sober and pious mind must deprecate, as unbecoming the cause they have espoused, and unbefitting their character as Christian polemics. These defects in the style and manner of writing, so far from benefiting the cause which its advocates are attempting to defend, most manifestly weaken the force of their arguments, and lower the dignity of their character from that elevation which it ought to be their ambition to sustain. Without therefore assuming to be dictators to either party in this warfare, or to set ourselves up as infallible judges of the relative weight of the arguments—so far as arguments have been used—yet we are certain that we express the feelings of many serious readers of this protracted controversy, when we say that more would be edified were the parties more perfectly to *let their moderation be known unto all men.*

As allusion has been made in the course of this controversy to Mr. John Wesley, we give below his thoughts on the evil tendency of the peculiarities of the Roman Catholic doctrine in respect to the peace of civil society. We do this not with a view to sound an unnecessary alarm in this land, where we think it hardly possible, however much it may be desired or sought after, for any one sect to gain such a predominant influence as to oppress or violently persecute another. In the event of such a catastrophe, however, we should be unwilling to trust ourselves in the hands of any such predominant sect, as history abundantly confirms the truth of the remark, that give men the power, and they will easily persuade themselves that it is 'doing God service' to persecute their neighbors, even for difference in religious belief. There is in fact no bigotry so indomitable as religious bigotry, nor any hatred so unrelenting as religious hatred. Let the sad tales of religious persecution confirm the truth of this remark. On this account our fathers who founded this republic, instructed from the pages of history, excluded, by the constitution which binds us together, and which is the supreme law of the land, the possibility, so long as that instrument shall be held sacred, of any sectarian preference or religious establishment. The whole frame of our civil society, therefore, must be altered, and an entire new order of things established, before intolerance can be introduced into our civil code, or religious persecution become legalized.

At present, therefore, we think there is no call for the many warnings which are given to guard against the encroachments of the Roman Catholics upon our civil and religious liberties; although it is not amiss for all people to be awake, and to exercise a cautious vigilance, that neither Catholics nor Protestants should be allowed gradually to undermine the fair fabric which has been erected at the expense of so many sacrifices, lest in an evil hour our rights and privileges should be wrested from us. That incipient efforts have been made to grasp at political power and pre-eminence, and that some ambitious hearts may still palpitate from a strong desire to become the 'favored few' who might enjoy the fruit of political superiority, may be granted; but yet it seems to us much more certain that the folly of all such is sufficiently manifest to defeat their object; and moreover that it will require years of darkness and superstition to succeed the present age of light and liberal feeling, before any such religious and intolerant bigots could work with any prospect of success. At present we ask not for toleration, because there is no power to tolerate; nor fear persecution, because there is no arm to persecute; and we hope that neither we ourselves nor our posterity shall ever have reason to ask for the one, or to fear the other. Here follows the extract from Mr. Wesley:—

'With persecution I have nothing to do. I persecute no man for

his religious principles. Let there be as "boundless a freedom in religion," as any man can conceive. But this does not touch the point: I will set religion, true or false, utterly out of the question. Suppose the Bible, if you please, to be a fable, and the Koran to be the word of God. I consider not, whether the Romish religion be true or false; I build nothing on one or the other supposition.—Therefore away with all your commonplace declamation about intolerance and persecution for religion. Suppose every word of Pope Pius's creed to be true; suppose the council of Trent to have been infallible; yet, I insist upon it, that no government, not Roman Catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman Catholic persuasion.

I prove this by a plain argument: (let him answer it that can:) That no Roman Catholic does or can give security for his allegiance, or peaceable behavior, I prove thus: It is a Roman Catholic maxim, established not by private men, but by a public council, that "No faith is to be kept with heretics." This has been openly avowed by the council of Constance; but it never was openly disclaimed. Whether private persons avow or disavow it, it is a fixed maxim of the Church of Rome. But as long as it is so, nothing can be more plain, than that the members of that Church can give no reasonable security to any government of their allegiance or peaceable behavior. Therefore, they ought not to be tolerated by any government, Protestant, Mohammedan, or Pagan.

You may say, "Nay, but they will take an oath of allegiance." True, five hundred oaths; but the maxim, "No faith is to be kept with heretics," sweeps them all away as a spider's web. So that still, no governors, that are not Roman Catholics, can have any security for their allegiance.

Again. Those who acknowledge the *spiritual power* of the pope can give no security of their allegiance to any government; but all Roman Catholics acknowledge this: therefore, they can give no security for their allegiance.

The power of granting *pardons* for all sins, past, present, and to come, is, and has been for many centuries, one branch of his *spiritual power*.

But those who acknowledge him to have this spiritual power can give no security for their allegiance: since they believe the pope can pardon rebellions, high treason, and all other sins whatsoever.

The power of *dispensing* with any promise, oath, or vow, is another branch of the *spiritual power* of the pope. And all who acknowledge this spiritual power must acknowledge this. But whoever acknowledges the *dispensing power* of the pope can give no security of his allegiance to any government.

Oaths and promises are none; they are light as air—a dispensation makes them all null and void.

Nay, not only the pope, but even a priest has *power to pardon sins!* This is an essential doctrine of the Church of Rome. But they that acknowledge this, cannot possibly give any security for their allegiance to any government. Oaths are no security at all; for the priest can pardon both perjury and high treason.

Setting then religion aside, it is plain, that upon principles of reason,

no government ought to tolerate men, who cannot give any security to that government for their allegiance and peaceable behavior. But this no Romanist can do, not only while he holds that "No faith is to be kept with heretics," but so long as he acknowledges either priestly absolution, or the *spiritual power* of the pope.'

While we are combatting the errors of popery, it becomes a very important question, *What are the most judicious means for Protestants to use in order to bring the Roman Catholics to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus?* Doubtless one is to detect and expose their errors in the spirit of meekness. This being done, the understanding is left open to its free exercise, and for the reception of truth. But the work is only half accomplished when we have convinced them of their speculative and practical errors. The heart must be changed. A thorough, radical reformation must be effected, or our labor is lost. This is essential for all, Protestants as well as Catholics. An unregenerate Protestant is no nearer the kingdom of heaven than an unregenerate Catholic. This, therefore, should be the principal aim and object of all our labor, all our preaching and writing. We have made these remarks with a view to introduce the following '*Short method of converting all the Roman Catholics in the kingdom of Ireland, humbly proposed to the bishops and clergy of that kingdom.*' also from the pen of Mr. Wesley :—

'1. It is a melancholy consideration to those who love the Protestant interest, that so small a part of this nation is yet reformed from popery. They cannot observe, without a very sensible concern, that in many parts of the kingdom there are still ten, nay, fifteen, perhaps upward of twenty Papists to one Protestant. Nor can they see any prospect of its being otherwise; few Papists being brought over to our Church, notwithstanding all the methods which have been used, while many Protestants are seduced from it.

2. Yet they cannot but earnestly desire that all the Papists were convinced of their errors. How much would this redound to the glory of God, who willeth all to come to the knowledge of his truth! How greatly would it advantage their own souls both in this world and in the world to come! What an advantage would it be to the kingdom in general to be no longer divided against itself, to have that grand cause of contention removed, and all its inhabitants of one heart and one mind! And how highly would it advance both the honor and interest of our gracious sovereign, to have all his subjects cordially united together, thinking and speaking the same thing?

3. Why then is not this desirable end pursued with a vigor proportionable to its importance? Is it because we despair of any success? Because we think it impossible to be attained? But why should we imagine it to be impossible? A common and plausible answer is, Because the Papists are so bigoted to their clergy; believing all they affirm, however contrary both to Scripture and reason, and doing all

that they direct, whom they generally believe to be the holiest and wisest of men.

4. Undoubtedly this is a considerable difficulty in the way. And yet I cannot think it is insurmountable. Still I conceive it is possible to convince all the Papists, provided there are proper instruments for the work. And what instruments are so proper as the clergy? Not only as they are in every place, distributed through the whole nation, and always ready on the spot for the work: but likewise as it more immediately belongs to them: as it is no inconsiderable branch of their business who are peculiarly set apart to *watch over the souls* of men *as they that must give account.*

5. But what way can the clergy take, with any probability of success? There is one way, and one only; one that will (not probably, but) infallibly succeed. If this way is taken, I am willing to stake my life upon the success of it. And it is a plain, simple way, such as may be taken by any man, though but of a small capacity. For it requires no peculiar depth of understanding, no extraordinary height of learning; but only a share of common sense, and an honest, upright heart.

6. It was observed that the grand difficulty of the work lies in the strong attachment of the Papists to their clergy. Here therefore we are to strike at the root. And if this bigotry be but removed, whatever error or superstition is built upon it will of course fall to the ground.

Now this may be effectually done thus. The Papists themselves allow that one set of clergy were holier and wiser even than their own, namely, the apostles. They allow these both to have lived and preached better than the present clergy even of the Roman Church.

Here therefore is the short and sure method. Let all the clergy of the Church of Ireland only *live* like the apostles, and *preach* like the apostles, and the thing is done.

The Romans, on the same ground that they prefer the apostles before their own clergy, will then prefer ours before them. And when they once do this, when we have carried this point, when their attachment to our clergy is stronger than that to their own, they will be convinced by hundreds, till there is not a Roman left in the kingdom of Ireland.

7. If it be asked, But how did the apostles live and preach? I answer, (not to descend to particulars,) as to their inward life, (if I may so speak,) they *lived the life which is hid with Christ in God*, "They were crucified with Christ. Nevertheless they lived; yet not they, but Christ lived in them." So that each of them could say, "The life which I now live in the flesh," even in this mortal body, "I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved ME, and gave himself for me."

And this faith continually wrought by love, that *love of God* which was *shed abroad in their hearts*, and was a perennial *fountain of water springing up into everlasting life.*

By this loving faith their hearts were purified from anger, from pride, from all vile affections, from the love of money, of power, of pleasure, of ease, from the desire of the flesh, the desire of the eye, and the pride of life: all their "affections being set on things above, not on things of the earth." In a word, that *mind* was *in them which was in Christ Jesus.*

Let but this mind be in every clergyman of our Church, and popery will vanish out of the kingdom.

8. As to the outward life of the apostles, it was, in general, holy and unblamable in all things. Herein did they exercise themselves day and night, with regard to every word and action, "to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man." And their continual ground of rejoicing was this, the testimony of their conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity they had their conversation in the world."

They were temperate in all things. They denied themselves, and took up their cross daily. They "kept under their bodies, and brought them into subjection," even in the midst of distresses and persecutions, "lest by any means, after they had preached to others, they themselves should become castaways."

They were in every respect burning and shining lights; they went about doing good as they had opportunity, doing good of every kind, and in every possible degree, to all men. They abstained from all appearance of evil. They overcame evil with good. If their enemy hungered, they fed him; if he thirsted, they gave him drink; and, by patiently continuing so to do, "heaped coals of fire upon his head," and melted his hardness into love.

In fine, it was their meat and drink to do the will of their Father which was in heaven. And hence whatsoever they did, whether in word or deed, they did all to the glory of God.

Let every clergyman of our Church *live* thus, and, in a short time, there will not be a Papist in the nation.

9. As to the preaching of the apostles, with regard to the matter of it, they preached Jesus, "the Author and Finisher of our faith, having determined not to know any thing, save Jesus Christ and him crucified." They preached Jesus Christ as "of God made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." They declared, "Other foundation" of morality, religion, holiness, happiness, "can no man lay." All they spoke, either in public or private, centred in this one point, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever."

More particularly, they preached that "a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law;" that "to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

10. They preached, farther, that, "except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God:" except he be "born from above," born not only of water, but "of the Holy Ghost:" and that the present "kingdom of God is not meats and drinks," (lies not in externals of any kind,) *but righteousness*, the image of God on the heart, *peace*, even a peace that passeth all understanding, *and joy in the Holy Ghost*, whereby they rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of glory.

They declared that he that is thus "born of God doth not commit sin:" that "he that is begotten of God keepeth himself, and the wicked one toucheth him not;" but that as Christ who hath called him is holy, so is he holy in all manner of conversation.

11. As to the manner of their preaching, they spoke with authority, as speaking not their own word, but the word of Him that sent them,

and "by manifestation of the truth, commending themselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." They were "not as many that corrupt the word of God," debase and adulterate it with foreign mixtures, "but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, spake they in Christ." They approved themselves the ministers of God, "in much patience, in labors, in watchings, in fastings: by pureness, by knowledge," knowing all their flock by name, all their circumstances, all their wants: "by long-suffering, never weary of well doing, by kindness, by love unfeigned: by the word of truth, by the power of God attending it, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left." Hence they were "instant in season, out of season," being never afraid of the faces of men, never ashamed of Christ or of his words, even before an adulterous and sinful generation. They went on unmoved through "honor and dishonor," through "evil report and good report." They regarded not father or mother, or wife or children, or houses or lands, or ease or pleasure: but having this single end in view, to save their own souls, and those that heard them, they "counted not their lives dear unto themselves, so that they might make full proof of their ministry, so they might finish their course with joy, and testify the Gospel of the grace of God."

Let all the right reverend the bishops, and the reverend the clergy, only walk by this rule: let them thus live, and thus testify with one heart and one voice, the Gospel of the grace of God; and every Papist within these four seas will soon acknowledge the truth as it is in Jesus.'

Let all the Protestants, ministers and people, in this country, follow the above advice as the most effectual way to bring the Roman Catholic professors to the knowledge of the truth, and there will be less of vituperation and more of the breath of prayer and praise, as well as of brotherly love.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.[1]

We insert the following article from the African Repository and Colonial Journal for May last, as an act of justice to that society, and hope it may have a tendency to calm the fears of any of our readers—if any such have fears—respecting the purity of the motives, or the benevolence of the objects of this noble and philanthropic society.

MR. TAPPAN'S LETTER.

ARDENT SPIRITS IN THE COLONY.

[From the Liberator.]

Theological Seminary, Andover, March 29, 1833.

Mr. Garrison,—In the correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this seminary, the following communication has been received from a distinguished philanthropist, which, it is presumed, will be read with interest by the Christian community:—

New-York, March 26, 1833.

Mr. Lewis F. Laine, secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the Theological Seminary, at Andover.

DEAR SIR,—Your communication of the 8th instant has remained till now unanswered, in consequence of a press of other cares. You ask my opinion of the Colonization Society, and suggest the inquiry, 'Whether, with its present principles and character, it is worthy of the patronage of the Christian public?' My engagements do not admit of my giving an elaborate answer to this inquiry, or explaining at length my views of the colonization project.

When this society was organized I was one of its warmest friends, and anticipated great good from its influence, both in Christianizing Africa, and abolishing slavery in our country. At one time, I had a plan for establishing a line of packets between this city and the colony, and for opening a trade with the interior of Africa. I also offered to pay $1,000 to the society, if the one hundred individuals, proposed in the plan of Gerrit Smith, could be found within one year. I mention these things to show how heartily I entered into the scheme.

The first thing that shook my confidence in the Society, was the fact that ardent spirits were allowed to be sold at the colony, and, as the agents wrote me from Liberia, in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice, were considered 'indispensable.' I used the little influence I had with the Society, to obtain a prohibition to the admission of ardent spirits into the colony, with what success may be seen in the* fact, that no less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED BARRELS of the liquid poison have been sold there within a year. With my feelings somewhat cooled by the knowledge that ardent spirits, tobacco, powder, and balls, were leading articles of trade at the colony, I read with some care the arguments of that distinguished and fearless philanthropist, W. L. Garrison, in the Liberator, and was soon led to ask myself whether this 'splendid scheme of benevolence' was not a device of Satan, to rivet still closer the fetters of the slaves, and to deepen the prejudice against the free colored people. I now believe it is, and that it had its origin in the *single motive*, to get rid of the free colored people, that the slaves may be held in greater safety. Good men have been drawn into it under the delusive idea, that it would break the chains of slavery and evangelize Africa; but the day is not far distant, I believe, when the Society will be regarded in its true character, and deserted by every one who wishes to see a speedy end put to slavery in this land of boasted freedom.

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this expression of my sentiments. I rejoice to witness the effort that is every where making to 'let the captive go free,' and that the number is daily increasing, of those who are resolved not to cease their efforts in every lawful way, to secure to our colored fellow citizens equal rights with others. That your Society may be eminently instrumental in dissipating prejudice, and pouring light upon the intellect of the millions of

* This statement, I am assured, is made on unquestionable authority, and it is not contradicted by the Colonization Society.

our countrymen who are held in bondage, is the earnest prayer of your fellow laborer, ARTHUR TAPPAN.

REMARKS.

While the past zeal and ability of Mr. T. in the cause of Colonization are gratefully admitted, it is matter of regret to its friends that he should have undergone so radical a change of opinion; and it must surprise every one that in a gentleman of his intelligence, this change should have been effected by causes so inadequate as those which he assigns for it. Because, as Mr. T. alleges, ardent spirits, tobacco, &c, enter into the commerce of the colony, the Society, he argues, is "a device of Satan, &c," and had its origin in the "*single motive*" of perpetuating slavery. Surely never was an inference more violently drawn from premises, or less analogy perceivable between effects and their imagined causes. Let the deleterious consequences of ardent spirits, &c, be conceded in their full extent; let it be conceded that they find their way to Liberia even in greater quantities than Mr. T. supposes; and yet the rules of just reasoning no less than those of charitable construction, forbid so startling an imputation as that cast by him on the "*motives*" of his former associates.

Had Mr. T. reflected longer before he denounced so bitterly, he might, perhaps, have seen, that even were the obnoxious articles introduced into the colony through the policy of the Society, that policy might be erroneous without necessarily springing from a criminal design in the whole scheme; and might have resulted from circumstances which the future permanent interests of the colony required to be duly estimated before the board could properly resort to the final and strong measure of prohibition.

But it is utterly denied that the Society ever have introduced ardent spirits into the colony, or approved of the articles being introduced there, for the use of the colonists, except in quantities sufficient for medical purposes. The port of Monrovia is resorted to by vessels from all quarters, freighted with such articles as the shippers deem best suited for commercial enterprise, and among those which have been found useful in trade with the natives, are ardent spirits. It is competent, undoubtedly, for the board to strangle the *direct* trade in this pernicious article by very heavy duties, or by absolute prohibition. One or the other of these measures would undoubtedly have been adopted, had the board been satisfied that it would remedy the evil. But well-founded apprehensions existed, on the one hand, that the most severe restrictions would prove inadequate to countervail the smugglers; and, on the other, that the natives finding that they could no longer obtain ardent spirits from vessels trading with the colony, would resort for it to the slavers. The cessation of trade between the natives and the colony, in any article of accustomed traffic, would naturally extend to other articles, however salutary and profitable; and would thus seriously impair, if not totally subvert, the commercial prosperity of the colony. The consequences of an increased intercourse, from any cause, between the natives and the slavers, would be still more alarming. It is thought sufficient to glance at one only—the exchange

of *human beings* for *ardent spirits.* The board might well pause before they ventured on a measure that might possibly stimulate anew that most detestable of all traffics—the slave trade. They might, perhaps, have supposed that some might not feel, as strongly as themselves, the force of this apprehension; but they could never have foreseen, that for entertaining it, they would subject themselves, and their constituents, to the charge of being influenced by the "*single motive*" of perpetuating slavery.

Under the influence of the considerations just stated, the board have deemed it best to rely on moral influences for preventing the introduction of ardent spirits into Liberia; and not to try the experiment of prohibition, till the commercial prosperity of the colony should be fixed on a stable basis. In illustration of the solicitude of the board on the subject, we subjoin two resolutions passed in 1830. The address directed by the second, was, in conformity with it, prepared by the secretary, and circulated among the colonists. The resolutions are as follows, viz.:

"*Resolved*, That the friends of the Society throughout the country be informed that this board will discourage the introduction and use of distilled spirits in the colony, and among the native tribes; and that the subject is now under the consideration of the board."—*Adopted June* 28, 1830.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary be requested to prepare an address to the colonists, to be sent out by the vessel now about to be despatched; in which, among other things to be recommended to their observance for their welfare, he shall encourage them to form temperance societies, and adopt such other measures as may tend to diminish both the use and the sale of ardent spirits in the colony; and also, that in their commerce with the natives, they discontinue dealing in such articles; also, that the secretary communicate to the colonial agent, the wishes of the board upon this subject."—*Adopted Nov.* 8, 1830.

In regard to the "statement" about the fourteen hundred barrels, which Mr. T. is "assured is made on unquestionable authority," it may be wished that he had furnished us with the means of ascertaining how far his confidence in this authority is deserved. The statement seems to have been made to Mr. T. by some person who got it from some other person; but who assured Mr. T. that the authority of this other person was unquestionable. Whether any error has crept into this statement during its circuitous route, or whether it is indeed "unquestionable," we shall be better able to decide when the facts are presented in some specific and tangible form. It would indeed be easy for us to deny roundly the "authority" of the informer of Mr. T.'s informer; but as this would be only opposing assertion to assertion, we prefer waiting till the facts are ascertained. We are more than ever opposed to precipitancy of judgment on any subject, when we see into what injustice it can betray so respectable a man as Mr. T.

We could wish that Mr. T. had been more precise in stating *whose* were "the agents" in Liberia, who informed him that "in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice"—ardent spirits "were considered indispensable." Mr. T. certainly did not mean to be understood as having received this information from "the agents" *of*

the Colonization Society: and yet such an inference is permitted, if not suggested, by the context of the sentence.

The considerations which have been stated as deterring the board from prohibiting ardent spirits, have, nevertheless, been yielded to with reluctance. If Mr. T.'s "influence" (which instead of being "little," as he modestly calls it, was deservedly considerable,) was insufficient to induce the board to disregard them, it has at least had the effect of deeply engaging their thoughts on the plan which he recommends. We shall presently subjoin two very recent resolutions, from the last of which it will appear that the total prohibition of ardent spirits will be a prominent subject of deliberation with the board at their next meeting.

It has not seemed necessary in these remarks, to notice particularly the articles of "tobacco and powder and balls," because, though in one part of Mr. T.'s letter they are included with ardent spirits, in the same censure, the stress of it is generally laid on ardent spirits. He probably considers tobacco as not being so closely connected with the "SINGLE MOTIVE;" and as to "powder and balls," he would hardly advise their total exclusion from the colony, when he reflects that it is indebted, under Providence, for its present existence, to these very articles.

The resolutions last adverted to are as follows:—

"*Resolved*, That the board hear with extreme regret, of the continued introduction and use of ardent spirits in the colony; that they are resolved to exercise all their influence to discourage and diminish the evil; and that no ardent spirits, except such as may be needful for medical purposes, shall be introduced by the board or its agents." *Adopted April* 30, 1833.

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the board of managers, to take into consideration, at their next meeting, the expediency of prohibiting altogether, the introduction of ardent spirits into the colony, as an article of trade with the natives, or of commerce with the colonists." *Adopted May* 7, 1833.

Mr. T. may feel assured that the board of managers are as sensible as he can be, to the pernicious consequences of ardent spirits, and especially to the evils with which they threaten the colony; and that if, after full consideration of the means for averting these evils, the board should be satisfied that prohibition is, on the whole, the most eligible measure, they will undoubtedly adopt it. A dispassionate review, on his part, of the circumstances which have hitherto recommended a less strenuous course, may be expected to satisfy Mr. T. that he has done injustice to the *motives*, at least, of the Society. One advantage to the cause of colonization is perceived in the publication of his letter—and that is a distinct assignment of his motive for deserting the Society, and lending his influence to its adversaries. His "SINGLE MOTIVE" for the defection, appears to be a prejudice that the Society deliberately promotes the demoralization of the colonists by means of ardent spirits: a prejudice which we have too high an opinion of his understanding, to suppose can long withhold it from coming to juster conclusions. And as the preceding brief exposition of the views of the board in regard to ardent spirits at the colony, shows that his "single motive" for aban-

doning our cause was founded in error, we hope soon to hail him again as a fellow laborer in what he very justly, though it may be, ironically, styles "a splendid scheme of benevolence." As his separation from his former associates in this work has left no unpleasant impression on their minds except that of regret at having lost, for a season at least, his valuable aid: so his reconversion would be to them the source of unmingled pleasure, and they would receive him with a sensibility to the importance of his services which his temporary alienation from them has served but to increase.

Any thing coming from Mr. T.'s pen, must of course fix public attention, especially when accompanied with an intimation from himself, as in the case of his letter in the Liberator, that he intended such a result. If, therefore, he should be of opinion that his charge against the Society was precipitate and unmerited, his candor will suggest to him the propriety of giving equal publicity to his retraction.

While on the subject of this society, we present our readers with the following historical and statistical account of the colony of Liberia, for the compilation of which we are indebted to the editors of the New-York Observer:—

Origin of the Society.

Dr. Fothergill and Granville Sharpe appear first to have considered the subject of African colonization in England. The latter of these, a most illustrious philanthropist, may be regarded as the founder of the colony of *Sierra Leone*. Indeed, the earliest thoughts the writer has seen on African colonization are from the pen of Granville Sharpe in 1783. The late Dr. Thornton, of Washington, was enthusiastically engaged in favor of colonizing free men of color, from the U. States, in Africa in 1787, but unfortunately his efforts failed. The venerable Dr. Hopkins of Rhode Island corresponded with G. Sharp on the subject in 1789, and Ferdinando Fairfax, of Virginia, published an able article on the subject in 1790. The subject was seriously considered in the Virginia legislature during the administration of Mr. Jefferson. The Rev. Dr. Finley, of New-Jersey, gave much thought to it in 1814–15, and assisted by the Hon. C. F. Mercer, F. S. Key, and E. B. Caldwell and others, who had also long reflected upon the matter, founded the society in December, 1816.

In the session of the legislature of Virginia, in 1816, the subject was brought forward, and the following resolution was adopted by a large majority:—

'Whereas the general assembly of Virginia have repeatedly sought to obtain an asylum beyond the limits of the United States for such persons of color as had been or might be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success.

'They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have concurred with the government of the United States in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this commonwealth, both before

and since the revolution, zealously sought to exterminate,) to renew this effort, and do therefore

'*Resolve*, That the executive be requested to correspond with the president of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the states or territorial governments of the United States, to serve as an asylum for such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same, and for those who may hereafter be emancipated within this commonwealth; and that the senators and representatives of this state in the congress of the United States be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the president of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

'*Provided*, That no contract or arrrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this commonwealth until ratified by the legislature.'

Early Proceedings of the Society.

In 1818 Messrs. Mills and Burgess visited Africa by the way of England, and acquired much valuable information. The death of Mr. Mills on his return deprived the world of one of the best and most useful of men. The reports of these agents were of great importance.

The first expedition, that of the Elizabeth, sailed in 1820, with the society's agent, the Rev. Samuel Bacon, and two agents of the government, Messrs. Crozer and Bankson, who, in an unfortunate attempt to establish the colony at an unfavorable season, on the unhealthy island of Sherbro, with several of the emigrants, fell victims to the African fever. In 1821 Messrs. Andruss and Wiltberger, on the part of the society, and Messrs. Winn and E. Bacon as U. States agents, with a number of emigrants, proceeded to Africa, and obtained permission of the government of Sierra Leone for the colonists to remain there until a territory could be purchased of the natives. Mr. and Mrs. Winn and Mr. Andruss died before any suitable tract for the colony was obtained.

Early History of the Colony.

In December, 1821, Dr. Eli Ayres, with Capt. Stockton, of the U. States navy, purchased from the natives the whole of a territory called Mesurado or Montserado, on the southwest coast of Africa, in the name of the society. The first settlers arrived at the colony in June, 1822; and in that year Mr. Ashmun took charge of it, as agent or governor, in the place of Dr. Ayres, whose health had obliged him to return. The efforts of Dr. Ayres were of great importance,

Attempt of the Natives to destroy the infant Colony.

This was in November, 1822, soon after the arrival of Mr. Ashmun, and while he was dangerously ill. The defences of the colony were incomplete, and the whole effective force consisted of thirty-five men. They fought for existence, and in the bravest manner.

The enemy consisted of a body of eight hundred men, and made a most furious attack on the 8th of November, 1822. Unfortunately one pass was neglected to be properly defended, and there the enemy forced an entrance, and captured one of the guns, which happily they

knew not how to manage. The colony was saved by their want of discipline. Had they pushed forward, their success was certain; the colonists could not have resisted; but the assailants betook themselves to plunder in great confusion; this afforded the colonists time to rally; they recaptured the gun, and turned it on the enemy, who were wedged in a solid mass. Great destruction took place, and they fled in utter confusion; it was supposed they had sixty or eighty killed. The loss on the other side was considerable, three men and one woman killed, two men and two women severely wounded, and seven children captured.

The colonists, as soon as the enemy had disappeared, immediately began to complete their defences, and prepare for another attack, which they understood from their spies was to be made with a greater force at the close of the month. The attack accordingly commenced on the 30th, with one thousand five hundred assailants. The fortifications were in a far better state than before, but the number of effective men less, not quite thirty. The besiegers were, after a long and arduous struggle, finally defeated with severe loss. The garrison had one man killed, and two badly wounded. Mr. Ashmun's services were invaluable, and were the means of saving the place.

Establishment and Form of Government.

The existing form of government was established in August, 1824, during the visit of the present secretary of the society. Great difficulties had arisen in the administration of affairs, and the whole state of things was dark and unsettled. The form of government then drawn up was submitted to the assembled colonists, and by them unanimously adopted. The board of managers of the society appoint the colonial agent, who is a white man: all the other officers are men of color, the most important of whom are elected annually by the colonists. The government is in great measure republican, and designed expressly to prepare the colonists ably and successfully to govern themselves. In their address to their brethren of the United States, in 1827, they say, 'Our laws are altogether our own; they grew out of our circumstances, are formed for our exclusive benefit, and administered either by officers of our own appointment, or such as possess our entire confidence. We have a judiciary, chosen from among ourselves; we serve as jurors in the trial of others, and are liable to be tried by juries of our fellow citizens ourselves. We have all that is meant by liberty of conscience; the time and mode of worshipping God as prescribed to us in his word, and dictated by our conscience, we are not only free to follow, but are protected in following.' Shortly after the establishment of the government Mr. Ashmun was appointed colonial agent, and with distinguished ability and usefulness continued to discharge his duties until in 1828 an illness which soon proved fatal compelled him to leave his station. Dr. Richard Randall succeeded him in the agency, but the colony was soon called to mourn his decease. Dr. Mechlin is the present colonial agent, and long may his valuable life be preserved to the cause. Among those who have fallen as martyrs to this work of humanity and religion should be recorded the names of Sessions, and Anderson, and Holton, and Skinner, and Peaco, and Seton.

all of whom labored to promote it as physicians, agents, missionaries, or in some way gave to it their services. Nor will such men of color as Cary and Erskine be forgotten while philanthropy and piety are respected among men.

Geography of the Colony.

Extent.—The colony of Liberia, in its widest sense, extends from Gallinas river to the territory of Kroo Settra, a distance of about two hundred and eighty miles along the coast.

The territory at present under the actual jurisdiction of the colony extends from Grand Cape Mount to the Trade Town, near the river Sesters, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles, and inland from twenty-five to fifty miles.

Native tribes.—There are three distinct native tribes on the coast of the territory belonging to the colony. That to the extreme north is inhabited by the *Feys* or *Veys*. The people of this tribe occupy the country from the Gallinas river to Little Cape Mount, a distance of about fifty miles along the coast, and from twenty-five to thirty miles inland. They are a proud, active, and warlike people, and number from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants.

The country of the *Deys* extends from Little Cape Mount to Mesurado river, about thirty miles in length, and from twelve to sixteen miles inland. They are represented as an indolent and inoffensive people, with a population of 6,000 or 8,000.

Contiguous to this tribe, and next interior, are the *Queahs*, a small and quiet people, an individual of whom was recently present at a meeting of the friends of the Colonization Society at the Masonic Hall in this city.

The *Gurrahs* occupy a portion of country back of the Deys, and north of St. Paul's river. They are said to be a numerous and toilsome race; and still farther in the interior is the formidable and warlike tribe of the *Condoes*, whose name carried terror to all their more peaceable maritime neighbors.

The country of the *Bassas* extends from Mesurado river on the north to Kroo Settra, near Cape Palmas on the south. Their population is supposed to be about 125,000; and in character they are generally domestic, industrious, and averse to war.

At a distance of from thirty to fifty miles inland, and along the whole of this coast, a belt of dense and lofty forest trees, entangled with vines and brushwood, so as to be nearly impassable by any but the feet of savages and savage beasts, nearly prevents all intercourse between the maritime and interior tribes, and is one of the principal causes why the inland parts of this section of Africa are so little known to the civilized world.

Between this belt and the coast, and between the Gallinas on the north and Kroo Settra on the south, are vast numbers of villages of greater or less population. It is the custom of the *Kroo Settra tribe* to disperse their active and able-bodied members to different parts of the coast, where they form themselves into small towns near every roadstead and station frequented by trading vessels. There they act as the watermen and pilots of the country; and there they remain from two to six and even ten years, until they collect a little inventory of

valuables sufficient to enable them to "retire from business." They are decidedly the most active, enterprising, intelligent, and laborious people in this part of Africa. One of their little settlements is on the north side of Stockton creek, about a mile from Monrovia.

Opposite the town of Monrovia are two islands, of small extent, the largest of which, called Bally Island, is nearly covered with houses, built in the rude native style, and occupied by a family of several hundred domestic slaves, who formerly belonged to an English factor, but afterward became the property of an African, who, like those he held in qualified vassalage, was a stranger on that part of the coast, and came under the protection of the colony and subject to its laws.

In the country of the Bassas are included the Mesurado territory, Junk river district, Junk territory, Little Bassa, Grand Bassa, Tabocannee territory, Young Sesters territory, and other small territories stretching off to the southeast. Numerous rivers flow into the sea along this coast, and though they are not navigable for large craft, greatly facilitate the intercourse between the tribes and the colony. It is generally upon the margin of these rivers that the villages and small settlements are to be found, and are spread at greater or less distances from each other over the whole territory included within the jurisdiction of the colony.

The number of natives residing on the territory under the actual jurisdiction of the colony is probably between 50,000 and 100,000, of whom 10,000 have sought the protection and placed themselves under the laws of the colony. All these natives, as well as those in the vicinity of the colonial territory, desire that schools may be established for their children. Many of them have a partial knowledge of the English language, and numerous chiefs have been disposed to sell their lands for a very small compensation, provided only that whenever these lands should be occupied by the colonists, schools should be founded for the benefit of their children. Providence has opened, through the colony, a wide and effectual door to these heathen tribes, and it remains for American Christians to decide whether means and teachers shall be supplied to impart to them the light of civilization and the words of eternal life. There is believed to exist no where a more promising field for philanthropic and missionary effort.

Fertility and Agriculture.—A more fertile soil, and a more productive country, so far as it is cultivated, there is not, we believe, on the face of the earth. Dr. Randall says, 'that the land on both sides of Stockton creek is equal, in every respect, to the best on the southern rivers of the United States.'

Mr. Ashmun thus enumerates the animals and products of the country:—Horses, cattle, sheep, goats, swine, ducks, geese, chickens, and Guinea fowls, in abundance; fish in the greatest plenty; plantains, bananas, vines, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, mangoes, cashew, prunes, guava, pine apple, grape, cherry, and a species of peach; sweet potatoe, cassada, yams, cocoa, ground nuts, arrow root, egg plant, okra, every variety of beans and peas, cucumbers and melons, pumpkins, &c; rice, Indian corn, Guinea corn, millet, pepper, excellent coffee, sugar, cotton, and indigo. Indeed, sugar, cotton, coffee, and indigo grow wild.

Climate and health of the Settlers.—In the early years of the colony want of good houses, the great fatigues and dangers of the settlers, the discouragements they met with, their ignorance of the proper mode of living, and of the best remedies, aided the other causes of sickness, and produced great mortality. But those times are past and forgotten. Their houses and circumstances are now comfortable; they are abundantly supplied with medical assistance, and for the last five years (as stated in the address of the colonists in 1827) not one person in forty, from the middle and southern states, has died from change of climate. The effect is most severely felt by those from the northern states, or from mountainous parts of the middle states; but experience has proved that, with ordinary prudence, no danger is to be apprehended even by persons from those places, provided that they are sober, and have no radical defects of constitution. As the country becomes more thickly settled and better cultivated, it will, like all other new countries, become more healthy. From the past mortality or present sickliness no discouragement will be felt by those who have read an account of the early attempts to found colonies in this favored land. At a little distance from the sea the land becomes more elevated, and there is the best reason to believe that the causes of disease on the coast are unknown in the interior. On these highlands settlements will doubtless soon be established. Under date of the 28th of April, 1832, Dr. Mechlin writes, 'Among the emigrants by the Volador, Criterion, Orion, James Perkins, Margare, Mercer, and Crawford, the number of deaths will not average quite four per cent.' For emigrants from the wide extent of our southern country the climate may be pronounced salubrious.

Settlements.—The colony contains about 2800 emigrants from the United States, nearly half of whom are from Virginia. The colonists are mostly in six towns or villages, viz. Monrovia, Stockton, or the Halfway Farms, Caldwell, Millsburg, New Georgia, and Finley, a new settlement at Grand Bassa.

Monrovia is the principal place for trade, situated on Cape Montserado, (lat. about 6, 15 north) and contains from 800 to 1000 inhabitants.

Caldwell is a pleasant agricultural settlement on the St. Paul's river, distant nine miles from Monrovia, between which places there is at all times safe communication by boats through Stockton creek, which unites the Monserado and St. Paul's rivers.

Mills and Burgess (or, by contraction, *Millsburg*) is situated above Caldwell on the St. Paul's, about twenty miles from its mouth.

Stockton, or Halfway Farms, is on Stockton creek, equidistant from Monrovia and Caldwell.

New Georgia, about three miles southeast of Caldwell, is a very flourishing village of recaptured Africans, that is, of Africans who, while it was attempted to introduce them as slaves into the United States, were taken by our government and humanely restored to their native country. In number they are about 400, very industrious and enterprising, a number of them professors of religion, and all exceedingly anxious that schools should be established for their children.

Finley, at Grand Bassa, (distant eighty miles southeast from Mon-

rovia,) is a recent settlement, formed by about forty families from Monrovia, at one of the most important points on the coast, and likely to exert a vast and extensive influence over the natives.

Grand Bassa is a very fertile and populous country, abounding in rice, palm oil, and fine cattle, and offering every inducement to the industry and enterprise of agriculturists.

Contemplated settlement at Grand Cape Mount.—Possession has also been obtained at Grand Cape Mount; a position eminently advantageous for trade, and from which the annual exports are now estimated at from $60,000 to $70,000. The territory here ceded to the Society is situated at a short distance from the sea, on the shore of a lake, about twenty miles in length, navigable for small vessels, and into which flow several rivers, affording important facilities for commerce with the interior. The chiefs of the country, who are thought to be more advanced in civilization than any others south of Sierra Leone, have granted an unquestionable title to this land, on the sole condition that settlers shall be placed upon it, and that schools shall be established for the benefit of native children. Some of these chiefs having obtained the rudiments of an English education in Liberia, expressed earnest desires that the benefits of instruction should be afforded to their countrymen, and the young men declared their purpose of submitting to the laws of the colony, and their willingness to make farther grants of land, to any extent desired, whenever the terms of the present negotiation shall have been fulfilled. The spot selected for a settlement is said to be healthy, and the soil capable of producing almost every thing of value that grows within the tropics.

Contemplated settlement on St. Paul's River.—It is the intention of the colonial agent to examine, in conformity with the instructions of the board, the country above the falls, on the St. Paul's River, which, from the best accounts, is more salubrious, and at least of equal fertility with any other in the vicinity of the colony. The managers propose, with the least possible delay, to found and multiply settlements on the highlands of the interior.

Exploring tour in the Grand Bassa country.—The colonial agent, in a letter dated Feb. 28, 1833, speaking of the Grand Bassa country, says:—"With a view of opening the communication with the chiefs residing a few days' journey in the interior, I have furnished Mr. Weaver with an outfit of such articles as were suitable for presents, and directed him to ascend the St. John's river, either in canoes, or travel along its banks until he arrived at the country of a king who is said to be very powerful, and whose residence is about one hundred and fifty miles distant from the settlement. Bob Gray, one of the Grand Bassa chiefs, has promised to furnish him with guides, and use every means in his power to facilitate his progress through the country. Should he succeed in his mission, which I have every reason to believe will be the case, we will open to ourselves a country represented as fertile in the highest degree, and abounding in the most valuable African productions. From what I can learn, I am of the opinion that we will have less difficulty in penetrating into the interior from this point than any other we could select—it therefore would be the most eligible for missionary operations."

Population.—The number of the colonists a few months since was a little rising of 2,800; and although the manner in which this number is distributed among the different settlements is not accurately known, it probably does not vary materially from the following, viz. Monrovia 1000; Caldwell 600; Millsburg 400; New Georgia 400; Stockton 200; Finley 200.

Commerce.—The colonists are actively engaged in trade, disposing of goods supplied by this country and England, for dye woods, ivory, hides, gold, palm oil, and rice, which they purchase by barter from the natives. The net profits on the two articles of wood and ivory, passing through the hands of the settlers, from January 1st, 1826, to June 15, 1826, was $30,786. In 1829 the exports of African products amounted to $60,000. In 1831, forty-six vessels, twenty-one of which were American, visited the colony in the course of the year, and the amount of exports was $88,911.

During the year 1832 commerce greatly advanced, and new avenues for communication and trade were opened with the interior. Caravans from a considerable distance visited the colony, and the people of the Dey country agreed to permit traders to pass without delay or molestation through their territories to the colonial settlements. They had been in the habit of obstructing the trade, by compelling the remote natives to employ them as their commercial agents, and thus monopolizing the productions of the country, and raising their price in the market. By a treaty with the Dey chiefs, the whole channel of trade with the remote tribes is now left clear, which must increase greatly both its measure and value. During the year, ending the first of May, 1832, fifty-nine vessels had visited the port of Monrovia, of which thirty-two were American, twenty-five English, and two French. The exports during the same period, (consisting chiefly of camwood, ivory, palm oil, tortoise shell, and gold,) amounted to $125,549 16; of imports, to $80,000—and the merchandize and produce on hand on the first of January, 1832, to $47,400. The colony is becoming known to tribes far distant from the coast, and Mandingo traders and others have visited it from the borders of Foota Jallo.

Education.—The great interests of education have been earnestly considered by the board and the colonial agent. There are six day schools, for children, and one evening school for adults, comprising altogether two hundred and twenty-six pupils. The two female schools (one at Monrovia and the other at Caldwell,) are attended by ninety-nine girls, and the salaries of their respectable and well-qualified teachers are defrayed by a society of benevolent ladies in Philadelphia. Inadequacy of funds alone has prevented the establishment of schools among the recaptured Africans, who are importunate for means of education; but the board in their last report state that this deficiency has been supplied by the charity of the ladies just mentioned, and that under their patronage, a teacher for the recaptured Africans, of competent ability and excellent character, has sailed for Liberia. Many of these people can now read, and a Sunday school (of which there are several in the colony) has been established among them; some of their own number acting as teachers. Some regulations have been adopted, which it is thought will render the colonial revenue sufficient for the support of a general system of common school education.

A foundation for a high, school or seminary to prepare youth not only to become able teachers of the most useful branches of knowledge, but to fulfil successfully their duties as public officers or ministers of religion, has been laid by a munificent donation of $2,000 from Henry Shelden, Esq., of New-York, and of four hundred dollars from another distinguished friend of the Society, to be invested as a permanent fund for the support of such an institution, and it is hoped that one may soon be established on a broad and lasting foundation. To this object the managers invite contributions, and express their anxious desire that the fund set apart for it may be sufficiently increased to secure the permanent prosperity of the seminary.

Moral state of the colony.—Open immoralities are rare; the Sabbath is strictly observed, and public worship attended by nearly the whole community with regularity and decorum. Three churches were erected during the year 1832; one at Monrovia, and two others in the villages of the recaptured Africans. The state of these recaptured Africans is most interesting. They manifest an earnest desire for knowledge, and especially for religious knowledge. Some of them have already professed Christianity, and they are represented to be, as a people, contented, and independent, and rapidly improving in intelligence and respectability.

Various pamphlets and tracts lately introduced in regard to temperance, have wrought a striking change in the minds of the colonists, and many seem disposed to abandon entirely the use of ardent spirits. The colonial agent has given it as his opinion, that this article is extremely pernicious in the African climate; and will discourage by all the means in his power, the consumption of it within the colony.'

CRITICAL EXAMINATION

Of those texts in the New Testament rendered 'before,' 'from,' and 'since the foundation of the world.'

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

To come at a satisfactory answer as to the meaning of such passages, in the New Testament, where they evidently refer to the salvation of men, it may be necessary first to inquire whether they allude to the same period of time, either before or after this material world was actually created.

1. That they do refer to one and the same period of time is evident from the *similarity* in the language; in each passage the mind is carried back TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD; and though in one place it is said *before*, and in others *from*, and *since the foundation of the world*, there can be no dispute but that they refer to one and the same time.

2. This will appear still more evident if we consider that in all these passages reference is made to one and the same *thing*; that is, the *salvation of men*, through *Jesus Christ*, according to the *purpose of God*,

3. The words *before*, *from*, and *since*, as they are used in the passages referred to above, do not militate against this supposition. This, however, will appear, perhaps, more fully in the sequel.

We may now inquire whether these texts of Scripture do refer to a *definable period* in the duration of time; and if so, to what period they do refer, and what was the design of Jesus Christ and the sacred writers in the use of such language.

1. These texts do refer to a definite period in the duration of time. *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;* Matt. xxv, 34. In this text we are told *what* was done; a kingdom was *prepared, made ready*, and the text declares *when* it was done; it was done at the very time when the world was first created. And again, *According as he hath chosen us in Him before the foundation of the world;* Eph. i, 14. Here also, the apostle tells us *what* God has done, He has *purposed*, according to *the good pleasure of his will*, to give Jesus Christ a sacrifice for the sins of the world; this God did before, as long ago as the world was founded. This is that *purpose* of which the same apostle speaks in Heb. vi, 17, where he calls it God's *immutable counsel*, and declares that God *confirmed it by an oath, that we might have strong consolation* who embrace the Savior, so long before promised for the salvation of the world. There was a time, then, when this purpose was first formed, because if it *never was* formed, *it does not* and *never did exist*. But it may be objected to the above, that the purpose or counsel of God, mentioned in Eph. i, 4, never was *formed*, but *exists without beginning*. To this I answer, 1. If this purpose to give Jesus Christ for the salvation of the world, NEVER *had a beginning*, it does not exist *now*, as any one must see; for nothing exists now which never had a beginning, but the infinite God. It is true, this purpose is called eternal, that is, *immutable*—is never to be *changed* or *altered* for another. But, secondly, the passages of Scripture now under consideration declare expressly that there was a *time* when this purpose *was formed*, a time when God's promise was made; and it is every where referred to *the foundation of the world*. Now to say that a thing actually without *any beginning* took place at such or such a time, *before, from*, or SINCE *the foundation of the world*, is to use language directly calculated to lead the mind astray from the real fact in the case.

'It is the object of all language,' says Professor TITTMANN, 'not only to excite the same thought in the mind of others, but also so to excite the same thought, that it may be conceived, and, as it were, felt in the same manner.' But when we read of something *kept secret from the foundation of the world*—of *blood shed from the foundation of the world*—of *works finished from the foundation of the world*—of sufferings *since the foundation of the world*—of a *call to salvation*, according to a *purpose formed before the foundation of the world*—and of the *Lamb slain from the foundation of the world*—when we read such language, does it excite in the mind an idea of something which, in fact, really NEVER *had any beginning?* Is such language calculated to excite such a thought? Nay, is it not rather directly calculated to give us an idea of something directly the reverse, of something which had *a beginning?*

It does therefore appear most evident that the above text refers to a *definite, definable period* in the duration of time, or eternity if you please, when the purpose of God was formed to give his Son for the salvation of the world.

We next inquire, To what particular period of time do these texts refer? And to this question one of three answers must be given. They either refer, first, to a time *before* God created the heavens and the earth; or, secondly, to the very time *when* the heavens and the earth were created; or, thirdly, to a time *subsequent* to the creation. To say they refer to time before the creation is to contradict the very first fact declared in the Bible. This says, 'IN THE BEGINNING *God created the heavens and the earth*,' Gen. i, 1; '*And thou, Lord*, IN THE BEGINNING *hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thine hands*,' Heb. i, 10. And so throughout the whole Bible there is an unbroken silence as it respects any thing which the Deity ever did, before the time referred to in these texts, concerning the world of mankind. We read of His *possessing wisdom from everlasting*, but not a word of any purpose or work of God, in relation to a world of sinners, is *there* declared to be from everlasting; and we read, also, of the glory which Christ had with the Father before the world was—*before the world was*, not merely before, nor from, nor since the *foundation of the world*, as in the text above quoted.

And for the very same reasons, assigned above, these passages cannot refer to the six days when God was actually engaged in the works of creation; they must therefore refer to a time subsequent to the creation, so that it is said, in most of the texts under notice, *from* that time, *since* that time, from or since, that is, *very soon after the creation of the world.*

Let us now examine the meaning in which the words 'before,' 'from,' and 'since,' are used in many places, and especially in the above passages of Scripture. It is well known to those who are conversant with the language in which the New Testament was written, that every preposition in Greek has but one radical, proper meaning, which has generally been taken from sensible objects, and from this meaning all their secondary applications may be either immediately or circuitously traced. Hence the word προ, rendered *before*, refers either to *place* or *time;* and in ten or eleven out of about forty instances where it occurs in the New Testament, it refers to *place*, and not to time at all, and has the meaning of *at, in the view*, or *in the presence of a person or thing.* So it is used in the following passages:—Matt. xi, 10, προ προσωπου σου, *before thy face;* Acts v, 23, προ των θυρων, *before the doors;* Acts xii, 14, Πετρον προ του πυλωνος, *Peter* stood *before the gate;* Acts xiv, 13, Προ της Πολεως, here our version has *unto the gods;* Jam. v, 9, κριτης προ των θυρων εστηκεν, *the judge standeth before*, or is *at the door;* and see also Mark i, 2; Luke i, 76; vii, 27; ix, 52; Acts xii, 6; and Rev. iii, 9.

Hence the text in Eph. i, 4, καθως εξελεξατο ημας εν αυτω προ καταβολης κοσμου, that is, *according as God hath called us to a state of salvation, agreeably to that promise which He made of a Savior as long ago as this world was first created, at or about the time the foundations of the world were first laid.* This promise was made as soon as man

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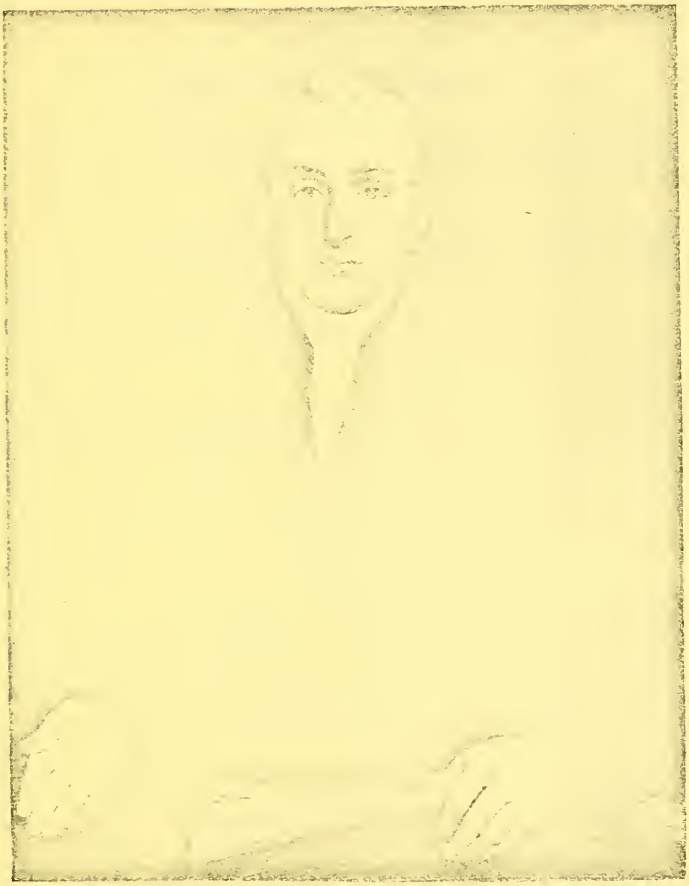
sinned, and at the time when God said, THE SEED OF THE WOMAN SHALL BRUISE THE SERPENT'S HEAD, as we read, Gen. iii, 15.

Again, 1 Pet. i, 19, 20: Forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things—but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot; who verily was foreordained *for this purpose*, προ καταβολης κοσμου, *at or about the very time the world was created*. That this is the meaning of the above text is most conclusively evident from other passages which speak of the same thing. So in Rev. xiii, 8, Christ is called the Lamb slain, not προ, *before*, but απο, FROM *the foundation of the world*. That is, the design of God to give Christ as a sacrifice for sin may be traced back to the very time when sin was first committed, even *to the foundation of the world*. Απο, *from*, like προ, *before*, is applied both to *time* and *place*; but, unlike the latter, it always implies a separation, either in time, place, or some other way. Hence ανεβηκατο του υδατος, *he went up from the water*; ορμαται απο Σαρδεων, *he marched from Sardis*; απο δεμοι, *away from affection, hatred*; απο τριτης ωρας, *from the third hour*. And thus of God's decree to give Christ for the salvation of men; it is *from the foundation of the world*, and may be traced back to the time when He first finished the works of creation. But in Heb. ix, 26, this same word is rendered *since*,—*For then must he oft have suffered since the foundation of the world*, since the time God promised, Gen. iii, 15, *that Christ should suffer*, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God.

But to the above, possibly, the reader may object, from the sense which he puts upon Titus i, 2, *In hope of eternal life, which God, that cannot lie, promised before the world began*, and the like texts. However, this objection is obviated at once when we know that the word in this text rendered *world* is not κοσμος, as in the text I have examined, but χρονων, *times* or *ages*; and so it is rendered in Col. i, 26, and thus it might be rendered in each of the following texts:—Luke i, 70; 1 Cor. ii, 7. See Matt. ii, 7; Mark ii, 9; Luke i, 57; John v, 6; Acts i, 6; 1 Thess. v, 1. Hence, says Dr. Macknight, who was a Calvinist, the true literal meaning of προ χρονων αιωνιων, is, *before the secular times*, referring us to the *Jewish jubilees*, by which times were computed among the Hebrews.

We may now, it is believed, easily perceive the design of the sacred writers in the use of the language we have been considering. The Jews were ever ready to cavil at the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ. See Eph. i, 9; iii, 11; Acts xi, 2–18; Rom. ix, 19–33, and xvi, 25. They objected, especially, to the salvation of the Gentiles, as, being from the beginning excluded from the covenant and design of God, they could not be saved. And against this objection some of the most cogent reasonings in the epistles of the New Testament are directed, and nearly the whole of the Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians. But the apostle goes on to show, which he does most forcibly, that the death of Jesus Christ, Acts ii, 22, 23, the calling and salvation of the Gentiles, Rom. viii, 29; Eph. i, 4, are no fortuitous events in the economy of God, Gen. iii, 15; xxii, 16, 17; Heb. vi, 16, 17; but were *designed* and *planned*, by the infinite Being, *from the foundation of the world*.

LA ROY SUNDERLAND.



REV. WILLIAM RYLAND.

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A DISCOURSE

Delivered at the dedication of a Church in Danby, N. Y., by the Rev. Elias Bowen, Presiding Elder of the Berkshire District, Oneida Conference.

'God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth,' John iv, 24.

These words grew out of a conversation which took place between our blessed Savior, in the days of his flesh, and a Samaritan female, on the subject of religion. The woman, it is true, from her ignorance of Divine things, and from the figurative language which our Savior employed, did not at first conceive His design, either as it respected the subject introduced, or the use He intended to make of it: For a while she viewed Him in the light of a common traveller; and perceiving Him to be a Jew, she was greatly surprised that He should treat with so much courtesy a woman of Samaria. But 'He' who 'knew what was in man,' and how to address both the understanding and the heart, was soon able to make Himself understood: the great principles of the Christian institution which He kept constantly in view, as 'He went about doing good,' were clearly developed; and the woman, in becoming acquainted with His true character, as God's Messiah, became, of course, acquainted with herself, and 'was made wise unto salvation.' The long and virulent controversy which was carried on between the Samaritans and superstitious Jews, need not be recapitulated. It is well known that several points of difference, concerning the worship of God, entered into their discussions; among which that mentioned by the woman appears to have been the chief:—'Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; but ye say that Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.' From this remark, our Savior, instead of espousing either side of the controversy, took occasion to introduce the true worship, as it was about to be established under the Gospel dispensation, by showing that it did not consist in outward forms, or local considerations, like the worship observed among the Jews and Samaritans; but that it was a spiritual institution, founded upon the nature of its Divine Author: 'God is a Spirit,' saith He in the words of our text, 'God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.'

The worship of almighty God, as a Divine institution of great practical utility, presents a strong claim to our notice: and on this occasion, especially when we consider the object for which we are assembled, the consideration of it seems peculiarly appropriate. We shall therefore proceed to examine the institution of Divine worship, in regard to its *subjects*,—its *nature*,—its *external character*,—its *perpetual obligation*,—its *manner*,—its *support*,—and its *location*.

I. And, *first*, we are to consider the institution of Divine worship in regard to its *subjects*.

1. As Divine worship consists in paying homage to the Deity, under a sense of obligation to Him, it is of universal application, embracing all intelligent creatures, and especially the human family, since 'He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things.' Or having 'created all things' at first, He still continues to 'uphold them, by the word of His power.' It is perfectly immaterial whether we suppose with some, that there is a natural tendency in the creature to exist, and that it requires an effort of the Deity to produce annihilation; or with others, that there is a natural tendency in the creature to annihilation, while it requires an effort of the Deity to perpetuate the existence of His works. If the former, He has kindly forborne to make it: if the latter, He has been graciously pleased to put it forth. In either case, therefore, we are obliged to acknowledge with the apostle, that it is 'in Him we live, move, and have our being.' Or, in the more ample declaration of St. Paul, 'By Him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, principalities or powers: all things were created by Him, and for Him: and He is before all things, and by Him all things consist.'

2. The duty of paying religious adoration to God, being of universal application, it is universally enjoined by Divine authority. The psalmist says, in the language of general precept, at least so far as the human family are concerned: 'Come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the Lord our Maker.' In Heb. God is represented as saying, 'When He bringeth in His first begotten into the world, let all the angels of God worship Him,' extending the obligation most clearly to all the heavenly hosts, who 'rest not day and night, crying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.' But that no exception to this interesting duty might be claimed, on the part of any creature which God has made, whether angelic or human, animate or inanimate, the psalmist again breaks out in the following strain: 'Bless the Lord, ye his angels that excel in strength, that do His commandments, hearkening unto the voice of His word. Bless ye the Lord, all ye His hosts; ye ministers of His that do His pleasure. Bless the Lord, all His works in all places of His dominion:' and as if no being were under equal obligations of gratitude and praise with himself, he adds, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul.'

3. The obligation resting upon us to worship God is universally felt and acknowledged; for if we except a few Christian infidels who from the licentiousness of their character are entitled to little or no regard, all nations have a religious creed; in which are recognised, whether it be Christian, Jewish, or Pagan, the existence and government of a Supreme Being, with the dependent situation of all His

creatures. It is remarkable too, that the mythology of heathen nations, from its sacrificial character, involves the grand principles of Christianity; as the doctrine of vicarious sacrifices not only implies the existence of a God, but likewise the depravity of mankind, and the hope of salvation on the ground of mercy. It is true, there is an obscure tribe in one of the Pacific isles, among whom no institution of religious worship has been discovered: it is more than probable, however, that this circumstance should be ascribed, not to the fact that no such institution exists, but to our ignorance of its history. Were they less remote from us in their situation, or had we a better knowledge of their language, with other adequate means for tracing out their manners and customs, it would unquestionably appear that they are in the habit of observing some form of religious worship in common with the rest of mankind.

II. If the worship of God devolve upon us as a moral duty of the highest consideration, it is infinitely desirable to have just conceptions of its nature; which it is proposed in the next place to examine.

As it regards the *nature* of Divine worship, we need only read in our text, 'God is a Spirit: and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth,' in order to perceive that it is *essentially spiritual*. The subject, however, is capable of being presented in various lights.

1. In the first place, it appears from the context, that by spiritual worship is chiefly intended the Gospel dispensation, or the worship to be offered under it, in contradistinction from the Mosaic. Our Savior could have had nothing else in view when He says, 'Woman, believe me, the hour is coming, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye know not what: we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship Him.' A change of dispensation in the economy of Divine grace, was an event to which our Savior, both in His social interviews and public teaching, frequently referred, as being essentially connected with the grand mystery of His incarnation. He not only inculcated the idea that 'the handwriting of ordinances' was about to be 'taken out of the way, being nailed to His cross,' and that the Christian institution was immediately to succeed in its room; but that the latter, in comparison of the former, would be inconceivably more spiritual and glorious; partaking less of those rites and ceremonies which encumber religious devotion, and more of those exercises and affections which elevate the mind, and lead to communion with God. The same comparison is drawn between the ceremonial law, and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, by St. Paul, where he says, 'That which was glorious had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth.'

2. We are to understand, in the second place, by spiritual worship, the exercise of holy affections; or that worship which ascends from the altar of our hearts, in contradistinction to forms of any kind, whether Christian, Jewish, or Pagan. This sentiment is well sustained by David when he says, 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' To the

same effect St. Paul expresses himself in the following explicit declaration: 'For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God.' Our forms may be ever so splendid and consistent in themselves,—indeed, they may be the very forms which God himself has prescribed in His holy word; and yet, if our hearts be not in them, we shall come before Him in the same character which he applied to the Jews, when He said of that formal and lifeless generation, 'This people draweth nigh to me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me: but in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrine the commandments of men.' In order to perceive more clearly, if possible, that mere forms can never be pleasing to God, or answer the end of worship with regard to His people, let it be inquired whether the mere forms of friendship or respect, as a substitute for those affections which they are intended to represent, would be pleasing to ourselves? or whether, on the contrary, we should view them as vain and empty compliments, and reject them with merited indignation? If then, as finite beings, who have so poor a claim to be respected from any source, we could only accept such honor as should be tendered us, not merely in form, but also in fact, how unworthy must be our conceptions of the great God who is entitled to the sincere and affectionate homage of all intelligent creatures; to think of pleasing Him, or discharging the obligations of spiritual worship, by offering up our sacrifices, not 'in deed and in truth; but only in word and in tongue:'—'For what is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord.' It is enough that He condescends to accept our best oblations: and even this evinces a benevolence of which none is capable but himself. What an infinite insult must it be, therefore, to offer upon the altar of worship, 'the lame and the sick.'

3. It seems necessary to remark, once more, that by spiritual worship is meant a lively, animated, and fervent manner,—in opposition to a dull and languid service. And really, there is no exercise whatever, where indifference would be less excusable than in the worship of almighty God. To illustrate this point, let us imagine ourselves about to enter the presence of an earthly potentate, having the power of life and death over us; to acknowledge the munificence of his hand,—or ask the continuance of his favor,—or pay him such homage as might be due to his rank:—above all, let it be supposed that we are coming before him in the character of culprits, to intercede for our forfeited lives; feeling conscious, at the same time, that we have nothing to plead in our behalf but the clemency of our offended sovereign: and then let it be inquired what room there would be for indifference? In such a case, it is scarcely necessary to remark, the deepest solicitude would seize our minds, and the most profound respect would characterize our deportment; and, summoning all the energies of our nature, we should present our suit with an earnestness commensurate to its importance. With what fear and trembling then should we come before the 'King of kings, and Lord of lords,' who wields the destiny of all His creatures with absolute control; especially

since we deserve nothing at His hand, in strict justice, but an endless death, as the consequence and punishment of our sins. And shall we dare to tread the courts of our God with heedless steps? Or doze at the altar of prayer, when the interests of eternity are suspended upon the issue? Shall we provoke the Savior, by our 'lukewarmness' in a case of life and death, to 'spue us out of His mouth?' Or shall we engage in the exercise of worship with all that interest and fervour which are suited to the nature of our business? O my Christian friends! let us never come before God in the character of worshippers, without feeling deeply impressed with the idea that 'the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence: and the violent taketh it by force.' And while we 'wrestle with the angel of God' in prayer,—exclaiming in the language of unyielding importunity, 'I will not let Thee go except Thou bless me;' let us pursue with equal animation and perseverance, every other branch of Christian worship.

4. It still remains, as it regards the nature of Divine worship, after considering its spirituality, to present it in the character of truth; which constitutes a leading feature of our text: since it is there expressly required that we worship God, not only 'in spirit,' but 'in truth' also.

5. The first thought suggested by this member of the text is, that it devolves on us to offer before God the true worship; or to worship him not in pretext, like the hypocrite, but in reality, i. e. with a sincere heart; a circumstance in the experience of all genuine Christians, which renders 'the yoke of Christ easy, and his burden light.' A very partial acquaintance with the history of mankind will show that the mere semblance of worship seldom answers the purposes, to any great extent, for which it is assumed. The guise, in general, is easily penetrated: and while the heartless Christian has little credit with any class of community, he is not only disturbed by the unceasing roar of a guilty conscience, but the fearful maledictions of Heaven are for ever ringing in his ears:—'When ye spread forth your hands, I will hide my face from you: when ye make many prayers I will not hear, for your hands are full of blood.' But turning from a scene where 'the sinners in Zion are afraid;' and 'fearfulness hath surprised the hypocrites,' let us feel like David, when he said, as well from his own experience as by inspiration, 'If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me.' And, that our sacrifices may come up with acceptance before God, 'Let us draw near with a *true* heart, in full assurance of faith; having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water.'

6. But again: The idea strikes us very forcibly, that worshipping God 'in truth,' is nothing less or more than to worship him as the Scriptures require. In our excellent Discipline it is said, as an article of religion, that 'The word of God is the only sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice.' And when we consider the unstable and fluctuating character of those who follow special impressions, which they call 'the Spirit,' as a rule of conduct; we sensibly realize how necessary it is that we 'try every spirit,' or impression of our minds, by 'the word;' and that we reject, as a dangerous illusion, every impulse of religious feeling which does not agree with this standard.

Were our various impressions or feelings to be implicitly followed in matters of religion, we should have as many different standards of Christian worship, as there are individuals belonging to the Church: or rather, as the same individual, upon this plan, would be constantly changing with every shifting breeze, we should have no standard at all. But our gracious heavenly Father, instead of leaving us to the direction of a rule so vague and illusive, has given us an outward and sensible guide in the Holy Scriptures; where are clearly contained the grand principles and outlines of that worship which He is pleased to accept at our hands. It is here we learn that evangelical faith is essential to the genuineness and success of Christian worship; as it is expressly said:—'He that cometh to God must believe that He is; and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.' It is here we learn also, that God will accept no worship at our hands which is not offered under the influence, and by the aid, of His Holy Spirit, according to the Scriptures; or, as our text has it, 'in spirit and in truth.'

III. Having treated of Divine worship in regard to its subjects and nature, we shall consider it under our third general proposition, with respect to its external character.

1. And we shall begin by observing, that were the institution of religious worship exclusively personal in its obligations and duties, it might be restrained to mental exercises, or at least confined to the closet; but as it is of a social character, it is required of us that we express our religious feelings by external ceremonies, or forms,—as praying, singing, and preaching. It is true, the exercise has been limited, by the definition which some have given of it, to singing and prayer; nor shall we be at the trouble to say, that they are not technically correct: it is very certain, however, that in the wider range of common language, preaching the word of God is also embraced; for we never hear Divine worship spoken of in general terms, without conceiving the idea of a religious assembly, alternately engaged in singing, praying, and preaching.

2. Inasmuch, then, as to 'minister in holy things,' or to preach the word of life, constitutes a part of Divine worship, it will not be difficult to show that this exercise is admirably adapted to express our religious feelings. To be persuaded of this fact we need only acquaint ourselves with sacred history, where many shining examples may be seen in the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. We are not exclusively indebted, however, to the times of Noah, of Moses, of Jeremiah, or of St. Paul, for an example of uncommon devotion to the cause of God, and the interests of mankind, as the effect and evidence of religious feeling: it were easy to make out, by referring to Wesley, Clarke, Asbury, and many others, that the calling of a Christian minister affords many advantages for the display of holy affections, which are not to be met with in any other situation under heaven. It may be said of the Christian minister, as a proof of his submission to the Divine will, that he no sooner hears the 'inward and spiritual call' of his profession, than his pious soul responds, though it be in the certain prospect of danger, and of death:—'Here am I, Lord; send me. Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?' And while he evinces his ardent love of souls by the readiness with which he consents to 'labor and suffer

reproach,' that he may 'win them to Christ;' he actually demonstrates a lively faith in the promises of God, as he could have no inducement to cultivate his Master's vineyard, in the character of a 'good and faithful servant,' were it not for the assurance that 'he who goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.'

3. We shall, thirdly, notice, as it relates to outward exercises, that our religious feelings are expressed in a very appropriate manner by social prayer. It is true, our Savior has said, 'When thou prayest enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret; and thy Father who seeth in secret shall reward thee openly.' From which some have supposed that the exercise was intended exclusively for private purposes. It should not be overlooked, however, that in the same chapter, and in close connection with the above, he has given us a form of prayer, which, from its very nature and phraseology, must have been designed for public use. 'This prayer,' says Dr. Clarke, 'was evidently made in a peculiar manner for the children of God. And hence we are taught to say not *my* Father, but *our* Father. The heart of a child of God is a brotherly heart, in respect of all Christians: it asks nothing but in the spirit of unity, fellowship, and Christian charity; desiring that for its brethren which it desires for itself.' It is in the exercise of social prayer, especially, that we make a public acknowledgment of our dependence on God; our confidence in his mercy; and the gratitude we feel in view of His unlimited benevolence, as our Benefactor and Savior. And it is through this kind of prayer, too, that the people of God, as one great family, who have a common character, and a common interest, contribute, in a very high degree, to the mutual edification and improvement of each other. Indeed, the common benefit of associated strength belongs as much to united prayer, as any other combination; whether mechanical, political, ecclesiastical, or moral; and our Savior has been graciously pleased to encourage this exercise by promises of success, which are made to no other; particularly in the following passage:—'If two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father who is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.'

4. We shall farther remark, on this part of our subject, that among the external forms by which our religious feelings are expressed, vocal music may be regarded as holding an interesting place. It is a well-known fact, that music of different airs, is congenial with almost every state of the human mind; in view of which circumstance, different kinds of poetry, as didactic, descriptive, pastoral, tragic, &c, of a correspondent character, have been cultivated; that every passion of our nature might be expressed, and every condition of life benefited by the power of song. The effect produced from prosaic discourses is often greatly heightened in singing, by uniting sense with sound; or adding concord and harmony to articulation. And hence arises the prevailing passion of heroes and conquerors, to celebrate their chivalrous exploits, and deeds of glory, in epic strains; and hence, too, the practice which has been observed among God's people, in all ages, of singing their

deliverances, their triumphs, and their joys, as did the Israelites with Miriam, the sister of Moses, at their head, when they had passed through the Red Sea, in a miraculous manner, and had 'seen the salvation of God.'

IV. In considering Divine worship, fourthly, as being of perpetual obligation, we would observe, that there are many reasons why it should be often repeated; whether we view it in the light of preaching, praying, singing, or any other exercise which the institution may be supposed to embrace.

1. And first: That great diligence is essential to the Christian ministry, and should for ever characterize that part of Divine worship called preaching, appears from the widely extended field to be cultivated; embracing a thousand millions of immortal souls, and the vast interests which the ministry of God's holy word involves; both in regard to those who preach, and those who hear. Instead of being left, however, as ambassadors of Christ, to collect our duty from inferential sources, the necessity of being constantly occupied with our professional labors is inculcated by the express authority of God, where he says:—'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.' And still more impressively in the following language of St. Paul to Timothy:—'I charge thee, therefore, before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing and his kingdom; preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. For the time will come, when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, make full proof of thy ministry.' Or, as our Discipline expresses it, in 'The directions given to a preacher:'—'Be diligent. Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Never trifle away time. Neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary.' Had the pathetic exclamation of our Savior:—'The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few,' been applicable only to the time of his personal ministry on earth, we might, in that case, dispense with a measure of our zeal, and preach the Gospel, in general, as a matter of leisure and convenience. But since the 'Macedonian cries' of our own times and country are heard in every direction, 'waxing louder, and louder,' with almost every breeze; while many of our fellow laborers in the vineyard are annually falling martyrs to their excessive toil; or retiring from the field with bleeding lungs, and superannuated constitutions; with what activity should we 'thrust in the sickle, and reap,' remembering to 'pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth laborers into His harvest.'

2. But perhaps there is no religious exercise whatever, for which we shall find a more frequent occasion than that of prayer; for while 'preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ is committed' to a chosen few, as a special trust, or 'dispensation,' (since no man taketh this

honor to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron :) and a considerable portion of mankind are constitutionally denied the privilege of chanting their devotions in a song of praise ; it is expressly required in the word of God, 'that men *pray every where*, (evidently meaning the whole human family) lifting up holy hands, without wrath and doubting ;' and that they 'Pray without ceasing.' It will appear equally plain that the obligations of prayer, as a Christian duty, are both universal and unceasing, if we consider the different elements, or parts, of which it is composed : and we shall naturally be led, too, to avail ourselves of its incalculable benefits, as a privilege of the highest order. Let us, then, admit that prayer is made up of deprecation, petition, intercession, and thanksgiving ; and we shall perceive its peculiar adaptation, in one or other of these forms, to every stage and situation of life ; as we shall always have occasion to deprecate some merited evil, or petition for some favor, to which, in strict justice, we have no claim ; or, with great importunity, to urge some petition, involving the dearest interests, which, for a time, may seem to be disregarded ; or, at least, considering that 'all things work together for good to them that love God,' we shall feel the obligation resting upon us, 'In every thing to give thanks.' If, again, we consider the proper subjects of prayer, embraced in our own families,—the Church of Christ,—and 'a world that lieth in wickedness ;' especially, when we look at their numbers, the value of their souls, and the influence which our 'effectual, fervent prayers' may exert, through the blessing of God, upon their eternal destiny, we shall tremble under the fearful responsibility of our calling, as a praying community, and shall feel the importance of 'crying unto God, day and night : Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints.'

3. It only remains, on the perpetual obligation of Divine worship, to consider the subject of singing; an exercise for which there is sufficient occasion, without degrading it to the unworthy purposes of mere carnal pleasure or amusement. It has been supposed that singing was conducive to health, as a physical exercise. It is chiefly, however, in the light of a moral duty, or an important part of Christian worship, that we would present it to your notice on this occasion ; as in any other point of view the consideration of it would belong rather to the philosopher, or the musician, than to us. And we shall here remark, that as the human voice, by proper cultivation in regard to its strength, compass, and melody, becomes a moral engine of the most astonishing power, we should take particular pains to learn the rules of music, that we may wield it with the greatest possible effect in the service of God. Our Discipline says : 'Exhort all in the congregation to sing ; not one in ten only.' And while we are exceedingly anxious that the front seats in the gallery of this house, and every other church among us, should be regularly occupied with a numerous and well-organized choir, whose duty it shall be to lead in the exercise of singing, we desire, at the same time, that every voice above and below, throughout the entire assembly, capable of being employed in this part of worship, may contribute to the common edification. You can scarcely be presented with a stronger motive, however, to study the science of music,

for religious purposes, than by looking into its history, where it will be seen, under various modes and combinations, exhibiting an amazing influence—now operating as with magic art in disarming of his ferocity, and reducing to the harmlessness of a domestic animal, the cruel beast of prey; and then conveying truth to the sinner's heart in so charming and forcible a manner as to become the means of his salvation:—here expressing the more refined and elevated feelings of a pious soul, and raising the tone of Christian worship on earth to a level with the adoration of angels; and there with plaintive airs diminishing the cup of sorrow, and drying up the tear of affliction. Indeed, there is something in Christian melody so sweet and delightful that it seems hard to dismiss the theme; but still we have the comfortable hope, that if we are enabled to 'sing with the spirit and with the understanding also:—admonishing one another with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing with grace in our hearts to the Lord,' during this life, it will be our happiness to 'sing' in loftier strains for ever and ever 'the song of Moses and of the Lamb' in heaven.

V. We come, fifthly, to examine the manner in which Divine worship ought to be conducted.

1. And, in the first place, we should take special care that it be solemn, i. e. at the utmost distance from any thing light or trifling, as nothing could be more irreverent or disrespectful than to approach the supreme Being with an air of levity, or even with the familiarity of an equal. It is an axiom, as you probably know, in all religions, that every object of worship is entitled to that kind of homage which in its nature and ceremonies corresponds with his character. Hence it is that the worship of Bacchus, the heathen god of drunkenness, is made to consist of Bacchanalian practices or fits of intoxication; and that of Astarte, or Venus, in revels of the most obscene and appalling debauchery; while every other divinity throughout the heathen world, whatever may be his character or rank, must be adored with appropriate rites. If, therefore, our religious worship be paid to a holy and righteous God, the principle we have laid down, as being established by the consent of all nations, will determine it to be solemn and respectful. And we feel it incumbent on us to adjure the pious trifler, as a matter of consistency, that he will either inform us to what trait in the Divine character the tricks and witticisms of a religious mountebank are supposed to correspond, or instantly sacrifice them, especially in the house of God, at the shrine of a sober and decent Christianity. If, again, we look at the manner of Divine worship as it respects the Christian, at what time of his life, or under what circumstances, may we hope to entertain him with our holy fun? Is it while he is contemplating, with solemn delight, the awful majesty of God, and wondering at his stupendous love in the gift of a Savior, desiring to be 'changed into the same image from glory to glory?' or when he is mourning over his past unfaithfulness with 'a broken and contrite heart?' Is it while he is pouring out his soul in prayer with all the agonies of Christian sympathy for unconverted friends and relatives, or the wicked generally, being overwhelmed with a sense of their imminent danger? Or is it when he comes so near the Savior's cross by faith as to 'see him heave, and hear him groan, and feel his gushing blood?' Or, finally,

is it when he is struggling with 'the last enemy,' about to leave a circle of weeping friends on earth, and mingle with the disembodied spirits of eternity! Indeed, were our religious exercises undertaken with exclusive reference to the irreligious part of community, there are many reasons why they should be conducted with great solemnity; for while religious trifling never fails to grieve away the Holy Spirit, and fill the genuine Christian with extreme disgust, it tends to shake the confidence of sinners in Christianity itself, as they are prone to confound religion in general with the conduct of its professed friends. And really one would imagine that our great solicitude for those who 'are in the gall of bitterness and bonds of iniquity,' would be sufficient for ever to exclude a spirit of trifling from the Christian character, and clothe it with the more appropriate mantle of 'truth and soberness.'

2. In farther considering the manner of Divine worship, it will be found to partake of that sweet and dignified cheerfulness which places it at an equal distance from a foolish levity on the one hand, and a superstitious sadness on the other. It is, indeed, so far from being true, that Christian experience destroys the social affections, and renders us monkish and gloomy, as the world generally suppose, that there is nothing in the universe less chargeable with such influence, and nothing to which we are so much indebted for a cheerful and happy frame of mind: since it not only places us in the company of holy beings, as God and his children, where peace and friendship reign; but it creates in our bosoms the most enlivening hopes of reaching heaven, 'where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.' But though we might greatly enlarge here, by enumerating the causes of that cheerfulness, which is peculiar to the exercise of Christian worship, we shall content ourselves with simply observing, that while the impenitent are left to 'weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon them,' it is made the enviable prerogative of Christian worshippers to 'rejoice evermore;' and as the worship they offer before God is the effusion of a pure and peaceful heart, it must necessarily be calm, serene, and cheerful.

3. We shall pass, thirdly, to notice that the worship of God, in regard to its manner, should be pure and simple, allowing of no extraneous or adulterating mixtures. In order to which it should be scrupulously restrained to those symbols that have been consecrated by primitive usage; for we no sooner lose sight of 'the old landmarks,' in matters of religion, than 'we err and stray from God like lost sheep.' Of this fact the Jewish hierarchy have exhibited but too clear a proof, as their history sufficiently shows. You are aware that they had been for centuries 'the peculiar people of God,' and might have had the honor of transmitting the institution of Divine worship, substantially, to the latest posterity; but departing from the simplicity of their sacred ritual, and grafting one superstitious observance after another upon the temple service, 'they made void the law through their traditions,' and profanely changed the 'house of prayer for all people' into 'a den of thieves.' Another pitiful instance of apostasy, resulting from similar causes, may be seen in the fallen Church of Rome, who have 'crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame.' It is probably well known that this 'whore of Babylon,' as

the papal see is deservedly called, was once the 'virgin daughter of Zion.' In consequence, however, of substituting the decrees of popes and councils for the pure worship of God, she has degenerated into a sect of Christian idolaters, polluting her sacred altars with the basest image worship. From these lamentable examples of moral deterioration, and many others which might be mentioned, where the downfall of entire Churches has been occasioned by corrupting the worship of God, we learn the paramount importance of preserving the institution in a pure and simple state; rejecting, as a dangerous innovation, and threatening our very existence as a Church, that accumulation of rites and ceremonies which is so common to all religious denominations. And we would here state as a premonitory fact, which it is presumed none acquainted with ecclesiastical history will deny, that the incipient stages of apostasy, in every fallen Church, have been marked by the multiplication of rules and regulations, forms and ceremonies of human invention: and that the number of these cumbersome rites has always been increased in exact proportion as the spirit of true religion declined. But while the example of other times and countries is held up as a beacon of solemn warning to the corrupter of Divine worship, it must be remembered that our main security lies in the practical love of God, as a sovereign antidote against moral corruption of every kind, whether it regard the manner or matter of our devotions, and the only source from which a pure, consistent, and acceptable form of worship can spring.

Were we to become dazzled with the senseless parade of superstitious Churches, and suffer our 'minds to be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ,' we should soon be left to mourn over our lifeless and shallow forms, saying, 'The glory is departed;' or to sing, in doleful strains, the truly forlorn, yet appropriate dirge—

> 'But I of means have made my boast,
> Of means an idol made:
> The spirit in the letter lost,
> The substance in the shade:'

for surely 'the Lord God would slay us, and call his servants by another name!'

VI. Under the sixth general division of our subject we are to consider that the public worship of God, especially, should be faithfully maintained, as an institution of great utility.

But before we insist directly on the duty of maintaining Divine worship, it will be necessary to speak of its benign influence upon the civil, moral, and religious character of mankind, as a preparatory step.

1. And if we consider, first, the influence exerted upon civil life by the public worship of God, its utility will be presented in a very strong light; since it has been determined, particularly of late, by our missionary operations among the heathen, that experimental and practical godliness, involving the necessary existence of public worship, is the only sure and permanent basis of all civil institutions. It is true, that civilization has been advanced to a state of comparative perfection in heathen countries, as in ancient Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome; but owing to their ignorance of the true God, and the barbarous influence of a false religion, many serious blemishes are to be met with in their civil history, especially as it relates to the incontinent and brutal

custom of polygamy, the impolitic and ruthless immolation of human victims, and the diabolical vice of suicide! If, however, we turn from this dark and gloomy picture of heathen perfection, the fairest perhaps which can be drawn of any people 'who know not God,' and contemplate those Christian nations who discard polytheism, as a senseless fabrication, and 'worship God in Spirit and in truth;' we shall be presented with a pleasing contrast, where the lights of science shine with increasing splendor, and the arts of civilized life are regularly approaching a state of the highest improvement: while many heathen tribes are receiving the peculiar blessings of civil society, and preparing to hold a respectable rank among the nations in regard to their civil character, as the consequence of Christian worship, introduced among them through missionary enterprise.

2. Nor, secondly, are we less indebted to Divine worship, publicly maintained, for our moral character than for our civil; as the sum total of pure morality, both in principle and practice, must be ascribed to this institution. It alters not the case that many are comparatively moral, who have no visible connection with the Church, and never take an active part in the exercises of religious devotion; for their morality, in every instance, so far as it is genuine, will be found to result from Divine influences, influenced, chiefly, through the means of public worship. Or if it be the effect of some other cause, as when our evil propensities are restrained by considerations of natural affection, worldly fear, or self-interest, in general; it is not morality in fact, but only in name and appearance. As a clear and forcible demonstration, however, that the moral character of community, even beyond the pale of Church fellowship, is materially affected by Christian influence, especially where the worship of God is publicly maintained, we need only refer to the French revolution of seventeen hundred and ninety-two; when the abolition of Christian worship, by legislative authority, no sooner took place, than a scene of anarchy and assassination ensued, which not only evinced the absolute insufficiency of all human institutions to produce a moral state of society, or restrain the violence of outbreaking sin, but also determined 'the reign of reason,' as it was called, to be the reign of terror and of death!

3. But, however we may appreciate the institution of Divine worship, on account of its civil and moral effects, it is chiefly to be valued as a necessary means of grace, essentially affecting our religious character. For while it only operates incidentally to improve the civil and moral state of society during this life, it contemplates nothing less, as a primary object, which it has a direct tendency to promote, than the present, future, and eternal salvation of our perishing world. Could we survey the human family at large, and penetrate the invisible world, with 'an all-seeing eye,' we should, doubtless, behold a 'thousand thousands,' in the Church militant, 'and ten thousand times ten thousand,' in the Church triumphant, who would point to the worship of God, in its various parts and tendencies, as the means of their salvation. Or, if we could listen to a detail of all those circumstances under which they have been severally awakened, and converted to a holy life, we should certainly hear an account of their experience equally creditable to the services of God's house, that would thrill us

through and through with the mingled emotions of astonishment and joy. One would be heard ascribing his salvation, under God, either directly or indirectly, to 'the foolishness of preaching:' another to 'the effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man:' a third, to 'a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice,' or of a worshipping assembly, in general, pouring forth, in heavenly strains, the effusions of a devotional spirit: a fourth, to the salutary example of God's people, 'speaking often one to another,' in the language of Christian experience, and recommending true religion as 'the one thing needful:' while all the saints on earth, and all the redeemed in heaven, as if the means of their own salvation, individually, had been pointed out, would simultaneously repond, 'Amen:' 'Hallelujah!' 'Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift.' And shall we not, my dear audience, shall we not pray that this house, which you have so opportunely erected, and which we are now solemnly dedicating to the worship of almighty God, may become a 'Bethel' to many precious souls, who shall be restored to the favor and image of God through the means of your devotions? And while we pray, may we not indulge the pleasing hope that thousands, in process of time, approaching this altar as candidates for prayer, will find it 'the house of God and the gate of heaven;' concerning whom it shall be said in the day of retribution, 'that this man was born there?'

Having shown, in a brief, and, as we would hope, conclusive manner, the great utility of public worship, both as it respects the civil, moral, and religious character of mankind; the way seems fairly open for considering the importance and means of maintaining it in the most respectable and efficient style throughout the world.

1. We shall, therefore, observe, in the first place, that the worship of God cannot now be publicly maintained among us, to any great effect, at least in many places, without the erection of churches, for being aware of their ability to provide themselves with houses of worship, and perceiving, as some do, that there is no way so effectually to advance the interests of true religion; and as is the case with all, that no measure can do more to establish good order in society, and place them in the same rank with those enlightened assemblies where 'the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered' in consecrated temples, the people are loudly calling for such accommodations, especially as it relates to our own distinctive economy. And if we have any skill for 'discerning the signs of the times,' or tracing the connection of cause and effect in the moral world, we must not only ascribe the zeal for church building, which so generally characterizes the members and friends of our connection at this moment, to the special agency of God, but we must regard it also as a sure indication of Providence that 'the set time to favor [our] Zion,' in regard to building churches, especially in this populous and flourishing country, 'has come.' And should we not avail ourselves of those advantages which are every where soliciting our acceptance for this purpose, they would justly fall into other hands, and leave us to deplore a loss that neither time nor eternity could retrieve! But notwithstanding our former apathy in regard to building churches, or rather the inadequacy of our means in a state of infancy, and the paramount importance of endeavoring 'to raise up a holy people,' or 'spread

Scripture holiness over these lands' by such helps as we were able to command, the scene, in some respects, has greatly changed. And while it is evident that we have by no means depreciated in point of deep, uniform, and rational piety, it is equally clear that we have raised the standard of our 'temporal economy' many degrees. We now see houses of worship, answering, in their number and magnitude, to the demands of our numerous congregations, beginning to rise in almost every circuit and station throughout the widening field of our labor. If, however, we would give our church-building system the greatest possible efficiency, in maintaining the worship of almighty God, it will be necessary, wherever we build, whether in cities, towns, or country places, to occupy, as we are able, the most central positions, to which points the people are attracted as well from considerations of business, pleasure, and curiosity, as those of a more serious nature. For while houses of worship, occupying other situations, are often entirely forsaken, and always poorly attended, those which are located at the various centres of population, will be distinguished as so many nuclea, around which numerous and permanent societies will be collected.

2. In regard to maintaining the public worship of God, we would observe, secondly, that the Christian ministry are required to act a leading part, not merely as teachers, but more especially in the character of pastors, or shepherds, to whom is committed, under considerations of high and awful responsibility, the care of souls. Hence, it is said to the ambassadors of Christ, *Study to show yourselves approved unto God, workmen that need not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth:* 'Take heed, therefore, unto yourselves, and to all the flock over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.' And hence, also, the following important charge is given them in our Discipline:—'You have nothing to do but to save souls: therefore, spend, and be spent, in this work; and go always, not only to those that want you, but to those that want you most. Observe! it is not your business only to preach so many times, and to take care of this or that society; but to save as many as you can; to bring as many sinners as you can to repentance, and with all your power to build them up in that holiness, without which they cannot see the Lord.' In these quotations, brethren, we see the nature and importance of our calling, as ministers of Christ, inculcated by the highest authority, viz. that of God and the Church. And when we consider, as the poet says, that

> 'This work might fill an angel's heart;
> And fill'd a Savior's hands;'

involving, as it does, the highest trust of any station under heaven, and consequently requiring the greatest talent and diligence to sustain it; we are not only surprised, but also grieved and mortified, that any among us, professing to preach the Gospel, should find so much leisure, as is sometimes the case, for other purposes: whether it be the wicked indulgence of a listless behavior, or the paltry speculations of a carnal life. Indeed, we were never 'moved by the Holy Ghost' to while

away our time in scenes of mental dissipation; nor have we been solemnly consecrated to holy orders by 'the laying on of the hands of the presbytery' for the transaction of any secular business whatever; and it can only be viewed in the light of a pious fraud, to ask a full support of those whose interests we but partially serve, either through the want of suitable qualifications, resulting from a sluggish habit of mind and the neglect of books, or the circumstance of being unduly occupied with other affairs. But while the unfaithful minister, after wounding the feelings of his friends, burthening the people of his charge, and 'betraying the Son of man' himself, falls into merited obscurity and disgrace, 'because he is a hireling, and careth not for the sheep:' let it be our business, my dear brethren 'in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ,' O let it be our exclusive business to preach the 'glad tidings of great joy which is unto all people;' being 'determined to know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.' And let us endeavor to maintain the institution of public worship by supporting the character of faithful pastors, whether it be in preaching, praying, 'visiting from house to house,' establishing Bible, missionary, Sabbath school, and tract societies; taking upon ourselves the agency of erecting churches and parsonages, or any other office by which the great ends of our calling, as Christian ministers, may be answered. But as we feel our inadequacy to present so important a subject in a proper light, we shall beg leave to submit it in the following appropriate language of St. Peter: 'The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be revealed: Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples unto the flock. And when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.'

3. But we would remark, thirdly, that after all we have said in favor of building churches, and cultivating ministerial gifts, for the purpose of maintaining public worship, unless the people generally, and especially professors of religion, attend the worship of God, and join in the exercises of devotion, it will be in vain to multiply houses of worship, however commodious, or supply them with a competent ministry. For should we 'forsake the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is,' or, like Thomas, be absent from the place where 'the disciples are assembled—the first day of the week,' we should in all probability be left to say, as the consequence of non-attendance, 'I will not believe,' though Jesus himself might 'stand in the midst, saying unto them, Peace be unto you.' That there is a kind of religious gossips who straggle about from one meeting to another for the purpose, no doubt, of getting their support, of whom it may be said that 'they walk among us disorderly, working not at all, but are busybodies,' we are constrained, though reluctantly, to acknowledge. And it is equally true, that there is a far more numerous class of 'keepers at home,' who fall into the opposite extreme, and seldom visit the place of worship at all; alleging, as an excuse, the most frivolous and unsatisfactory grounds: whereas the true standard is probably to be found in the

fourth commandment, where it is said, 'Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God'—appropriated to purposes of rest, i. e., according to the interpretation of all Christian commentators, to purposes of social and religious worship. We would not be here understood, however, so to divide the week between secular employments and the exercises of worship as exactly to coincide with the calendar, and thereby overthrow the practice of holding religious meetings on a week day; but rather to establish a just proportion between sacred and other duties, by showing that a seventh part of time, at least, belongs to the place or purposes of Divine worship. But as there is little occasion to enlarge on the exact portion of time that is due to the public exercises of religion, seeing this point is pretty nearly settled, as well by common consent as by the Holy Scriptures; we need only impress it upon you, dear people, to attend the public administration of God's word and ordinances, and unite together in the various exercises of social worship whenever it is practicable, especially on 'the Lord's day:' assuring you, at the same time, that while this interesting duty may be derived from primitive example, positive precept, and the commission of Christian ministers to 'teach us the way of life and salvation,' it is no less forcibly inculcated by the vast amount of good resulting to the stated worshipper, both as it respects himself, his family, and his neighborhood: and we are satisfied that you need only prove the utility of Divine worship by a faithful attendance upon its institution, in order to give it all that pecuniary support which its importance demands, and your means will justify. But I will not dwell on this point, since the liberality you have already manifested in providing a place of worship so entirely suitable in its location, extent, and structure, to the intelligent and numerical character of your congregation, can only be regarded as a pledge of your continued benevolence in maintaining the worship of God from year to year by voluntary contribution.

VII. Finally, in regard to the location or site of our devotions, it must be sufficiently evident that such places should always be chosen as are best adapted to favor the exercise.

1. It will appear, however, in the first place, that the accommodation of God's people in this respect, during the greater part of their history, has been rather indifferent, whether we look at the successive dispensations of time, or the various denominations of people, which have characterized the true Church. You know that under the patriarchal dispensation, from first to last, their only temple consisted in a private tent, a sacred grove, or the more simple shade of an insulated tree; and that it was not unusual to meet with altars composed of rude and shapeless stones in the open field. And you are aware, also, that in this plain and economical manner the children of Abraham continued to worship 'the God of their fathers' till the time of their exodus out of Egypt; when Moses, under the special direction of almighty God, constructed a kind of portable edifice or tent, called 'the tabernacle'—the first building, it is believed, that was ever specially dedicated to the worship of Jehovah, by the fallen race of Adam. It is equally clear that the second regular house of worship, and that to which the public services of religion were in due time transferred, was the mag-

nificent temple erected by Solomon at Jerusalem, long after the Israelites had become settled in the promised land. If we except a few general or national rites, however, the services of public worship were not always confined to the temple; as, after the captivity, houses of worship, called synagogues, were greatly multiplied throughout the nation. The account here given with regard to the rise and progress of church building under the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, may be applied with little difference to succeeding ages; for notwithstanding there were many houses of worship in Palestine, where the Christian Church was first established, yet a 'sect every where spoken against' could not be allowed to occupy them; but as if it were not enough to exclude them from the synagogues and temple, they must be pursued with the sword of extermination while they assembled for social worship and Christian conference in the most sequestered places at the peril of their lives. As the Church increased, however, in number, wealth, and influence, they were soon able to erect houses of worship for themselves; when a thousand Christian temples rose, piercing the clouds with their lofty spires, and summoning to their sacred altars, upon the weekly Sabbath, a thousand congregations by 'the church-going bell.' But while we leave Christendom, in general, filled, as it is among different sects, with a vast number of churches more or less spacious and magnificent, and trace the history of our own denomination in regard to church building, we shall find that the same course which has marked its progress in former ages, as we have seen above, has been taken by ourselves. And here we shall observe that Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors, in what we shall call the Wesleyan reformation, like the primitive apostles, were seldom allowed the occupancy of a regular church; being obliged to pursue their work irregularly, (as it was said in the language of bigotry,) preaching in the open air, and such other places as were inadequate to screen them from the violence of the infuriated mobs, by which they were often assailed. A happier fate, however, awaited our infant Church; the prospect of which, together with a consciousness of moving forward in the way of his duty, greatly animated the founder of Methodism in his arduous labors, and armed him with that Christian fortitude for which he was so eminently distinguished amid suffering and danger. It is true that in the beginning we were few and feeble, especially as it regarded places of worship. The first building ever appropriated exclusively to the worship of God as a Methodist church, was an old foundry, as we are told, in the city of London, which appears to have been fitted up chiefly at Mr. Wesley's private expense. And the first regular place of worship ever claimed by us on this side of the Atlantic, was a kind of warehouse in the city of New-York, a little before the American revolution. Nor was it till lately that our attention, as a distinct body, has been much engaged on the subject of erecting churches. Indeed, I recollect to have heard my reverend brother who is now associated with me in the desk, remark some time since that he had officiated at the dedication of more churches during his short ministry than had been erected at the time he became a travelling preacher in what are now called the Oneida and Genesee conferences. And I am certain there was a less number in those conferences at the time alluded to, by more than one-

half, than are now going up, embracing those which have been recently dedicated, in the Berkshire district. But 'the day of small things' with us, in regard to houses of worship, is happily gone by; and God has graciously 'put it into the hearts' of our members and friends 'to build him a house' in almost every place where such an accommodation is needed; insomuch that it is scarcely less common to meet with a Methodist church in travelling through the country, than one of another denomination. 'This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!'

2. We have already observed, in general terms, that in offering our devotions to God we should invariably choose those places which are best adapted to favor the exercise: and we shall proceed to maintain, secondly, that of all situations under heaven for this purpose, a church exclusively dedicated to Divine worship is the most eligible, as universal experience sufficiently demonstrates. But while this well-known fact may be ascribed to a variety of circumstances, as the relative position, the capacity, the internal economy, &c, of the house, we shall only notice, as a very interesting cause, the association of ideas, than which nothing presents a stronger motive in favor of building churches. And here we would remark that the human mind may be regarded as a kind of barometer, affected with surrounding circumstances; from which consideration, when a beautiful landscape, embracing all the varieties of an extended view, is spread out before us, our feelings naturally partake of the scenery, and a correspondent interest is excited in our minds; while other scenes, from the monotony and barrenness of their features, or from the boldness which they present, and the dangers they involve, either fail to afford us the least degree of pleasure, or excite in our minds sensations of horror. If, therefore, we select the place of Divine worship in reference to a correspondent disposition of the mind, we may innocently take advantage of our natural sympathies to aid the spirit of religious devotion: for which purpose, having been solemnly dedicated to His service, the house of God furnishes a peculiar opportunity for cherishing this disposition, as there can be nothing to divert our attention from the legitimate ends of social and Divine worship; while every object that meets the eye, and every sound that falls upon the ear, being associated with the great business of devotion, will naturally contribute more or less to induce a solemn and devotional frame of mind. In view of all which many will be led to exclaim, 'How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! my soul longeth, yea, even fainteth for the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh crieth out for the living God. For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.'

3. But we shall add, in conclusion, that while a house exclusively appropriated to the worship of God should always be preferred as the place of our public devotions, yet, in this respect, we are not limited, especially where we have not the means of providing such accommodations. No, my brethren: the God whom we adore, the omnipresent Deity, is confined neither to time, nor place, nor multitude; for, 'Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain Him; how much less this house that we have builded?' And yet He says, 'Where two

or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' And as Christians we surely know that whenever God reveals his gracious presence, whether it be in the splendid cathedral, the royal palace, the humble cottage, the savage wigwam, or any other place, His children may say thereof, 'It is good for us to be here;' 'This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.' Indeed, since He who said to His ambassadors, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,' has said also, 'Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,' we will not hesitate, as ministers of Christ, to go 'every where preaching the word.' And should there still remain in the widely extended field of our labor some portions of country where it would be impracticable at present to erect houses of worship, we shall not only feel that they are entitled to an unusual degree of cultivation; but we shall also consider it a great indulgence if we may be allowed in those places to follow the example of other times, when Noah, Abraham, Moses, Peter, Wesley, Asbury, and George, took their lives in their hands, and calling the people together in tents, groves, streets, school houses, and private dwellings, became 'the savor of life unto life' in regard to vast multitudes of poor sinners; some of whom 'remain until this present,' while many have 'fallen asleep,' and are now in paradise with the venerable instruments of their salvation: with whom, and all that shall be 'redeemed from the earth' hereafter, may we ourselves be numbered when 'God shall make up his jewels;' where, in 'a house not made with hands,' we shall join 'the general assembly, and Church of the first-born, whose names are written in heaven,' to offer up our mingled adorations without ceasing before the throne, and 'worship the Father in spirit and in truth.'

From the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH.

THE SABBATH INSTITUTED AT THE CREATION.

So many excellent publications on the Sabbath have latterly appeared, that another separate work may well be deemed unnecessary. But as the last Methodist Conference has recommended the societies under its care, to unite with their fellow Christians in making application to parliament to revise and strengthen our legislative enactments, for securing the due observance of the Sabbath, it may be seen desirable that a condensed view of the Divine authority, perpetual obligation, and sanctification of the Sabbath, should be afforded through the medium of the Magazine, to a considerable class of readers, who may not have opportunity of consulting separate works on the subject.

The first question respecting the Sabbath to be considered by Christians is, whether the Sabbath is in force under the Gospel, or whether, as some argue, it is a mere Jewish institution, the obligation to observe which ceased on the introduction of the Gospel. Till this point is settled, it is vain to dwell on the manner of observing the Sabbath; for were it true that the institution remained in force no longer than the

Jewish economy, it is evident, we should not be bound in conscience, we should not be under *religious* obligation to observe the Sabbath at all, no more than any other of the exclusive institutions of Judaism. My first object, then, will be to show that the Sabbath was not an institution peculiar to the Jews, but that it existed before their dispensation commenced, that it continued when their economy closed, and that it now remains as a Divine institution of perpetual obligation. The *early appointment of the Sabbath* will be the subject of the present letter.

That the Sabbath had an earlier origin than Judaism is a truth which does not depend on doubtful inference. We have an explicit account of its being instituted immediately after the creation of the world. The inspired historian, having represented the great Creator as resting from His work on the seventh day, adds, 'And God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which God created and made,' Gen. ii, 2, 3. In Scripture language, days and inanimate things are said to be sanctified, or holy, when they are set apart for God. Thus the temple at Jerusalem was called holy, because it was consecrated to Divine worship; and thus the various utensils of the temple were spoken of as holy, because they were not employed for common or profane purposes, but were used exclusively in the service of the sanctuary. When, then, God sanctified the seventh day, He reserved it, set it apart for Himself, to be spent in religious exercises; declaring, at the same time, that this mode of spending it should be made beneficial to mankind. He 'blessed it' to man, while He 'sanctified it to Himself.'

Now this portion of sacred history has ever been of difficult interpretation to those writers who regard the Sabbath as peculiar to the Jews; and they have admitted, that if the sense in which it has generally been taken be received, the universal obligation of the Sabbath is at once established. One of the most acute reasoners that ever employed a pen in assailing the sacred institution, frankly allows that 'if the Divine command was actually delivered at the creation, it was addressed, no doubt, to the whole human species alike; and continues, unless repealed by some subsequent revelation, binding upon all who come to the knowledge of it.' Well, what is the expedient to avoid this conclusion? Why, we are told that the sacred historian does not say that the Sabbath was actually appointed at the creation, but that he merely mentions it in this place, by way of anticipation, as an institution afterward given to the Jews. On this interpretation two remarks will suffice. In the first place, it is utterly irreconcilable with the established rules of criticism. The historian is professedly giving a narrative of the creation; and as it is allowed that he introduces no other foreign matter, why, on the supposition that the Sabbath was not instituted at the creation, introduce the mention of it? And providing that he had had occasion to allude to a transaction of a later age, would he have done it without any intimation of his design? Here are the labors of six successive days recorded in regular order: then, without any interruption to the argument, without the slightest intimation that he is going to slide down the stream of time some twenty centuries or more, the historian speaks of the repose and consecration

of the seventh day; and having mentioned this, he, without any hint that he has been digressing, goes on with his plan of giving a view of the creation and the events immediately succeeding. There is not a shadow of reason for selecting from such a regular and methodical history of consecutive events, a single transaction, and fixing the date of it in a future distant age; and it is difficult to conceive that any one would ever have thought of doing this, who had not some favorite theory to support. What man is there of plain good sense, but a stranger to the controversy on the Sabbath, who would not, on reading the history of the creation in Genesis, at once conclude that the seventh day which the Creator 'blessed' and 'sanctified' was the very seventh day on which He rested from His work; and not another seventh day two thousand five hundred years afterward? Whatever respect is due to some names which are found in favor of the notion, that the appointment of the Sabbath in the history of the creation is only mentioned in anticipation, the unprejudiced must, notwithstanding, ever regard such an opinion as a lamentable instance of the danger of sitting down to construct a theory on some slender grounds, and then compelling the Scriptures to support it; instead of taking the word of God as our guide, and following it implicitly. Should such a licentiousness of interpretation be allowed, then would all Scripture be involved in obscurity.

But in the second place, in this interpretation sight is lost of the great moral lesson, which was intended to be taught by the work of the creation. The reason assigned in the fourth commandment why we should do all our work in six days and rest on the seventh, is,—'For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.' From hence we learn, not only that the Sabbath was designed to be a memorial of the creation, but that the order of the work of creation was meant to convey a lesson of instruction to us as to the appropriation of our time. God could have created all things in an instant, but He occupied six days in His work, that He might teach us by His example how much of our time should be devoted to worldly pursuits, and how much to hallowed rest. To this effect Lightfoot argues in his sermon on the latter part of the fourth commandment:—'And what needed He take six days that could have done all in a moment? What reason can we give but that He by His own proceeding and acting would set the clock of time, and measure out days and a week,—six days of labor, the seventh for rest; six for man, the seventh for God?' Now to suppose that the Sabbath was not actually appointed till it was given to the Jews, is to overlook the reason for the protraction of the work of creation. If God designed by His own working and resting, to instruct man how to divide his time between labor and repose, then must the Sabbath have been appointed at the creation, or the Divine example could not have become a universal lesson to mankind.

But we are told that there is no account of the Sabbath having been actually observed by mankind till we come down to the history of the Jews. And is that a sufficient reason for our concluding that it was not therefore instituted till given to that people? The book of Genesis

with part of Exodus, is all the history of the whole world till almost a thousand years after the flood; and is it to be wondered at that so brief a history should be silent respecting the actual celebration of the Sabbath? If we are to conclude that nothing was transacted in the world during that extended period, but what the book of Genesis records, the doings of mankind will be reduced to a very small amount. It would be more easy to prove that prayer had never been known in the world till it was imposed as a duty on the Jews, than to prove that the Sabbath was unknown till it was instituted among that people; for there is, as we have seen, an explicit account of the institution of the Sabbath at the commencement of the world, but prayer is never once mentioned at all until God is heard directing Abraham, the founder of the Jewish nation, to engage in prayer. And with equal plausibility might some ingenious theorist undertake to prove that mankind lived without sleep, till the obligation to sleep was laid upon the Jews; for excepting that supernatural sleep of Adam, in which the woman was taken out of his side, sleep is not so much as once alluded to till a deep sleep is recorded to have fallen upon Abraham, and then from that time mention is not unfrequently made of the Jewish worthies sleeping.

Now, unless we are prepared to admit all such absurdities, we must conclude that were there no allusion whatever to the celebration of the Sabbath in so brief an historical narration as the book of Genesis, it would not follow, that, therefore, the Sabbath was not observed in the earlier ages of the world.

But although there may not be express mention in Genesis of the early celebration of the Sabbath, there are evident traces of it; which traces are strangely neglected by those who view the Sabbath as a mere Jewish institution. In the notice which is given of the earliest patriarchal ages, there is mention of that division of time which is made by the Sabbath, namely, the week. Thus in the account of Jacob's marriage, Laban is represented as saying to him, 'Fulfil her week,' ..... 'and Jacob did so,' the historian adds, 'and fulfilled her week.' Noah thus divided his time: he sent forth the dove every seventh day; and the practice of the patriarch intimates with sufficient clearness, that the week was known in the old world. And who will venture to decide that we have not reference to the actual observance of the Sabbath in the narrative of Cain and Abel bringing their offerings to the Lord? They brought them, we are told, 'in process of time,' or, as it is literally rendered in the margin of our English Bible, 'at the end of the days.' Now as there had been no other division of days mentioned by the sacred historian than that of the week, there is nothing extravagant in the supposition that he refers to that division, and that it was at the end of the week, on the Sabbath-day, that the sons of Adam appeared before the Lord. Numerous references to this measurement of time are found in sacred history, prior to the founding of the Jewish nation; and there are similar notices of the computation of time by weeks, in the most ancient uninspired authors. Collections have been made from their writings, showing that the Britons, Gauls, Germans, Arabians, Egyptians, Indians, Assyrians, and other nations of the most remote antiquity, divided their time also by weeks. Now the week differs from the other general measures of time in its being an arbitrary

division. The other divisions of time are determined by the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and it is no wonder, therefore, that mankind should have agreed in their use; but no reason can be assigned why those ancient nations should concur in the adoption of so arbitrary a measure of time as the week, except the one to which the sacred historian helps us. He tells us that the Sabbath was given to the first human pair immediately after their creation; and the knowledge of it would of course spread as mankind multiplied. Whether the Sabbath was generally lost in the prevailing wickedness of the old world, or not; it may be presumed that it was preserved with the true religion in the line of Seth; and also that the Sabbath was perpetuated after the flood, in the line of Shem, while the nations descending from the other sons of Noah degenerated into idolatry. But although the Sabbath itself might be lost in those nations, the measure of time which it had originated, being at once established, would, of course, remain. The agreement of antiquity, in regard of this artificial measure of time, is not, however, the only memorial of the ancient Sabbath. In the collections from the writers already referred to, and which the reader may consult for himself in most of the larger works on the Sabbath, there are quotations which show that some of the earliest nations of heathen antiquity, of which we have any memorial, regarded the seventh day as more holy than the rest,—as having some peculiar sanctity attached to it. In what other light can we regard such an opinion than as a vestige of the Sabbath? The knowledge of the original institution, and the design and uses of the Sabbath were lost with the knowledge of the great Creator Himself; but still the ancient practice of observing the Sabbath had evidently perpetuated the notion that the seventh day had a more hallowed character than other days.

The judgment of the Jewish writers on the subject is deserving of consideration. Although several claim the Sabbath as an institution peculiar to their nation, yet others of the most respectable of them maintain its universality. Now it is difficult to conceive how any could have adopted the latter opinion, if it were really true that the Sabbath had its first institution in the wilderness, and was imposed on the Jews only. On the principle that the Sabbath was appointed at the creation, it is easily imagined how some of the Jewish writers might, notwithstanding, claim it as peculiar to themselves. Regarding themselves as the exclusive favorites of Heaven, and priding themselves on their high privileges, and observing so few traces of the Sabbath in the surrounding idolatrous nations, the Jews might arrogate to themselves the sole right of the Sabbath, with much greater plausibility than they could urge some of their other exclusive claims. But waiving the consideration of their national vanity, there was a sound sense in which they could justly claim the Sabbath as a peculiar institution. It will be seen hereafter, that it was really given to them in a sense in which it was imposed on none else, and was made to answer, among them, purposes which it could not serve among other people. The Jews might then with truth claim it as exclusively their own, in the peculiar character which it sustained among them; and those of their writers who urge this claim do not, by maintaining it, therefore necessarily deny the universal obligation of the original institution of the Sabbath

as given at the creation. It is thus easily accounted for why certain Jewish authors claim the Sabbath as peculiar to their nation, although it had really been in existence from the beginning of the world; but on the supposition that the Sabbath had no existence whatever until it was given to the Jews, and that it was then originated as one of the peculiarities of Judaism, to be of no greater extent in its obligation and duration than the system of which it formed a part; allowing, for the sake of argument, that this was as notorious as some in these later ages have imagined, no reason can be assigned why any of the early respectable Jewish writers should ever have thought of such a thing as the universal obligation of the Sabbath. It cannot be divined why the learned Philo, for instance, when treating expressly on the creation of the world, should maintain that the Sabbath is 'a feast, not of one city, or country, but of the whole world;' that it is 'the world's birthday,' and 'the festival of all people.' Such arguing as this is altogether inexplicable, on the supposition of its being undoubted matter of fact that the Sabbath received its first institution in the desert, and was intended for the Jews only. It can only be explained on the principle, that while other writers, and themselves too perhaps at other times, speak of the peculiar character of the Sabbath among themselves, and claim it under that character as exclusively their own, they are, on the occasions referred to, maintaining the understood fact that the Sabbath itself had an earlier origin than the founding of their nation; and that, in its original form, it was given to all mankind. The evidence of the Jewish writers is thus decidedly in favor of the early institution and universal obligation of the Sabbath.

Adverting to the New Testament, the question of the early appointment of the Sabbath is involved in the general argument of the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the whole of the apostle's reasoning in that chapter being founded on the principle that the Sabbath was instituted at the creation, It is not, however, necessary to pursue the inquiry farther. The rules of sound criticism imperatively require us to adopt the conclusion that the narrative in the second chapter of Genesis represents the Creator as appointing the Sabbath immediately on resting from His work, and this conclusion will receive additional confirmation in the successive stages of the inquiry.

The reappointment of the Sabbath under the Jewish Dispensation.

The first recognition of the Sabbath which we meet with in the history of the Jews, is when God marked out the sacred day by the regulated falling of the manna, Exod. xvi. Now, according to those who regard the Sabbath as peculiar to the Jews, this was its first institution. But the narrative itself affords evidence to the contrary. Two things are always to be looked for in the formal appointment of a new religious ordinance;—an announcement of the reason for which it is given, and directions as to the manner in which it shall be observed. God had already given to the Jews two new institutions,—circumcision, Gen. xvii, and the passover, Exod. xii; and whoever examines the sacred record respecting them, will find those two particulars clearly and fully stated. The rite of circumcision is said to be

given for a seal, or confirmation, of the covenant which God made with Abraham; and the reason assigned for the institution of the passover is, that it might serve as a memorial of the preservation of the Jews, when God destroyed the first born of Egypt; and in both cases there is a very full and particular description of the manner in which the two ordinances are to be observed. After the reader has carefully examined the account of those two new institutions, let him turn to the narrative respecting the falling of the manna, and mark the difference. Instead of that express announcement of the reason for which the Sabbath was given, and that detailed account of the manner of its observance, which the former narratives would lead him to look for in a new institution, he will find an entire silence maintained on those two important points; and the only conclusion to which he can fairly come, from a consideration of this silence, and the familiar manner in which the Sabbath is spoken of, is, that the Sabbath was not then first given, but that it was an old and known institution, which God was pleased thus to recognize and honor, for the purpose of impressing it afresh on the minds of the Israelites. We may gather enough from their history to convince us, that they needed something impressive to lead them back to a proper observation of the Sabbath. The Prophet Ezekiel charges the Israelites with having been guilty of idolatry while they were in Egypt, Ezek. xx. The Sabbath had, no doubt, then been neglected by them, while they forgot that God, whose institution the Sabbath is. And, had we no notice of their idolatry in Egypt, we might have concluded that their tyrannical masters there had not allowed them to observe the Sabbath with any thing like regularity. There existed, then, a necessity for some such striking admonition respecting the Sabbath as the Jews received on the falling of the manna.

But this was not the only recognition of the Sabbath under the Jewish dispensation. It was, moreover, formally reappointed on Sinai. The terms in which the fourth commandment is expressed clearly show that it is the re-enactment of an old law. 'Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day,' is language which supposes that 'the Sabbath,' and what is meant by 'keeping it holy,' were already known. The question, then, for consideration is,—Of what law is the fourth commandment a re-enactment? The very terms employed to express the reason why it should be observed, refer us to the account in the commencement of Genesis, and show that it was the original law of the Sabbath at the creation, which was re-enacted and explained on Sinai.

The two additional passages which are adduced in support of the opinion that the Sabbath received its first institution among the Jews must, however, be noticed. The former of those passages is contained in the ninth chapter of Nehemiah:—'Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments, and true laws, good statutes and commandments: and madest known unto them thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws, by the hand of Moses thy servant: and gavest them bread from heaven for their hunger, and broughtest forth water for them out of the rock for their thirst,' &c. This passage

has been interpreted as speaking of the first appointment of the Sabbath on the falling of the manna, a sense which it can never be made consistently to bear. The precepts, statutes, and laws, here enumerated, were all given, not at the time of the manna, but when God came down on Sinai. The 'making known' of the Sabbath must then be referred to the same period, and not to the following verse where mention is made of the manna. This passage thus renders no support whatever to the opinion in behalf of which it has been brought forward. As Sinai is spoken of as the place where the Sabbath was 'made known,' its first appointment cannot be intended; for all parties are agreed that it existed previously to the transactions of Sinai. The second passage which is quoted is from Ezekiel, xx, 10, 11, 12:— 'Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the land of Egypt, and brought them into the wilderness. And I gave them my statutes, and showed them my judgments, which *if* a man do, he shall even live in them. Moreover also I gave them my Sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them,' &c. But this affords nothing like proof that the Sabbath was first instituted among the Israelites. It is to be remarked that the number is changed by the prophet. He does not, like Nehemiah, speak of the 'Sabbath,' but of the 'Sabbaths,' which God had given them. Now the Jews had other Sabbaths beside the seventh-day Sabbath. They had their Sabbath of weeks, and Sabbath of years; and their great festivals, in general, were denominated 'Sabbaths.' By his using the plural number it is fair then to conclude, that the prophet alludes to those Sabbaths; and this conclusion is confirmed by the consideration, that he connects with them the other 'statutes' and 'judgments' by which God distinguished the Jewish people from the rest of mankind. All these institutions were really given in the wilderness; and, supposing that the prophet, in speaking of the whole, does include the seventh-day Sabbath with the others, it was natural for him to adopt a common figure of speech, and speak of them all as given at one time. Unless his argument had rendered it necessary, it was not to be expected that he would introduce an additional clause to except one solitary institution. There is, however, another important particular to be noticed. The prophet is not so much speaking of the time when the Sabbaths in question were instituted, as of the purpose they were intended to answer. He represents Jehovah as saying, that he gave the Israelites his 'Sabbaths' to be 'a sign' between him and them. But when God is found giving 'a sign,' it is not necessary to be understood that the sign is a something which had no previous existence. After the deluge the rainbow was given as a sign; but had the rainbow never been seen before that time? The philosopher would tell us, that although the rainbow was not constituted a sign between the Almighty and his creatures previous to the deluge, yet, as a common natural phenomenon, it must have been known before. Had, then, the prophet been speaking exclusively of the seventh-day Sabbath, given as a sign to the Israelites, nothing could have been deduced from such declaration in proof that the Sabbath itself was not an old institution. This passage, when fairly understood, does not, any more than the former, afford a single tittle of evidence in favor of the opinion that the Sabbath received its first institution among the Jews.

The examination of the sacred record, relative to the enforcing of the Sabbath on the Jews, thus leads to a conclusion agreeing with, and confirming, the result of our former inquiry. In the first instance, it was found that the Sabbath was appointed immediately after the creation; and it is now seen, as might be expected, that its establishment among the Jews was nothing more than a reappointment of the ancient institution.

Before, however, we proceed to the question relative to the confirmation of the Sabbath by the Gospel, it will be proper to subject the institution to a calm investigation, in order to impress our minds with the reasons, which such examination affords, for presuming that its Divine Author intended it to remain after the Jewish dispensation should be no more; and also to inquire, what was that character of peculiarity which, as has been already assumed, the ancient institution had impressed on it among the Jews, which character was designed to pass away from it with Judaism itself.

That the original institution of the Sabbath was intended to be perpetual, may be argued from the fact, that there is no appearance of peculiarity discoverable in the ends which it was appointed to answer.

1. The Sabbath exhibits a kind of independence of character, which marks it out as a universal institution. It was not a part of that typical system by which Christ and His atonement were shadowed forth, and came to an end when the great antitype, the Saviour, appeared in our world. Now this system also prevailed, in part, from the earliest ages. Animal sacrifice—the typical representation of that sacrifice which Christ offered on the cross—obtained under the patriarchal dispensation, as well as the Jewish; and had it been the case that the Sabbath was a part of that system, which had thus, from remote antiquity, adumbrated Christ and His redeeming work, the supposition would have been natural, that the institution was intended to expire with the system itself. But as the Sabbath was an independent provision, given while man was as yet an unfallen creature, before the preparatory system in question was introduced, or even needed, there is not a shadow of reason for the opinion that they were both designed to terminate together.

2. The Sabbath was instituted as a memorial of the creation; and what peculiarity do we discover in it, viewed under that aspect, which could render it more suitable for one nation than another? The creation is an event as truly interesting to the whole human family as to any one part of it; and not the slightest reason can be assigned why the Sabbath should be appointed to commemorate the creation during the antediluvian ages, and among the postdiluvian generations to the end of the Jewish polity, and should then expire. No cause can be assigned why such a memorial of the creation, as the Sabbath, should not be as necessary after the introduction of the Gospel, as it was during the first four thousand years of the world's existence. So far as the apparent reasonableness of the question is concerned, it might safely be concluded, that if any portion of mankind needed, more than another, a formal memorial of the creation, it would be that generation farthest removed, in point of time, from the event itself. While the creation was yet comparatively recent, the due commemoration of it might

surely have been entrusted to the memory alone, with greater safety than it could be in later ages.

3. The Sabbath was instituted for devotional purposes; but vain is the endeavor to find any peculiarity in it, regarded under this view. If God claimed, from both patriarch and Jew, one day in seven for Himself, why should He have less right to it from the Christian? If personal religion, if man's spiritual and eternal interests, previously required one day in seven for their due cultivation, why should less time be sufficient after the Christian epoch? Was it a part of the Divine plan, that religion should become a less momentous subject under the Gospel dispensation, or did the Divine mind foresee that man would then be found more naturally devotional? Unless these questions can be answered in the affirmative, no reason appears why we should conclude that the Sabbath, as a day of devotion, was designed to come to an end with the Jewish economy.

4. The Sabbath was appointed as a day of rest. But why this merciful provision for both man and beast should be requisite for four thousand years, and then all at once become unnecessary, it is indeed difficult to divine. Unless it can be proved that after the Jewish ages, the physical nature of man and beast was strengthened, so as to make them capable of unremitting toil, no reason can be shown why we are to suppose that the Sabbath, as a day of rest, was ordained to end with the Jewish economy. Observation, however, makes it apparent, that man's physical nature needs now, as much as ever it did, such a kind provision as the Sabbath. Dr. Farre, in his recent evidence before the parliamentary committee, placed this part of the Sabbatic question in a very interesting and impressive light:—'I have been in the habit,' he observed, 'during a great many years, of considering the uses of the Sabbath, and of observing its abuses. The abuses are chiefly manifested in labor and dissipation. The use, medically speaking, is that of a day of *rest*. In a theological sense it is a holy rest, providing for the introduction of new and sublimer ideas into the mind of man, preparing him for his future state. As a day of rest, I view it as a day of compensation for the inadequate restorative power of the body under continued labor and excitement. A physician always has respect to the preservation of the restorative power, because if once this be lost, his healing office is at an end. If I show you, from the physiological view of the question, that there are provisions in the laws of nature which correspond with the Divine commandment, you will see from the analogy, that "the Sabbath was made for man," as a necessary appointment. A physician is anxious to preserve the balance of circulation, as necessary to the restorative power of the body. The ordinary exertions of man run down the circulation every day of his life; and the first general law of nature by which God (who is not only the giver, but also the preserver and sustainer of life,) prevents man from destroying himself, is the alternating of day with night, that repose may succeed action. But although the night apparently equalizes the circulation well, yet it does not sufficiently restore its balance for the attainment of a long life. Hence one day in seven, by the bounty of Providence, is thrown in as a day of compensation, to perfect, by its repose, the animal system. You may easily determine this question, as a mat-

ter of fact, by trying it on beasts of burden. Take that fine animal, the horse, and work him to the full extent of his powers every day in the week; or give him rest one day in seven, and you will soon perceive, by the superior vigor with which he performs his functions on the other six days, that this rest is necessary to his well being. Man, possessing a superior nature, is borne along by the very vigor of his mind, so that the injury of continued diurnal exertion and excitement on his animal system is not so immediately apparent, as it is in the brute; but in the long run he breaks down more suddenly: it abridges the length of his life, and the vigor of his old age, which (as to mere animal power) ought to be the object of his preservation. I consider, therefore, that, in the bountiful provision of Providence for the preservation of human life, the Sabbatical appointment is to be numbered among the natural duties, if the preservation of life be admitted to be a duty, and the premature destruction of it a suicidal act. This is said simply as a physician, and without reference at all to the theological question; but if you consider farther the proper effect of real Christianity, namely, peace of mind, confiding trust in God, and good will to man, you will perceive in this source of renewed vigor to the mind, and through the mind to the body, an additional spring of life imparted from this higher use of the Sabbath as a holy rest. Were I to pursue this part of the question, I should be touching on the duties committed to the clergy; but this I will say, that researches in physiology, by the analogy of the working of Providence in nature, will establish the truth of revelation, and consequently show that the Divine commandment is to be considered an appointment necessary to man. This is the position in which I would place it, as contradistinguished from precept and legislation. I would point out the Sabbatical rest as necessary to man, and that the great enemies of the Sabbath, and consequently the enemies of man, are all laborious exercises of the body or mind, and dissipation, which force the circulation on that day in which it should repose; while relaxation from the ordinary cares of life, the enjoyment of this repose in the bosom of one's family, with the religious studies and duties which the day enjoins, not one of which, if rightly exercised, tends to abridge life, constitute the beneficial and appropriate service of the day.' The truth which is here so admirably maintained, has forced itself on many who deny that we are now under obligation to observe the Sabbath. They have granted that a day of periodical rest from labor is necessary; but in all this they affix the foulest stigma on the Divine character; they represent God as ceasing to care for his creatures by abolishing the Sabbath; and that man, fuller of compassion than He, has contrived the 'Sunday' to secure for his servants and cattle that rest which humanity still imperiously requires, but which God now denies.

5. The Sabbath served as a type of heaven. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews evidently argues from it as such; and in the collections from ancient authors, to which reference has been already made, it will be seen, that not only the early Christians, but also the Jews, regarded the rest of the Sabbath as typical of the rest of the heavenly world. If then the Sabbath was given by its Divine Author to serve this purpose also, it could not be intended to pass away with

Judaism. A type must necessarily remain in force till its antitype appears. That typical system already adverted to, which was instituted to prefigure Christ and His atonement, continued in force till the Savior appeared, and offered Himself for the sins of men; and viewing the Sabbath as a type of heaven, the conclusion is legitimate, that it was intended to continue to the end of time, till the militant state of the Church shall expire, and it shall be wholly removed from earth to heaven.

When the original institution of the Sabbath is thus carefully examined, in regard of the ends which it was appointed to answer, under every view of it are found indications of universality of design. Not the shadow of a reason appears to warrant the supposition, that the Sabbath was intended to expire with Judaism, any more than the other primeval institution was. The two institutions of the Sabbath and marriage had the exclusive honor of being originated in paradise. It is not denied that marriage is a perpetual ordinance; and, judging from the institutions themselves, there is every reason to presume that the one was intended to extend as far, and to endure as long, as the other.

The place which the Sabbatic law occupies among the other laws promulgated on Sinai, is a second consideration from which it may be argued that the Sabbath was designed to be perpetual. There were two codes of laws given on Sinai,—the moral, which was a formal re-enactment and amplification of that law under which our first parents were placed,—and the ceremonial, which prescribed all the religious rites and ceremonies to be observed by the Jews. The first of these codes concerned all mankind, and was intended to remain in force until the end of time; the second related to the Jews only, and was designed to be abrogated when that dispensation should end. The manner in which those two codes were promulgated, indicated the superiority of the one over the other. The former was given immediately to the people by the Divine Legislator Himself. From the midst of the glory which flamed around the summit of the mountain, God delivered the moral law in the hearing of all the people, and then wrote it with his own finger on two tables of stone; but the ceremonial law he gave to Moses alone, who delivered it to the people. Now, as there was such a careful classification of the commandments delivered on Sinai, those which were designed to be perpetual being comprised in one code, and those which were temporary being classed by themselves in another; and as there was such a marked difference made in the manner of promulgating those codes, the intention of the Divine Legislator respecting the commandment on the Sabbath appears very obvious to the reflecting mind. Had it been designed that the Sabbath should end with the Jewish dispensation, the commandment respecting it would, no doubt, have been found in that code of laws which was peculiar to Judaism; but as the Almighty Lawgiver has recorded it with his own finger in the moral code, such classification affords strong presumption that he intended the Sabbatic law to be of as lasting obligation as the code in which it is placed. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact, that the observance of the Sabbath, under the Jewish dispensation, ever appears to have been ranked with

the performance of moral duties. This is seen in the case of strangers. They were not included in the covenant,—were not, of course, permitted to engage in any of the ritual services of the law, nor even to eat of the passover, unless they were circumcised, Genesis xvii, 12; Exod. xii, 43, 44; but whether they were circumcised or not, they were under obligation to observe the moral precepts. Thus they were required not to blaspheme the name of God; to avoid murder; and, in short, as it respects moral conduct, the chosen race were to have 'one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of their own country,' Levit. xxiv, 10–22. And under the very same circumstances in which the stranger was placed in respect of those precepts, he was found in regard of the Sabbath. He was under the same obligation to observe it as all other moral duties, without circumcision, Exod. xx, 10; and this placing of the Sabbath on the same common ground with the moral duties in general, and enforcing the observance of it by the same awful penalties, Levit. xxiv, 16,17, is a plain intimation that the one was intended to bind mankind as long as the other.

Once more: The prophecies of the Old Testament strengthen the presumption that the Sabbath was intended to remain under the Gospel. The prophets, in their visions of futurity, appear to speak of the perpetuation of the Sabbath beyond the period of their own dispensation. For instance, Isaiah, lvi, when describing the state and privileges of the Church after the Gentiles should be gathered in, and the house of God should thus become 'the house of prayer for all people,' dwells on 'the sons of the stranger keeping the Sabbath,' and attaches a special blessing to their observance of it. Let this be connected with other passages which occur on a careful reading of the prophetical writings, and let every deduction be made on account of the frequent use of language borrowed from the ceremonial worship of God, in description of the spiritual service of the Most High under the Gospel, and still there will remain sufficient ground for concluding, that the prophets do really, in their predictions, represent the Sabbath as being perpetuated and observed in the Christian Church.

Having thus found reason to conclude, that the Sabbath was designed by its Divine Author to continue to the end of time, we may now inquire what was that character of peculiarity impressed on it among the Jews, of which it was to be divested when Judaism should end.

1. The Sabbath was distinguished among the Jews by peculiarities in the manner of observing it. In the ceremonial law are found prohibitions against kindling a fire on the Sabbath; against cooking victuals; against gathering sticks on that day. Now this strict ritual observance of the Sabbath—whatever was thus enforced on the Jews which is not contained in the fourth commandment, the universal law of the Sabbath—was never intended to be binding in its letter on any other people than the Jews.

2. The Sabbath was constituted a 'sign' to the Jews. Thus we read in Exod. xxxi, 16, 17, 'Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between me and the children of Israel for ever: for *in* six days the Lord made heaven and earth, and

on the seventh day he rested, and was refreshed.' God had selected the Israelites from all the nations of the earth, and entered into covenant with them to be their God, and to make them his people; and as he appointed the rainbow a sign of the covenant which he made with all mankind in the person of their representative Noah, so he constituted the weekly Sabbath 'a sign' of that particular covenant which he entered into with the Israelites, in common with their other 'Sabbaths,' which, according to Ezekiel, xx, 12, already quoted, served for the same purpose. To the question, 'But how does this limited use of the weekly Sabbath agree with the doctrine of its universal obligation?' the answer is obvious. The surrounding nations had renounced the service of the great Creator, and had fallen into idolatry; and however they might preserve that measurement of time which the Sabbath had originated; and however they might retain some traditional notion of the sacredness of the seventh day; yet they had no doubt forgotten the true notion and end of the Sabbath, as well as the worship of that God whose institution the Sabbath was. The Sabbath then might really be of universal obligation, and traces of it might be found in other nations; and yet, as the Jews were the only people who fully understood it, and more particularly as they were enjoined to observe it with a ceremonial strictness which was not required from the rest of mankind, it might, notwithstanding, serve as 'a sign' of the peculiar covenant which marked them out as the servants of the true God, the Creator of heaven and earth. Regarding the Sabbath, then, under this character of peculiarity, it is obvious that it must necessarily terminate with the covenant of which it was 'a sign.' The rainbow was evidently intended to retain its use to the end of time; for so long the covenant, of which it is the sign, is to remain in force: but as the covenant of God with the Jews, to make them His peculiar people, was designed to remain only till the Gospel should be introduced, the Sabbath must, of course, have been intended to lose its character of 'a sign,' at the period when the covenant itself should expire, and all its signs or seals, and peculiarities, should pass away along with it.

3. The Sabbath was likewise constituted a memorial of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian captivity. Thus we read in Deuteronomy v, 15, 'And remember that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and *that* the Lord thy God brought thee out thence through a mighty hand, and by a stretched out arm: therefore the Lord thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day.' Here then we have another feature of that peculiar character which the Sabbath sustained among the Jews; but it is evident the sacred institution was never intended to be celebrated as a memorial of that great deliverance by any other people than that which experienced it.

Such was the character of peculiarity which the Sabbath had impressed on it during the Jewish age, of which it was to be divested when Judaism should come to an end. And the Sabbath was not singular in obtaining an adventitious character under the Mosaic dispensation. The other original institution of marriage existed among the Jews under similar circumstances. There were several regulations respecting that ordinance observed by them, which regulations were

intended for them only,* and the obligation to observe which did really cease with their economy; but still the marriage institution itself continues in all its original force; still it remains, although stripped of that peculiar character which it also sustained under the preceding dispensation. B.

The Sabbath confirmed under the Gospel.

On proceeding to the question respecting the confirmation of the Sabbath under the Gospel, the inquirer is to impress his mind with the fact, that all the peculiarities which that sacred institution acquired under the Jewish dispensation did, as it was intended they should, actually pass away with that economy. The instant the Jews lost the privilege of being the peculiar people of God, the Sabbath ceased to be 'a sign' of the covenant which had conferred on them that honor:—when the Jewish Church was superseded by the Christian, the Sabbath no longer commemorated the exodus from Egypt, as the Christian Church could not acknowledge a deliverance which she had not experienced: when the ceremonial law was abrogated, those peculiarities in the observance of the Sabbath which that law enjoined on the Jews passed away at the same time, and the Christian Church was freed as fully from the *letter* of the Levitical rules respecting the mode of keeping the Sabbath as from every other part of the ceremonial law. Thus that adventitious character which the Sabbath sustained among the Jews did expire with the Jewish dispensation; and Christians are under no obligation to observe it in any of those respects in which it was peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the Jews. But although it lost its Jewish dress, the Sabbath itself did not pass away with Judaism. As the ordinance of marriage continued, although divested of the peculiarities which it too had received from the same connection, so the original institution of the Sabbath remained, and was confirmed under the Gospel. The objections which have been advanced against this conclusion must, however, be considered. It has been argued that the conduct of our Lord weakened the authority of the Sabbath, and gave intimation of its approaching abrogation with the Jewish economy. This objection has originated in utter mistake of the true character of those actions of the Savior to which particular allusion is made; for the fact is, our Lord ever honored the Sabbath; and the whole tenor of his conduct maintained, instead of loosened its authority. On tracing his personal history, as recorded by the evangelists, he is seen regularly devoting the Sabbath to the exercises of religion, and assembling with the congregation at the public worship of God; and on examining those of his actions on which the objection is founded, it is evident they were performed, not with a view to weaken the Sabbath, but to vindicate it from those unauthorized additions with which it had been encumbered. The Pharisees had corrupted the commandments of God in general, as appears from our Savior's oft-repeated charge. This was the case with the Sabbath. Severe as it was under the law, they had increased its rigor by unnecessary austerities; and our Lord undertook to free the sacred institution from all the corrup-

* One peculiarity in the institution of marriage among the Jews is referred to in Matthew xix, 8.

severities which the Pharisees had introduced. For this purpose He did works of mercy on the Sabbath, and proved to the Pharisees, from their own conduct in drawing on that day their beast out of the pit into which it had fallen, that such performances were in accordance with the spirit of the Sabbatical institution; and for this end likewise He allowed works of necessity to be done on the Sabbath, and demonstrated to the Pharisees again, by arguments which they could not answer, that when his disciples on one occasion plucked ears of corn, and on another a person carried his bed on the Sabbath, they were only disregarding the traditions of the Pharisees themselves, and not violating the Sabbath God had enjoined; for that allowed works of necessity to be done. That our Savior in all those instances did not intend to lower the character of the Sabbath, but that he was really vindicating it from the oppressive additions of men, is evident from the fact, that He Himself in the days of His flesh was subject to the law of God—the ceremonial as well as the moral; and had He not observed the Sabbath, even with all the strictness which was requisite under that dispensation, He could not have appeared, when offered up on Calvary, 'as a lamb without blemish and without spot.' When those actions of our Lord are rightly understood, then also His celebrated declaration, which He made in their justification, is seen in its true light. By insisting that 'the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' He taught the Pharisees that as the Sabbath was instituted for man's good, it allowed of all such deviations from its strictness as man's well-being rendered necessary; and by claiming for Himself the title of 'Lord of the Sabbath,' He intimated to those perverters of the truth of God, that, although the period of His own subjection to the law was not the time for Him to alter the institution itself, yet He even then had power to reject their corruptions, by which they would deny to men those gracious provisions which had been made for such occasional relaxations of the strictness of the Sabbath, as necessity might imperatively require. Thus do those parts of our Lord's conduct which have been urged as an objection against the Sabbath, furnish in reality an argument in its favor.

But certain passages have been produced from the epistles of St. Paul, in which the apostle has been supposed to set aside the Sabbath. One of these passages is, 'Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holiday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days,' Col. ii, 16. The first observation to be made here is, that the apostle evidently speaks of Jewish institutions in general, and that the advice which he gives refers to the whole. Now, without laying any particular stress on the circumstance that he uses the plural number, and speaks of 'Sabbaths;' admitting that by that expression he may mean the seventh-day Sabbath, it is a mere begging of the question to say that the Sabbatic institution is annulled by this passage. It is taking for granted that which is the very point in dispute: it is assuming that the Sabbath was nothing more than a mere Jewish institution. But it has already been proved that the Sabbath has something in it not peculiar to the Jewish religion; and therefore a passage which speaks exclusively of the setting aside of Jewish rites does not at all affect the Sabbath in those respects in which it was independent of

Judaism. A knowledge of the state of the early Christian Churches throws light upon this portion of sacred Scripture. The Judaizing teachers, who created so much uneasiness in the apostolic age, endeavored to impose the ceremonial law upon the Christian converts; and the general design of the apostle in the text is evidently to encourage the Colossians to maintain their Christian freedom, and preserve themselves from blame in regard of the ceremonial observances with which it was attempted to entangle them. What then could be more natural than for the apostle to include a reference to all that was Jewish in the Sabbath, in his mention of Jewish institutions generally? There was indeed especial reason for his doing this. Some of the first Christians kept the Sabbath with that kind of strictness which the ceremonial law prescribed for the Jews; and this error was not confined to a few; it became so prevalent that one of the early councils had to interfere, and condemn 'the Judaizing practice,' as they termed it. The supposition, then, is probable enough, that the apostle might, by mentioning the Sabbath also, intend likewise to caution the Colossians against this error, and guard them against giving any one occasion to condemn them on account of it. And possibly the apostle may have particular reference to that prejudice, which lingered in the minds of the Jewish converts in favor of the seventh day of the week, as though it were entitled to some respect more than other days, after it was divested of the honor of being the Sabbath day. This prejudice occasioned many bickerings between the Jewish and Gentile converts; and the apostle may especially design to comfort the Colossians by assuring them that no man had a right to think hardly of them, if they did not distinguish the seventh day of the week from other days, the prejudice of the Jewish converts being without any just foundation. The passage thus admits of a full and satisfactory explanation, in harmony with the principle that the observance of the Sabbath is obligatory on Christians; and it is perfectly gratuitous to interpret it as though it repealed the sacred institution. Another text quoted on this point is from the Epistle to the Romans: 'One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it,' xiv, 5, 6. It has been supposed that the apostle here abolishes all distinction between the Sabbath and other days; but such conclusion is a begging of the question again. Viewing the passage in its connection, the argument of the apostle obviously is, that Jewish holidays have now no more sacredness than other days: before this portion of Scripture then can be produced as an argument against the Sabbath, it has to be proved that the Sabbath was no more than a Jewish holyday. A third passage of Scripture referred to is, where the apostle blames the Galatians for observing 'days and months, and times and years,' iv, 10. But to found on this an objection to the Sabbath, is to fall into the same error again: it is to assume as true the very thing to be proved. The Galatians were perverted by the Judaizing teachers of the day; and the apostle reproves them for their superstitious observance of the holidays and other sacred seasons of the Jews, as though they were necessary to salvation. This passage also may

bear on the Jewish peculiarities of the Sabbath; but the Sabbath itself was wholly independent on Judaism, and therefore is not affected by the apostle's argument. All those quotations are thus produced in vain. They cannot be made to assume a hostile aspect toward the Sabbath, unless it can be proved by other means that the Sabbath is abrogated under the Gospel; that, however, cannot be done, and therefore they do not bear on the question at all.

But to come now to the point. The Sabbath was confirmed in the moral law. None, except Antinomians, deny that the moral law is, as it has been assumed in a former letter it was intended to be, perpetuated under the Gospel. All others bow to the decision of the apostle, when, in answer to the question, 'Do we then make void the law through faith?' he exclaims, 'God forbid; yea, we establish the law.' Regarding this, then, as an admitted principle, the question at issue is, whether the Sabbath was or was not included in the moral law at the time of its confirmation by the Gospel. Now it has already been shown that the Sabbath was not a mere Jewish appointment, but an institution coeval with the creation; and it has also appeared, on inquiry, that the commandment respecting it delivered on Sinai was not given along with the ceremonial enactments, but was recorded on the tables of stone in the moral law, and was enumerated as one of the ten precepts into which that law was digested; it follows, then, by inevitable consequence, that the fourth commandment was most certainly confirmed in the law with which it was incorporated, and of which it formed a part, unless, however, there was a special exception of it made at the time. But where is such exception to be found? The silence of our Lord respecting the Sabbath in his sermon on the mount, and when directing the young man to 'keep the commandments,' argues nothing, because he omitted to mention other precepts of the decalogue, as well as the fourth commandment. The Sabbath is not excepted in those passages where there is a kind of summing up of the law; as for instance where the Savior resolves the precepts of the first table of the law into the love of God, and those of the second table into the love of our neighbor. If the fourth commandment was not to have been confirmed in the decalogue, we most assuredly should have had it excepted in this or some of the other summaries of the law which are recorded in the New Testament. But while no such exception can be met with, we do find our Lord guarding the moral law, lest any portion of it should be lost on its being transferred into His Gospel. Referring to the precepts of the decalogue, He makes this memorable declaration: 'Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.' And when directing the attention of His disciples to the future, he is found referring to the Sabbath as remaining long after all that was merely Jewish in the worship and service of God had been disannulled. Thus, in His prophetic description of the sufferings and miseries which would eventually overtake His enemies, He bade His disciples pray that their own flight from the scene of vengeance and destruction might not be 'on the Sabbath day,' any more than 'in the winter,' Matt. xxiv, 20. The event here predicted did not

happen till many years after the Gospel dispensation had been fully established, and yet Christ speaks of the Sabbath as then existing in all its force, in the same plain and unfigurative language as when he adverts to the continuance of the seasons of the year in their wonted course. The conclusion, then, to which an examination of the New Testament thus obviously leads is, that the commandment respecting the Sabbath was assuredly confirmed in the decalogue, of which it formed a part; and the only show of objection which remains to be offered against adopting the conclusion at once is, that the fourth commandment could not, in the nature of things, be confirmed as a part of the moral law, because that commandment is a *positive*, not a *moral* precept. Shallow as this objection is, it has been produced with so much parade and confidence that some consideration of it may be necessary.

1. The first remark which is called for is, that it is not true that the Sabbatic law is merely positive: it is as strictly moral in all its comprehensive designs as any of the other precepts of the decalogue. Take, for instance, its leading design. In the second commandment the prohibition, 'Thou shalt not bow down to them,' is founded on the principle that a formal religious worship is due, not to idols, but to the true God. What kind of obligation, then, is it which binds us to present to God this formal religious worship? Is it not as much moral as the obligation imposed on us by the third commandment, to avoid taking the name of the Lord our God in vain? Most certainly it is. Now, as one great end of the Sabbath is to secure for the Divine Being that formal religious worship which the second commandment assumes to be His right; and as the obligation to present to Him this worship is strictly moral, it follows that the Sabbatic law is a *positive* precept, in respect only of its setting apart one day in seven for the discharge of that obligation. And who does not see in the commandment, so far as it is positive, the wisdom of God displayed? If men are under moral obligation to offer formal worship to God, it was worthy of Him, it was necessary to fix some stated period when they might do it simultaneously; and not leave one man to be interrupted in his devotions by the business calls of another, or the lawful business of a third to be put a stop to, because a fourth person was gone to the house of God. The same kind of reasoning might be adopted respecting the other moral ends of the Sabbath; but what has been advanced may serve as a specimen of the argumentation which proves that the fourth commandment is only so far positive as was necessary for the accomplishment of its great moral designs.

2. But it is to be observed farther, that the fourth commandment is not the only precept of the decalogue against which the objection in question might be urged. Let us look at the seventh commandment. What is adultery, which that commandment prohibits? An infringement on the ordinance of marriage. But is not marriage a positive institution as much as the Sabbath is? As this is not denied, then it may be asked, What difference is there between the two commandments as it regards their nature? Here are two institutions given to man at his creation—the Sabbath and marriage; and the fourth commandment of the decalogue enjoins on us to observe the former of those original institutions, while the seventh commandment prohibits

us from infringing on the latter. If then the prohibition referring to one institution is moral in its nature, the command respecting the other institution must possess the same character—must likewise be moral. Of how much worth this notable objection against the nature of the fourth commandment is, is thus seen; but were there far more plausibility in it than there is, could we not discern so much of the moral character of the Sabbath as we do, still the objection would not have any real weight. It was the Divine Legislator Himself who incorporated the Sabbatic law with the other moral precepts, writing it along with them on the tables of stone. He has thus determined the moral character of the Sabbath; and those persons possess more than ordinary temerity who tell the Most High, in effect, that He has mistaken the nature of the Sabbatic law, and has inserted it in its wrong place. On no ground whatever, then, can this objection affect the previous conclusion, that the Sabbath was confirmed in the law of which it was a part, and was thus rendered binding in its obligation upon all mankind to the end of time.

The Sabbath changed to the first Day of the Week.

Having reached the conclusion that the Sabbath was confirmed on the introduction of the Gospel, the question concerning the change in the day of its celebration follows in natural order; and the first point to be established is, that the day of the week on which the Sabbath is kept, is not, as some have supposed, essential to the institution itself. This appears from several considerations. It is evident that the Sabbath answers all its original and important ends on the first day of the week as well as it did on the seventh. If the institution is celebrated after every six days of labour, it will just as well commemorate the creation on the one day as on the other; and the same observation applies to the other purposes of the Sabbath. What is there in the seventh day of the week, considered simply in itself, which renders it fitter for devotion and rest than the first day? It is obvious, moreover, that the Divine Author of the Sabbath could not intend that it should be rigidly observed by all mankind every seventh day, reckoning from the day on which He rested from His work; because the thing was impossible. Those who continued to dwell near the spot where the Sabbath was first given, might have preserved every seventh day from the creation; but, as the world began to be peopled, it could not have been maintained. As population continued to spread eastward and westward, from the original seats of man, by the time that it met again, say at the antipodes, there would be, on the supposition of an exact reckoning being kept, and the Sabbath duly observed, the difference of a day between them. Those who had travelled in one direction would have gained twelve hours, the others would have lost twelve hours; and they would therefore be found keeping the Sabbath on two different days. Now on the principle of its being essential to the Sabbath, that it should be rigidly kept every seventh day from the beginning, neither party could lawfully change their day, and two days of observing the Sabbath would thus be introduced. It would be easy to pursue this idea much farther, but what has been said will suffice to show the impossibility of all mankind, in their observance of the Sabbath, rigidly

adhering to every seventh day from its first institution. Once more, it is to be remarked, that the terms of the Sabbatic law are general. Look at its first appointment;—God is represented as sanctifying 'the seventh day;' but no additional expression is used, confining the Sabbath to every succeeding seventh day, or even to the last day of the week! A remarkable omission is, however, made by the historian. He had represented 'the evening and the morning,' as constituting every preceding day, but he drops that phraseology in speaking of the seventh, as though he designed to avoid imposing a restriction on mankind, even as to the hour of the day at which the Sabbath should commence. Turn to the re-enactment of the Sabbath on Sinai, and the same general terms are employed. It is not said that the Sabbath must be kept every seventh day from the creation, nor on the seventh day of the week: we are reminded to keep holy 'the Sabbath-day,' merely that after 'six days' of labor, we must consecrate the following to rest and devotion. Now let these considerations be viewed in connection, and it will be seen that the day of its celebration is a circumstance rather than any thing essential to the Sabbath; and it will farther be apparent that, kept as it is, by all Christians in every part of the world, on the first day as nearly as it is possible, it answers as well on that day all its legitimate ends, and accords as well with the terms of the law which enforces it, as when it was observed on the seventh day of the week.

The point then to be determined is, whether Christians have sufficient authority for rejecting the seventh day of the week, and substituting the first; for it does not follow from the previous conclusion, that they were at liberty to make the alteration on their own responsibility. Although it appears evident that the Author of the Sabbath might change the observance of it to any day in the week, and the Sabbath itself, notwithstanding, remain essentially the same, yet it is equally as certain that none less than Himself could make such change. Christians, then, must be able to produce the authority of the 'Lord of the Sabbath,' as their justification for what they do. After His resurrection, and His resumption of 'all power in heaven and in earth.' Matt. xxviii, 18, He spoke to His disciples, during the forty days He was seen of them, of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God; He instructed them how to regulate and discipline the Church which He empowered them to found: and if Christians can only trace the change of the day, in celebrating the Sabbath, to those 'master builders,' and their Divine Head, they will produce sufficient authority for the change in question. And this they can do. There is a connected chain of evidence which proves that the alteration is to be ascribed to Him who had authority to make it.

The first link in this chain is the fact that our Lord conferred especial honor on the first day of the week. He arose on that day from the dead. Now, as He did not die by accident, but chose His own time for delivering Himself up into the hands of His enemies, why fix on the period that He did? Why disown the seventh day by shrouding His face from it in the darkness of the tomb, and honor the first day by gilding it with the fresh glory of His triumph over death, hell, and the grave? Something important must be intended by so delibe-

rate, significant an act.—He appeared to the apostles on the first day of the week. That He should reveal Himself to them on the very day on which he arose, is a fact not so remarkable considered in itself: we must connect with it another, and then we shall see something worthy of observation. Having discovered Himself to His disciples on the very day of His resurrection, He appeared to them no more till the first day of the week again; and it is this coincidence which is so striking. Why withdraw from them during the week, and then appear again on the first day, if not to confer peculiar honor on that day, and mark it out for some particular purpose?—He poured out the Spirit on the apostles on the first day of the week. The apostles were not to open their commission till they should be qualified for their office by the gift of the Spirit; and, after all the conflicting criticism which has been employed on this point, there is the strongest reason for concluding that the feast of Pentecost did fall that year on the first day of the week. Why such an arrangement, then, as to confer on the first day of the week the distinguished honor of opening the Gospel dispensation in all its perfection and glory, were there not a design to give that day some special designation under the Christian economy?—He allowed it, moreover, to bear His own name. Early it was called 'the Lord's day;' and so lofty a distinction was not conferred on it in vain.

A second link in the chain is the coincident fact that the apostles began at the same time to distinguish the first day by assembling on it; which practice they introduced into the Churches generally as they were formed. It may be true that they were brought together on the evening of the very day on which Christ arose, by the report of the women to whom He had appeared; but their assembling on the first day of the week afterward must have resulted from some other cause. The marked manner in which the Evangelist speaks of Christ's first appearing to them when met for the second time, leaves us no other conclusion than that this was done by Christ's own appointment. To resolve all this into mere accident is absurd. Now this assembling together of the apostles was the introduction of the practice of holding Christian assemblies on the first day of the week. The reader of the New Testament will see, in the incidental manner in which mention is made of formal meetings on the first day of the week, in Churches remote from each other, convincing evidence that it was a settled and regular practice among Christians from the beginning. The apostles, then, by originating this practice, evidently under the direction of their Divine Master, thus especially distinguished and honored the first day of the week above all other days.

A third link of the chain is found in the circumstance that the apostles thus marked out the first day of the week for devotional purposes. The mere fact of their having distinguished that day by meeting on it, would not have proved that they had changed the Sabbath, unless it appeared that they thus set it apart for the very ends for which the Sabbath was instituted. The inspired writers of the New Testament have not, indeed, given us a formal account of what they did in their assemblies on the first day of the week; but their incidental notices of the subject afford sufficient proof that they met for the purposes of devotion; that they came together to hear preaching, and to participate

in the Lord's Supper, and such like religious exercises. The collections which they made on those occasions for the poor, concerning which the apostle gives such express directions, are deserving of especial notice, from the very significant hint which we derive from them. Among the Jews it was customary to distribute the alms of the more wealthy among the poor on the evening of every Sabbath; and when we see the apostles adopting the same plan of practically caring for the poor on the first day of the week, we have in that fact no very obscure intimation of the change of the Sabbath from the seventh day to the first. And the apostles appear to have distinguished the first day of the week, by the private, as well as public, exercises of religion. 'I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day,' says the Apostle John; and from this passage even Paley could argue thus:—'Which name, and St. John's use of it, sufficiently denote the appropriation of this day to the service of religion, and that this appropriation was perfectly known to the Christians of Asia.' This reasoning is good; but it militates seriously against the doctor's own cause. He would limit the religious observance of 'Sunday' to *public* worship: but the passage on which his argument is founded does not appear to point us to public worship at all. There is nothing in the apostle's narrative that could lead one to suppose that, at the time to which he refers, he was engaged with a Christian congregation in the social worship of God. The idea which his description conveys to our mind is, that he was alone, in private devotion, given up to meditation, when the celestial vision came upon him.

In corroboration of this view of the manner in which the early Christians observed the first day of the week, the universal and uniform practice of the Church after the apostolic age may be adduced. Thus the celebrated apologist for Christianity, Justin Martyr, who wrote while some would be living who could recollect the Apostle John, informs us that on Sunday there was an assembly of all persons who lived in one place, whether in the cities or the country; that the writings of the prophets and apostles having been read, the presiding pastor delivered a discourse, exhorting the people to practise what they had heard; that then, all standing up, prayers were offered, after which the Lord's Supper was administered; and that then those who could afford it gave contributions, which were deposited with the president, who, out of the fund thus raised, relieved the orphans and widows, &c. And the day was distinguished by private as well as public devotions. Another father, who wrote a few years later, speaking of the manner of observing 'the Lord's day,' says, 'Every one of us sabbatizes spiritually, rejoicing in the meditation of the law, and admiring the workmanship of God.' And the day itself had peculiar sanctity ascribed to it. Others of the fathers might be quoted, who show that they regarded the day as 'holy,' and that they 'kept it holy.' The apostolic practice of observing the first day of the week thus spread with Christianity itself; and their sabbatizing—commemorating the creation—on the first day, and their keeping it holy, in the age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, is convincing proof that the Christians of that early period regarded the first day of the week as set apart for the Sabbath instead of the seventh. And with their conduct their recorded opinions

agree. 'The Lord,' says another of the early fathers, 'transferred the Sabbath to the Lord's day.' The practice and views of the Church after the apostolic age are not adverted to for the purpose of proving from them any religious obligation to regard the first day of the week as the ancient Sabbath: they are produced merely in support and confirmation of the conclusion already derived from the New Testament itself, respecting the apostolic practice of observing the first day for the same purposes that the Sabbath was appointed to answer. The corresponding practice of the Church in succeeding ages goes to prove, most satisfactorily, that we do not misunderstand the New Testament on this important point.

A fourth link in the chain is found in the fact, that God has transferred the blessing which He pronounced on the Sabbath, to the first day of the week. When the great Creator 'sanctified'—set apart—the seventh day for Himself, He 'blessed it' to man. Now this original blessing, which was pronounced on the Sabbath, has been transferred to the Lord's day. In every age of Christianity, on this day, the great Head of the Church has manifested His gracious presence in the sanctuary, making the religious ordinances there administered the source of instruction, and comfort, and encouragement to His people, and rendering His word 'quick and powerful' in the awakening and reclaiming of sinners from the error of their ways. On this day God has ever vouchsafed His special blessing to family worship, and has signally furthered the endeavors of pious heads of families to imbue the minds of their children and servants with religious knowledge, and to bring them under the influence of Christian principles. And on this day, too, the devotional exercises of the closet have been, in every period of the Christian Church, especially owned of God: the devotional Christian has ever found them, on this day, peculiarly conducive to the furtherance of personal religion. It is a fact, established by the consentaneous testimony afforded by the annals of the Church, that it has been chiefly by means of the religious observance of the Lord's day that Christianity has extended its benign influence over the millions of our species, who, in different ages, have participated in its blessings. The Divine blessing thus conferred on the first day of the week is a standing proof, is perpetuated evidence in every period of the Church, that the plain and obvious meaning of the New Testament respecting the first day is its true meaning. Were the religious separation of that day of human appointment only, would He who struck Nadab and Abihu dead upon the spot have transferred to it the original Sabbatic blessing? The offence of these two sons of Aaron consisted in their presenting before the altar 'a strange offering,' that is, an offering not of Divine appointment; and would that God who gave so awful an expression of His disapprobation of that 'strange offering,' have accepted, with so much complacency, the 'strange offering' of the first day of the week? Would he have made a mere human institution the most powerful engine for propagating religion in the world? Impossible.

A twofold result has now been attained. In the first instance proof was found that the Sabbath, instead of being abrogated by the Gospel, was solemnly confirmed by Him who is the 'Lord of the Sabbath;' and it is now made apparent that the setting apart of the first day for

religious purposes is to be traced to the same high authority. Combine, then, these two results: see, on the one hand, the Sabbath confirmed by Christ and His followers; and, on the other, the first day of the week set apart by His sanction for the leading purposes for which the Sabbath was instituted, and having also the Sabbatic blessing transferred to it; and the conclusion is irresistible, that the institution of 'the Lord's day,' which Christians observe, is, in fact, the ancient Sabbath changed to another day.

But if Jesus Christ did really intend to continue the Sabbath changed to the first day of the week, why did He not deliver a precept to this effect, and not leave so important a matter to be determined by inference? There is not so much as a show of reason in this question, so far as the perpetuation only of the Sabbatic institution is concerned. When the Divine Being has once imposed a law upon mankind, it must necessarily remain in force until the same high authority repeal it. There could not, therefore, on the abolition of Judaism, be any necessity for a precept confirming the institution of the Sabbath, which had existed from the creation of the world; it must remain as a matter of course, unless expressly abolished too. And still less need was there for a precept on this subject, when the moral law was, without any exception of the fourth commandment, solemnly confirmed on the introduction of the Gospel. The question, then, has nothing in it of plausibility, farther than as the change of the day of the Sabbath is concerned. But a very grave subject here offers itself for consideration. Is not the Divine will, ascertained by legitimate inference, as binding as when made known to us by express precept? A great part of Holy Writ consists of history, examples, Divine songs, proverbs, conversations, allusions, and observations made on particular occurrences and actions; and all these portions of the sacred Scriptures will prove entirely useless if inference is not to be employed in applying what they teach to ourselves. If it is admitted that we learn the Divine will by induction, as well as by precept, then there can be but little offered in extenuation of the presumption of those who ask, Why are we left to find out by inference merely that the Sabbath is changed to the first day of the week? because the reasoning process which establishes the change is so simple and easy. When we have such certain evidence that the Sabbath remains binding on Christians, surely it must be apparent enough that the conduct of the 'Lord of the Sabbath' and His apostles is sufficient to guide us respecting the mere circumstance of the day of the week on which we ought to celebrate it. And then, again, the circumstances of the infant Christian Church are to be looked at: for while contemplating the condition of the first Christians, we discover the wisdom and goodness of God in introducing the change in question in so unostentatious a manner. It was a part of the Divine counsel that the Jews should have the offers of the Gospel made to them before it should be preached to other people. In pursuance of this counsel they were kept together by Divine Providence as a nation, and their ancient forms of government were allowed to remain, and a considerable portion of time was devoted to the experiment of attempting to win them to the faith of Christ. Many years elapsed before the apostles were directed to 'turn to the Gentiles.' In such a state of

things it is evident that the change of the day in observing the Sabbath could not have been instantaneously effected to its full extent. Had the 'Lord of the Sabbath' given at the very outset a formal precept on the subject, to be registered in the New Testament for the guidance of His followers in every age; that precept, to have answered its end, must have reduced at once the seventh day of the week to the rank of common days, and have required the first day of the week to be observed thenceforth, according to the rule laid down by the law of the Sabbath. But could this precept have been rigorously obeyed in the first instance? The Jewish polity remaining, the seventh-day Sabbath was the law of the land, and the violation of this law, by doing any manner of work on it, was guarded against by the severest of all penalties, death, Exod. xxxi, 14. Had, then, the followers of Christ, during the time that this trial of the Jewish nation was being made, immediately begun to devote the seventh day of the week to secular business, we may conclude, from the persecuting spirit of the Jewish rulers, that it would have led to their certain destruction, unless a perpetual miraculous interference had been employed in their preservation, or the Jewish government had been at once overthrown, which, as has been seen, would have clashed with the evident design of God to keep his ancient people together, in a national form, until they had had a full and free offer of the Gospel made to them. Such indulgence, then, on the subject of the Sabbath, as was allowed in regard of the ceremonial law, was thus imperatively required by existing circumstances. The Mosaic rites and ceremonies were, in fact, abrogated from the period of the death and resurrection of Christ, but the first Christians were long allowed to pay some regard to them. Although they might not depend on them as a means of their justification in the sight of God, they were permitted to comply with some parts of the ceremonial law, as prudential means for promoting piety. Thus even the great apostle of the Gentiles, when at a late period of his life he went up to Jerusalem, complied with the practice of the Christians there, and purified himself and presented himself in the temple, according to the mode prescribed by the law, Acts xxi, 26. Seeing, then, that, so long as the Jewish polity remained, the law of the land guarded the seventh day of the week from being desecrated by labor; and that, as the greater number of the first converts were persons from the humbler walks of life, whose Jewish masters or employers would not, we may be assured, allow them to abstain altogether from labor on the first day, it was quite in accordance with the general toleration on the subject of Judaism, to allow some indulgence in changing the Sabbath from the day on which the Jews observed it, to the first day of the week. For the 'Lord of the Sabbath' to direct the apostles to begin immediately and mark out the first day, by meeting on it for religious exercises, and to introduce the substitution of that day for the seventh, by degrees, as far as circumstances would allow, till the Jewish polity was overthrown, is a plan recommending itself to our reason, because it was so admirably adapted to the circumstances of the first Christians, and so strictly in accordance with the general toleration of Jewish prejudices. The change once being fully established by such high authority, a plain notice of it, recorded in the New Testament, was

obviously sufficient to point out the path of duty to all enlightened, conscientious Christians, in every future period of the Church.

But why was the change in the day of the Sabbath made at all, seeing that it was accomplished with such difficulty? What were the reasons which rendered it necessary that the Sabbath should be transferred from the seventh day of the week to the first? Regarding this question as made in the spirit of humble inquiry, and with a view to ascertain what new use the Sabbath is intended to serve on the first day of the week, it may be answered that it becomes on that day a memorial of the Savior's resurrection. It has been well argued, 'that *the first day of the week* was observed by the apostles and first Christians, in honor of the resurrection of Christ, is evident from its being called by a new and honorable name—*the Lord's day*—as well as from other hints of Scripture, and many plain and express assertions in the history of the primitive Church.' The Sabbath, on its first institution, was designed as a memorial of the creation. That work was seen by its Divine Author to be of such importance as to render it proper that a weekly remembrance of it should be made by man; but if the work of creating a world thus deserved to be celebrated, does not its redemption equally merit some such distinguishing mark? The poet sings—

> 'Twas great to speak a world from nought;
> 'Twas greater to redeem.'

And this is the language of inspiration too. The Scriptures teach us that the glory of the Divine attributes is manifested still more illustriously in redemption than creation, and thus suggest even a stronger reason for a memorial of the latter work than the former. This memorial Christians have not in a new Sabbath, but in the old Sabbath changed to another day, the day on which our Lord, having paid down the price of the world's ransom, and having laid, in His death, the foundations of a new *moral* creation, rose from the grave that He might enter on His heavenly rest. In addition to all its original ends, the Sabbath now serves as a remembrance of Christ's resurrection. The next letter, which will be on the sanctification of the Sabbath, will conclude the series.

REVIEW OF FLETCHER'S WORKS.

The Works of the Rev. John Fletcher, late vicar of Madely. In four volumes, octavo. New-York, published by B. Waugh & T. Mason, for the Methodist Episcopal Church, at the Conference Office, 200 Mulberry-street.

This is the first edition of the entire works of that able and pious minister of Jesus Christ, ever published in this country. His Checks to Antinomianism, his Spiritual Letters, and a few other miscellaneous matters, have been frequently published, and widely circulated and read, and no doubt have been productive of much good—for it is

scarcely possible for any one to study the writings of the vicar of Madely, and not be made a wiser man, and a better Christian.

The present volumes include his Checks to Antinomianism—The Portraiture of St. Paul—An Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense—An Address to Seekers of Salvation—A rational Vindication of the Catholic Faith—Socinianism Unscriptural—Essays on Evangelical Mysticism—Grace and Nature—Eulogy on Christian Philosophers—Defence of Experimental Religion—Natural Aversion of the Human Mind to that which is Good—On the Trinity—On the Crucifixion—Conversion of Mr. Fletcher—A dreadful Phenomenon described and improved, and a Sermon preached on the occasion, from Numbers xvi, 30–34—Discourse on the New Birth—Nine additional Discourses—Brief outlines of thirty Sermons—Fragments of Sermons—Posthumous Pieces—A Dialogue between a Minister and one of his Parishioners—A Vindication of the Rev. Mr. Wesley's Calm Address to our American Colonies—American Patriotism farther confronted with Reason, Scripture, and the Constitution—The Bible and the Sword.

Perhaps a few remarks in reference to the circumstances which gave rise to the controversy that brought Mr. Fletcher into the field of theological discussion may be acceptable to the reader. Mr. Wesley had been in the field, as a minister of Jesus Christ, for more than thirty years, when the famous Minutes were penned which excited so much attention in England, and which called Mr. Fletcher from his 'beloved obscurity,' as he termed his seclusion in Madely, in defence of the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel, as taught by John Wesley. Mr. Wesley had from the beginning embraced the scheme of general redemption; and although after his conversion to God, he 'leaned too much toward Calvinism,' on some points, he uniformly held to the Arminian views of Gospel truth, in opposition to those by which Calvinism is distinguished. This led, in 1741, to a partial separation between him and Mr. Whitefield. From that time onward, there were two sorts of people called Methodists; since denominated *Wesleyan* and *Calvinistic* Methodists; the former, however, have always been the most numerous.

Lady Huntingdon, an eminently pious lady of the Church of England, became the patroness of the Calvinistic Methodists, and manifested an ardent zeal for the peculiarities of their tenets; and although she had formerly evinced much veneration, and a warm attachment for Mr. Wesley, as an eminently holy and successful minister of Jesus Christ, yet her Calvinism caused her to withdraw, in some measure, her attachment from him, and to exert her influence to oppose his views on those points in which he dissented from the strong points of Calvinism. Mr. Wesley, who ever watched over the flock committed

to his care with a jealous vigilance, saw, with no little concern, that the doctrinal peculiarities of Lady Huntingdon and her partisans, were making fearful inroads into his societies, and producing a deleterious influence upon the morals of some, and upon the religious enjoyments of many more. This state of things made it his imperious duty to 'sound an alarm in all the holy mountain,' and to call on all who were co-workers with him to stand upon their 'watchtower,' that they might descry the designs of the enemy, and be on their guard against his subtle approaches. This was done more formally at the conference which was held in London, August 7, 1770, by the following minutes, which were adopted and published :—

'Take heed to your doctrine.'

'We said in 1744, "We have leaned too much toward Calvinism." Wherein?

'1. With regard to *man's faithfulness.* Our Lord Himself taught us to use the expression. And we ought never to be ashamed of it. We ought steadily to assert, on His authority, that if a man is not "faithful in the unrighteous mammon," God will not "give him the true riches."

'2. With regard to *working for life.* This also our Lord has expressly commanded us. "*Labor*," Εργαζεσθε, literally, "*work* for the meat that endureth to everlasting life." And in fact every believer, till he comes to glory, works *for*, as well as *from* life.

'3. We have received it as a maxim, that "a man is to do nothing *in order to* justification." Nothing can be more false. Whoever desires to find favor with God, should "cease from evil, and learn to do well." Whoever repents, should do "works meet for repentance." And if this is not *in order to* find favor, what does he do them for?

'Review the whole affair.

'1. Who of us is *now* accepted of God?

'He that now believes in Christ, with a loving, obedient heart.

'2. But who among those who never heard of Christ?

'He that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, according to the light he has.

'3. Is this the same with "he that is sincere?"

'Nearly, if not quite?

'4. Is not this "salvation by works?"

'Not by the *merit* of works, but by works as a *condition.*

'5. What have we then been disputing about for these thirty years?

'I am afraid, *about words.*

'6. As to *merit* itself, of which we have been so dreadfully afraid: we are rewarded *according to our works*, yea, *because of our works.* How does this differ from, *for the sake of our works?* And how differs this from *secundum merita operum*, "as our works deserve?" Can you split this hair? I doubt, I cannot.

'7. The grand objection to one of the preceding propositions is drawn from matter of fact. God does, in fact justify those who, by

their own confession, "neither feared God nor wrought righteousness." Is this an exception to the general rule?

'It is a doubt whether God makes any exception at all. But how are we sure that the person in question never did "fear God and work righteousness?" His own saying so is not proof: for we know how all that are convinced of sin undervalue themselves in every respect.

'S. Does not talking of a justified or sanctified *state* tend to mislead men? almost naturally leading them to trust in what was done in one moment? Whereas we are every hour and every moment pleasing or displeasing to God, *according to our works:* according to the whole of our inward tempers and outward behavior.'

The publication of these Minutes gave great alarm to the Calvinists, particularly to Lady Huntingdon and her party, as they seemed to think that they struck at the foundation of the Gospel, and threatened to introduce the antiquated and heretical doctrine of salvation by works into the Church. To prevent so serious an evil, the following circular was issued:—

'Sir,—Whereas Mr. Wesley's conference is to be held at Bristol, on Tuesday, the 6th of August next, it is proposed by Lady Huntingdon, and many other Christian friends, (real Protestants,) to have a meeting at Bristol, at the same time, of such principal persons, both clergy and laity, who disapprove of the underwritten Minutes: and as the same are thought injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity, it is farther proposed that they go in a body to the said conference, and insist upon a formal recantation of the said Minutes; and in case of a refusal, that they sign and publish their protest against them. Your presence, sir, on this occasion, is particularly requested. But if it should not suit your convenience to be there, it is desired that you will transmit your sentiments on the subject to such persons as you think proper to produce them. It is submitted to you, whether it would not be right, in the opposition to be made to such a dreadful heresy, to recommend it to as many of your Christian friends, as well of the dissenters as of the established Church, as you can prevail on, to be there, the cause being of so public a nature.

'I am, sir, your obedient servant,

'Walter Shirley.'

'P. S. Your answer is desired, directed to the countess of Huntingdon, or the Rev. Mr. Shirley, or John Lloyd, Esq. in Bath; or Mr. James Ireland, merchant, Bristol; or to Thomas Powis, Esq. at Berwick, near Shrewsbury; or to Richard Hill, Esq. at Hawkstone, near Whitchurch, Shropshire. *Lodgings will be provided. Inquire at Mr. Ireland's, Bristol.*'

These extraordinary proceedings excited no little alarm among the friends of Mr. Wesley, who felt, indeed, that he deserved much more respectful treatment than to be thus arraigned before the public as the author of a 'dreadful heresy.' Among others to whom this circular was addressed, was Mr. Fletcher; and as he could not attend the

meeting, he took the liberty granted him of addressing an expostulatory and argumentative letter to Mr. Shirley, in which he undertook to vindicate the doctrine of the Minutes, as well as to expostulate with that gentleman on the extraordinary course he took in this affair. This gave rise to a controversy which we hesitate not to say has poured a greater flood of light on some points of Gospel doctrine than the world ever saw since the apostolic days. Mr. Fletcher seemed to have been peculiarly fitted both by nature and grace for this work. Well educated, of a sound intellect, his heart deeply imbued with the Spirit of his Divine Master, he entered the thorny field of controversy, though much against his inclination, yet with peculiar advantages, and maintained the conflict throughout with a composure of mind, a dignity of deportment, and an acuteness of argument, and at the same time with an overflowing affection for his antagonists, rarely to be found on the pages of controversial writings. The spirit and manner of his arguments, drawn as they principally were from the sacred records, carried with them a force which could hardly be resisted.

The expostulations of Mr. Fletcher with Mr. Shirley are so touching, so pointed, and so much in character with his general style and manner of writing, as well as just and appropriate to the occasion, that we can hardly deny ourselves the pleasure of quoting them. They are as follow:—

'When Brutus, among other senators, rushed upon Cesar, the venerable general, as he wrapped himself in his mantle, just said, "And art thou also among them? Even thou, my son?" May not Mr. Wesley address you, sir, in the same words, and add, "If a body of men must be raised to attack me, let some zealous follower of Dr. Crisp, some hot-headed vindicator of reprobation and eternal justification blow the trumpet, and put himself at their head: but let it not be *you*, who believe with me that we are moral agents; that God is love; that Jesus tasted death for every man; and that the Holy Spirit shall not always strive with sinners. If you do not regard my reputation, consider at least your own; and expose me not as a heretic for advancing propositions, the substance of which you have avowed before the sun."

'But had those propositions at length appeared to you unsound, yea, and had you never maintained them yourself, should you not, as a Christian and a brother, have written to him, acquainted him with your objections, and desired him to solve them and explain himself, or you should be obliged publicly to expose him?

'Was this condescension more than was due from you, sir, and our other friends, to a gray-headed minister of Christ; an old general in the armies of Emmanuel; a father who has children capable of instructing even masters in Israel; and one whom God made the first and principal instrument of the late revival of internal religion in our Church?

'Instead of this friendly method, as if you was a Barak, "commanded by the Lord God of Israel, you call together the children of Naphtali and Zebulun:" you convene, from England and Wales, clergy and laity, Churchmen and Dissenters, to meet you at Bristol, where they are, it seems, to be entertained in good and free quarters. And for what grand expedition? Why, on a day appointed you are to march up "in a body," not to attack Sisera and his iron chariots, but an old Caleb, who, without meddling with you, quietly goes on to the conquest of Canaan; not to desire in a friendly manner, after a fair debate of every proposition that appears dangerous, and upon previous conviction that what is exceptionable may be given up, but to do what I think was never done by nominal, much less by "real Protestants"—O let it not be told in Rome, lest the sons of the inquisition rejoice!—This mixed, this formidable body, is to "insist upon" Mr. Wesley, and the preachers in his connection, "formally recanting" their Minutes, as appearing "injurious to the very fundamental principles of Christianity, and being dreadfully heretical." And this, (astonishing!) without the least inquiry made into their meaning and design—without a shadow of authority from our superiors in Church or state—without an appeal to "the law and to the testimony"—without form of process—without judge or jury—without so much as allowing the poor "heretics," (who are condemned six weeks before they can possibly be heard,) to answer for themselves!

'As I was fortunate enough to stop, some months ago, such rash proceedings in Wales, permit me, sir, to bear my testimony against them in England, and to tell you they exceed the late transactions in Edmund Hall. The six students, against whom wrath was gone forth, were allowed to say what they could in their own defence before they were sentenced, as unfit members of a literary society. Likewise the vice-chancellor had the statutes of the university of Oxford, seeming to countenance his proceedings: but what statute of the university of Jesus can you produce, even to save appearances? Surely not that which the Papists made use of, "Compel them to come in;" for I am persuaded, that although clergy and laity, Churchmen and Dissenters, are convened to go in a body to Mr. Wesley's conference, you mean no external compulsion. Much less are you authorized to "insist" upon his owning himself "a heretic," by these words of the apostle, "As much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men, and esteem ministers highly in love for their works' sake." Neither by his command, "A heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject," &c; for you have neither proved Mr. Wesley a *heretic*, nor *once admonished* him as such.

'Surely our Lord will not smile upon your undertaking; for he has left his sentiments upon record, the reverse of your practice. He had said, "Whosoever shall receive," not provoke, "one of such children in my name, receiveth me. But John answered him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and we forbad him, because he followeth not with us. Forbid him not," said Jesus, "for there is no man who can do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me." Festus himself, though a poor heathen, will disapprove of such a step: "It is not the manner of the Romans," says he, "to do-

liver any man to die," (or to insist on his publicly giving up his reputation, which in some cases is worse than death,) "before that he who is accused have the accusers face to face, and have license to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him." The lordliness of your procedure even exceeds, in one respect, the severity of the Council of Constance, where poor Jerome of Prague had leave to plead his own cause before he was obliged to acknowledge himself a heretic, and make "a formal recantation" of the propositions he had advanced.

'Beside, how could you suppose, sir, that Mr. Wesley, and the preachers who shall assemble with him, are such weak men as tamely to acknowledge themselves heretics upon your *ipse dixit?* Suppose Mr. Wesley took it in his head to convene all the divines that disapprove the extract of Zanchius, to go with him in a body to Mr. Toplady's chapel, and demand a formal recantation of that performance, as heretical; yea, to insist upon it, before they had "measured swords, or broken a pike together:" would not the translator of Zanchius, from the ramparts of common sense, deservedly laugh at him, and ask whether he thought to frighten him by his protests, and bully him into orthodoxy?

'O sir, have we not fightings enough *without* to employ all our time and strength? Must we also declare war and promote fightings *within?* Must we catch at every opportunity to stab one another, because the livery of truth which we wear is not turned up in the same manner? What can be more cruel than this? What can be more cutting to an old minister of Christ, than to be traduced as "a dreadful heretic," in printed letters sent to the best men in the land, yea, through all England and Scotland, and signed by a person of your rank and piety; to have things that he knows not, that he never meant, laid to his charge, and dispersed far and near? While he is gone to a neighbouring kingdom to preach Jesus Christ, to have his friends prejudiced, his foes elevated, and the fruit of his extensive ministry at the point of being blasted! Put yourself in his place, sir, and you will see that the wound is deep, and reaches the very heart. I can apologize for the other "real Protestants." Some are utter strangers to polemic divinity; others are biassed by high Calvinism; and one, whose name is used, never saw your circular letter till it was in print. But what can I say for you, sir? Against hope I must believe in hope, that an unaccountable panic influenced your mind, and deprived you for a time of the calmness and candor which adorn your natural temper. If this is the case, may you act with less precipitancy for the future! And may the charity "that hopeth all things, believeth all things, does not provoke, and is not provoked," rule in our hearts and lives! So shall the heathen world drop their just objections against our unhappy divisions, and once more be forced to cry out, "See how these Christians love!" And so shall we give over trying to disturb, or pull down a part of the Church of Christ, because we dislike the color of the stones with which it is built; or because our fellow builders cannot pronounce *Shibboleth* just as we do.

'One word more about Mr. Wesley, and I have done. Of the two greatest and most useful ministers I ever knew, one is no more. The

other, after amazing labours, flies still with unwearied diligence through the three kingdoms, calling sinners to repentance, and to the healing fountain of Jesus' blood. Though oppressed with the weight of near seventy years, and the care of near thirty thousand souls, he shames still, by his unabated zeal and immense labors, all the young ministers in England, perhaps in Christendom. He has generally blown the Gospel trump, and rode twenty miles, before most of the professors, who despise his labors, have left their downy pillow. As he begins the day, the week, the year, so he concludes them, still intent upon extensive services for the glory of the Redeemer, and the good of souls. And shall we lightly lift up our pens, our tongues, our hands against him? No, let them rather forget their cunning! If we *will* quarrel, can we find nobody to fall out with but the minister upon whom God puts the greatest honor?

'Our Elijah has lately been translated to heaven. Gray-headed Elisha is yet awhile continued upon earth. And shall we make a hurry and noise, to bring in railing accusations against him with more success? While we pretend to a peculiar zeal for Christ's glory, shall the very same spirit be found in us, which made his persecutors say, "He hath spoken blasphemy," (or heresy,) "what need we any farther witnesses?" Shall the sons of the prophets, shall even children in grace and knowledge, openly traduce the venerable seer and his abundant labors? When they see him run upon his Lord's errands, shall they cry, not, "Go up, thou bald head," but, "Go up, thou heretic?" O Jesus of Nazareth, thou rejected of men, thou who wast once called "a deceiver of the people," suffer it not! lest the raging bear of persecution come suddenly out of the wood upon those sons of discord, and tear them in pieces.

'And suppose a Noah, an old preacher of righteousness, should have really nodded under the influence of an honest mistake, shall we act a worse part than that of Canaan? Shall we make sport of the nakedness which, we say, he has disclosed, when we have boldly uncovered it ourselves? O God, do not Thou permit it, lest a curse of pride, self sufficiency, bigotry, Antinomianism, and bitter zeal, come upon us; and lest the children, begotten by our unkind preaching and unloving example, walk in our steps and inherit our propagated punishment!

'Rather may the blessing of *peacemakers* be ours. May the meek, loving Spirit of Jesus fill our hearts! May streams, not of the bitter waters which cause the curse, but of the living water which gladdens the city of God, flow from our catholic breasts, and put out the fire of wild zeal and persecuting malice! May we know when Sion is really in danger; and when the accuser of the brethren gives a false alarm to disturb the peace of the Church, and turn the stream of undefiled, lovely, and loving religion, into the miry channel of obstinate prejudice, imperious bigotry, and noisy vain jangling. And may we at last unanimously worship together in the temple of peace, instead of striving for the mastery in the house of discord!

'Should this public attempt to stop the war which has been publicly declared be in any degree successful,—should it check a little the forwardness that has lately appeared to stir up contention, under pretence of opposing heresy,—should it make warm men willing to let the light

of their moderation shine before the world, and to "keep a conscience void of offence" toward their neighbors, instead of openly opposing their liberty of conscience,—should it cause the good that is in an eminent servant of Christ to be less evil spoken of,—and above all, should it convince any of the great impropriety of exposing precious truths as "dreadful heresies;" and of preferring the gospel of Dr. Crisp to "the truth as it is in Jesus,"—I shall be less grieved at having been obliged to expostulate with you, sir, in this public manner.

In hopes this will be the case, and with a heart full of ardent wishes that all our unhappy divisions may end in a greater union, I remain Hon. and Rev. sir, your obedient servant in the peaceable Gospel of Jesus Christ. J. FLETCHER.'

July 29, 1771.

It seems ever to have been one of the grand devices of Satan to pour contempt upon true religion by seducing, if possible, its professors and advocates into inconsistencies, either in doctrine or practice, or both. And although perhaps no minister of the Gospel ever more faithfully and strenuously endeavored to guard his people against this subtle device of the adversary, than did Mr. Wesley, he nevertheless found that this 'enemy' had succeeded in sowing *tares among the wheat*—that the muddy waters of Antinomianism were polluting the pure stream of evangelical truth, and that many had already drunk so deeply of these impure waters that their taste had become vitiated and their minds diseased. To arrest the spread of this contagion, and to prevent others from becoming infected with it, Mr. Wesley prepared an antidote in the above Minutes. That the evils he deprecated were not imaginary but real, and that the Minutes furnished a very timely and suitable check to their spread, Mr. Fletcher attempted to show in his letters to Mr. Shirley. As a reason for the warning contained in the Minutes, he represents Mr. Wesley as saying to his numerous followers :—

'Avoid all extremes. While on the one hand you keep clear of the Pharisaic delusion that slights Christ, and makes the pretended merit of an imperfect obedience the procuring cause of eternal life; see that on the other hand you do not lean to the Antinomian error, which, under pretence of exalting Christ, speaks contemptuously of obedience, and "makes void the law through a faith that *does not* work by love." As there is but a step between high Arminianism and self righteousness, so there is but one between high Calvinism and Antinomianism. I charge you to shun both, especially the latter.

'You know, by sad experience, that at this time we stand particularly in danger of splitting upon the Antinomian rock. Many smatterers in Christian experience talk of *finished salvation in Christ*, or boast of being in a state of justification and sanctification, while they know little of themselves and less of Christ. Their whole behavior testifies that their hearts are void of humble love, and full of carnal confidence. They cry, *Lord! Lord!* with as much assurance and as little right as the foolish virgins. They pass for sweet Christians, dear children of

God, and good believers; but their secret reserves evidence them to be only such believers as Simon Magus, Ananias, and Sapphira.

'Some, with Diotrephes, "love to have the pre-eminence, and prate with malicious words," and not content therewith, "they do not themselves receive the brethren, and forbid them that would," and even cast them out of the Church as heretics. Some have "forsaken the right way, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; they are wells without water, clouds without rain, and trees without fruit:" with Judas they try to "load themselves with thick clay," endeavor to "lay up treasures on earth, and make provision for the flesh to fulfil the lusts thereof." Some, with the incestuous Corinthian, are led captive by fleshly lusts, and fall into the greatest enormities. Others, with the language of the awakened publican in their mouths, are fast asleep in their spirits; you hear them speak of the corruptions of their hearts in as unaffected and airy a manner, as if they talked of freckles upon their faces. It seems they run down their sinful nature only to apologize for their sinful practices; or to appear great proficients in self knowledge, and court the praise due to genuine humility.

'Others, quietly settled on the lees of the Laodicean state, by the whole tenor of their life say "they are rich and increased in goods, and have need of nothing;" utter strangers to "hunger and thirst after righteousness," they never importunately beg, never wrestle hard for the hidden manna. On the contrary, they sing a *requiem* to their poor dead souls, and say, "Soul, take thine ease; thou hast goods laid up (in Christ) for many years, yea, for ever and ever;" and thus, like Demas, they go on talking of Christ and heaven, but loving their ease, and enjoying this present world.

'Yet many of these, like Herod, hear and entertain us gladly; but, like him also, they keep their beloved sin, pleading for it as a right eye, and saving it as a right hand. To this day their bosom corruption is not only alive, but indulged; their treacherous Delilah is hugged; and their spiritual "Agag walks delicately," and boasts that "the bitterness of death is past," and he shall never be "hewed in pieces before the Lord:" nay, to dare so much as to talk of his *dying* before the body, becomes almost an unpardonable crime.

'Forms and fair shows of godliness deceive us: many, whom our Lord might well compare to "whited sepulchres," look like angels of light when they are abroad, and prove tormenting fiends at home. We see them weep under sermons; we hear them pray and sing with the tongues of men and angels; they even profess the faith that removes mountains, and yet, by and by, we discover they stumble at every mole hill; every trifling temptation throws them into peevishness, fretfulness, impatience, ill humor, discontent, anger, and sometimes into loud passion.

'Relative duties are by many grossly neglected: husbands slight their wives, or wives neglect and plague their husbands: children are spoiled, parents disregarded, and masters disobeyed: yea, so many are the complaints against servants professing godliness, on account of their unfaithfulness, indolence, pert answering again, forgetfulness of their menial condition, or insolent expectations, that some serious persons prefer those who have no knowledge of the truth to those who make a high profession of it.

'Knowledge is certainly *increased;* "many run to and fro" after it, but it is seldom experimental: the power of God is frequently talked of, but rarely felt, and too often cried down under the despicable name of *frames* and *feelings*. Numbers *seek*, by hearing a variety of Gospel ministers, reading all the religious books that are published, learning the best tunes to our hymns, disputing on controverted points of doctrine, telling or hearing Church news, and listening to or retailing spiritual scandal. But alas! few *strive* in pangs of heart-felt convictions; few "deny themselves and take up their cross daily;" few "take the kingdom of heaven by *the holy* violence" of wrestling faith and agonizing prayer; few *see*, and fewer live in "the kingdom of God, which is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." In a word, many say, "Lo! Christ is here; and lo! he is there;" but few can consistently witness that "*the* kingdom of heaven is within them."

'Many assert that "the clothing of the king's daughter is of wrought gold;" but few, very few experience that she is "all glorious within;" and it is well if many are not bold enough to maintain that she is *all full of corruptions*. With more truth than ever we may say—

> 'Ye different sects, who all declare,
> Lo! here is Christ, or Christ is there;
> Your stronger proofs divinely give,
> And show us where *the Christians* live:
> Your claim, alas! ye cannot prove,
> Ye want the genuine mark of *love*.'

'The consequences of this high, and yet lifeless profession, are as evident as they are deplorable. Selfish views, sinister designs, inveterate prejudice, pitiful bigotry, party spirit, self sufficiency, contempt of others, envy, jealousy, *making men offenders for a word*,—possibly a Scriptural word too, taking advantage of each other's infirmities, magnifying innocent mistakes, putting the worst construction upon each other's words and actions, false accusations, backbiting, malice, revenge, persecutions, and a hundred such evils, prevail among religious people, to the great astonishment of the children of the world, and the unspeakable grief of the true Israelites that yet remain among us.

'But this is not all. Some of our hearers do not even keep to the great outlines of heathen morality: not satisfied practically to reject Christ's declaration, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," they proceed to that pitch of covetousness and daring injustice, as not to pay their just debts; yea, and to cheat, and to extort, whenever they have a fair opportunity. How few of our societies are there where this or some other evil has not broken out, and given such shakes to the ark of the Gospel, that, had not the Lord wonderfully interposed, it must long ago have been overset! And you know how to this day the name and truth of God are openly blasphemed among the baptized heathens, through the Antinomian lives of many, who "say they are Jews when they are not, but *by their works declare* they are of the synagogue of Satan." At your peril, therefore, my brethren, countenance them not: I know you would not do it designedly, but you may do it unawares; therefore "take heed"—more than ever "take heed to your doctrine." Let it be Scripturally evangelical: give not the children's bread unto dogs: comfort not people that do not mourn. When you should give emetics do not administer cordials, and by that

means strengthen the hands of the slothful and unprofitable servant. I repeat it once more, warp not to Antinomianism, and in order to this, *take heed, O take heed to your doctrine.*'

To those who have made themselves acquainted with the admirable writings of this apostolic man, it is needless to say with what ability he maintained the doctrines of general redemption against the attacks of rigid predestinarians, of justification by grace through faith in Jesus Christ, against the cavilling objections of self-righteous Pharisees, of the necessity of good works as evidences of the genuineness of faith against the unscriptural assumptions of Solifidians, and the perpetually binding influence of the law, and the necessity of personal holiness, against the rude assaults of Antinomians. All these enemies to the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ, Mr. Fletcher had to contend with; and no sooner had one quitted the field in disgrace than another occupied his place, with as much confidence and boldness as if defeat were no evidence of the badness of his cause, or of the intrepidity of a man when armed with the whole truth as it is in Jesus.

But what renders the controversial writings of Mr. Fletcher peculiarly edifying is the deep vein of piety running through the whole of them, and the overflowings of Christian affection which he manifested toward his antagonists. While they were not sparing in epithets as uncharitable as they were unjust toward him, often supplying the place of solid Scriptural argument with ebullitions of angry declamation, he poured forth the sentiments of a mind highly cultivated by science and a heart filled with love to God and man, and of course warmed with the most ardent zeal for the honor of God and His truth. This is manifest in every page of his works; and so convincing were his arguments that one said, 'I will never read them; for if I do, I shall believe as he does.' A higher compliment could hardly have been paid to his abilities and to the forcible manner in which he plead the cause of truth.

How conspicuous was the overruling providence of God in all this! While Mr. Wesley, who had been the chief instrument of beginning that remarkable revival of true godliness which distinguished the latter half of the eighteenth century, and is still spreading over the earth, was actively engaged in unfolding and explaining the true doctrines of Christ, and regulating the societies which he had been instrumental in raising up, Mr. Fletcher, less extensively engaged in these matters, but equally ardent in the cause of truth, stepped forth from his beloved retirement, and vindicated with his pen what the other was doing more extensively with his tongue. And while a host arrayed themselves against Wesley, he found in Fletcher a champion fully competent to defend him from their assaults, while he was permitted to go on his way, scattering 'the good seed of the kingdom' in every direction, and

rejoiced to see it springing up, and bearing *fruit unto perfection.* Of the fruit of these labors the present generation is largely partaking.

From the period St. Augustine broached his doctrine of predestination, or, rather, endeavored to engraft the doctrine of fatalism, as taught by the Peripatetic school of philosophy, on the system of Christianity, down to the present time, the Church has been less or more afflicted with the perturbed waters of controversy respecting unconditional predestination. At the memorable era of the Reformation, this controversy was revived with all the zeal which religious bigotry could inspire, until, finally, the famous synod of Dort attempted to put an extinguisher upon it by sentencing the Remonstrants, or Arminian doctors, to perpetual silence. This absurd and persecuting sentence, however, could not bind the intellects of men, nor prevent the freedom of thought. Nor could they well avoid thinking that a cause which needed such arbitrary aids for its support must be defective in its character. Unhappily, however, for the advocates of Arminianism, they soon ran into the opposite extreme, and attributed to man a power to save himself independently of Divine grace. This gave their adversaries great advantage over them, and resulted in associating the 'doctrines of grace,' as they have been called, or, *salvation by grace*, with the peculiar and obnoxious features of Calvinism. This threw an odium over the doctrines of Arminianism from which it has hardly recovered to the present day—a consequence for which Arminius himself should not be held responsible, as no man ever taught more clearly than he did, the necessity of the atonement of Jesus Christ, and the agency of the Holy Spirit, to pardon and sanctify the sinner.

When Mr. Fletcher entered the field of controversy he had both of these errors to contend with—both the doctrine of unconditional predestination, and that of salvation by works. Hence the title of some parts of his works, '*Checks to Antinomianism*,' '*Equal Check to Pharisaism and Antinomianism*,' indicating that both of these distinctive errors were working their way into, and exerting a most deleterious influence upon the minds of the people. Mr. Fletcher, in his Historical Essay, traces out the origin and progress of these pernicious errors in the following manner:—

'The first man born of a woman is a striking picture of perverted mankind. He is at once a sullen Pharisee, and a gross Antinomian: he sacrifices to God, and murders his brother. Abel, the illustrious type of converted sinners, truly believes and acceptably sacrifices. Faith and works shine in his life with equal lustre; and in his death we see what the godly may expect from the impious Church and the pious world. Protomartyr for the doctrine of this Check, he falls the

first innocent victim to Pharisaical pride and Antinomian fury. "The sons of God" mix with "the daughters of men, learn their works," and "make shipwreck of the faith." Enoch nevertheless truly believes in God, and humbly walks with him: faith and works equally adorn his character. The world is soon full of mischief; and the earth of violence. Noah, however, believes and works: he credits God's word, and builds the ark. This WORK "condemns the world, and he becomes heir of the righteousness which is by FAITH." Consider Abraham; see how he believes and works! God speaks, and he leaves his house, his estate, his friends, and native country. His faith works by love; he exposes his life to recover his neighbor's property; he readily gives up to Lot his right of choice to prevent a quarrel; he earnestly intercedes for Sodom; he charitably hopes the best of its wicked inhabitants; he gladly entertains strangers, humbly washes their feet, diligently instructs his household, and submissively offers up Isaac, his favorite son, the child of his old age, the hope of his family, his own heir, and that of God's promise. By these "works his faith is made perfect," and he deserves to be called the "father of the faithful."

Moses treads in his steps: he believes, quits Pharaoh's court, and suffers affliction with the people of God. Under his conduct the Israelites believe, obey, and cross the Red Sea with a high hand; but soon after they murmur, rebel, and provoke Divine vengeance. Thus the destruction which they had avoided in Goshen, through obedient faith, they meet in the wilderness, through "the works of unbelief." Nature is up in arms to punish their backslidings. The pestilence, the sword, earthquakes, fiery serpents, and fire from heaven, combine to destroy the ungrateful, Antinomian apostates.

In the days of Joshua, that eminent type of Christ, faith and works are happily reconciled; and while they walk hand in hand, Israel is invincible, the greatest difficulties are surmounted, and the land of promise is conquered, divided, and enjoyed.

Under the next judges faith and works seldom meet; but as often as they do a deliverance is wrought in Israel. Working believers carry all before them: they "can do all things through the Lord strengthening them." They are little omnipotents. But if they suffer the Antinomian Delilah to cut off their locks, you may apply to them the awful words of David, (spoken to magistrates who forsake the way of righteousness,) "I have said, Ye are gods, and all of you are children of the Most High; but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes;" like Zimri, or Korah, Dathan, or Abiram.

The character of Samuel, the last of the judges, is perfect. From the cradle to the grave he believes and works: he serves God and his generation. His sons, like those of Eli, halt in practice, and their faith is an abomination to God and man. David believes, works, and kills the blaspheming Philistine. He slides into Antinomian faith, wantonly seduces a married woman, and perfidiously kills an honest man. Solomon follows him in the narrow path of working faith, and in the broad way of speculative and practical Antinomianism. The works of the son correspond with those of the father. Happy for him, if the repentance of the idolatrous king equalled that of his adulterous parent!

In the days of Elijah the gates of hell seemed to have prevailed

against the Church. Queen Jezebel had "cut off the prophets of the Lord," and appointed four hundred chaplains to his majesty King Ahab, who shared the dainties of the royal table, and therefore found it easy to demonstrate, that "pleading for Baal," was orthodoxy, and prosecuting honest Naboth as "a blasphemer of God and the king," was an instance of true loyalty. But then all were not lost: seven thousand men showed their faith by their works: they firmly believed in Jehovah, and steadily refused bowing the knee to Baal.

In the days of Isaiah and Jeremiah, wickedness, persecution, and imaginary good works prevailed, under a show of zeal for the temple, and of regard for the people of God. But even then, also, there was a small remnant of believing and working souls, who set fire to the stubble of wickedness during the pious reign of Hezekiah and Josiah.

Follow the chosen nation to Babylon. They all profess the faith still: but how few believe and work! Some do, however: and by their "work of faith" and "patience of hope" they "quench the violence of fire," and "stop the mouth of lions." And what is more extraordinary still, they strike with astonishment a fierce tyrant, a Nebuchadnezzar; they fill with wonder a cowardly king, a Darius: and disarming the former of his rage, the latter of his fears, they sweetly force them both to confess the true God among their idolatrous courtiers, and throughout their immense dominions.

In the days of Herod the double delusion is at the height. John the Baptist boldly bears his testimony against it in the wilderness, and our Lord upon the mount, in the temple, and every where. But, alas! what is the consequence? By detecting the Antinomianism of the Pharisees, and the Pharisaism of Antinomians, he makes them desperate. The spirit of Cain rises with ten-fold fury against an innocence far superior to that of Abel. Pharisees and Herodians must absolutely glut their malice with his blood. He yields to their rage; and while he "puts away sin by the sacrifice of himself," he condescends to die a martyr for the right faith, and the true works: he seals as a dying priest the truth of the two Gospel axioms, which he had so often sealed as a living prophet, and continues to seal as an eternal Melchisedec.

The apostles, by precept and example, powerfully enforce their Lord's doctrine and practice. Their lives are true copies of their exhortations. Their deepest sermons are only exact descriptions of their behavior. It is hard to say which excite men most to believe and obey, their seraphic discourses, or their angelic conduct. Their labors are crowned with general success. Judaism and heathenism are every where struck at, and fall under the thunder of their words of faith, and the shining power (might I not say the lightning?) of their works of love. Thus the world is "turned upside down" before faith and works; "the times of refreshing come from the presence of the Lord;" and earth, cursed as it is, becomes a paradise for obedient believers.

Hell trembles at the revolution; and before all is lost Satan hastens to "transform himself into an angel of light." In that favorable disguise he puts his usual stratagem in execution against the believing, working, and suffering Church. He instils speculative faith, pleads

for relaxed manners, puts the badge of contempt upon the daily cross, and gets the immense body of the Gnostics and Laodiceans into his snare. Sad and sure is the consequence. The genuine works of faith are neglected: idle works of men's invention are substituted for those of God's commandments: and fallen Churches, through the smooth way of Antinomianism, return to the covert way of Pharisaism, or to the broad way of infidelity.

Such was the deplorable condition of the western Church when Luther appeared. True faith was dethroned by superstitious fancy; and all the works of the former were well nigh choked by the thorns that sprang from the latter. The zealous reformer, with his sharp sythe, justly cut them down through a considerable part of Germany. His terribly successful weapon, which had already done some execution in the Netherlands, France, and Italy, might have reached Rome itself, if the effects of his unguarded preaching had not dreadfully broke out around him in the north.

There the balance of the evangelical precepts was lost. Solifidians openly prevailed. Our Lord's sermon upon the mount, and St. James's Epistle, were either explained away, or wished out of the Bible. The amiable, practicable *law of Christ* was perpetually confounded with the terrible, impracticable *law of innocence;* and the avoidable penalties of the former were injudiciously represented as one with the dreadful curse of the latter, or with the abrogated ceremonies of the Mosaic dispensation. Then the law was publicly wedded to the devil, and poor Protestant Solifidians were taught to bid equal defiance to both.

The effects soon answered the cause. Lawless believers, known under the name of Anabaptists, arose in Germany. They fancied themselves the dear, the elect people of God; they were complete in Christ; their election was absolutely made sure; all things were theirs; and they went about in religious mobs to deliver people from *legal bondage*, and bring them into *Gospel liberty*, which, in their opinion, was a liberty to despise all laws, Divine and human, and to do every one what was right in his own eyes. Luther was shocked, and cried out: but the mischief was done, and the reformation disgraced. Nor did he perseveringly apply the proper remedy pointed out in the Minutes, "Salvation, not by the merit of works, but by the works of faith as a condition."

Nevertheless, he was wise enough to give up the root of the mischief, in the Lutheran articles of religion presented to the Emperor Charles the Fifth at Augsburg, whence they were called, *The Augsburg Confession*. In the twelfth of those articles, which treats of repentance, we find these remarkable words: "We teach, touching repentance, that those who have sinned after baptism may obtain the forgiveness of their sins *as often as* they are converted," &c. Again: "We condemn the Anabaptists, who say that those who have been once justified can no more lose the Holy Spirit."

This doctrine clearly opened, and frequently enforced, might have stopped the progress of Antinomianism. But alas! Luther did not often insist upon it, and sometimes he seemed even to contradict it. In the mean time Calvin came up; and though I must do him the justice to acknowledge that he seldom went the length of modern Calvin-

ists in speculative Antinomianism, yet he made the matter worse by advancing many unguarded propositions about absolute decrees, and the necessary final perseverance of backsliding believers.

This doctrine, which, together with its appendages, so nicely reconciles Baal and free grace; a *little*, or (if the backslider is so minded) a *good deal* of the world and heaven; this flesh-pleasing doctrine, which slily parts faith and works, while it decently unites Christ and Belial, could not but be acceptable to injudicious and carnal Protestants. And to make it pass with others, it was pompously decorated with the name of *the doctrine of grace;* and *free grace preachers*, as they call themselves, insinuated that St. James's doctrine of "faith being dead without works," was a doctrine of wrath, an uncomfortable, antichristian doctrine, which none but "proud Justiciaries" and rank Papists could maintain. Time would fail to mention all the books that were indirectly written against it; or to relate all the abuse that was indirectly thrown upon these two propositions of St. Paul, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," and, "If ye live after the flesh ye shall die."

Let it suffice to observe, that by these means the hellish sower of Antinomian tares prevailed. Thousands of good men were carried away by the stream; and, what is more surprising still, not a few of the wise and learned favored, embraced, and defended the Antinomian delusion.

Thus what Luther's Solifidian zeal had begun, and what Calvin's predestinarian mistakes had carried on, was readily completed by the synod of Dort; and the Antinomianism of many Protestants was not less confirmed by that assembly of Calvinistic divines, than the Pharisaism of many Papists had been before by the council of Trent.

It is true, that as some good men in the Church of Rome have boldly withstood Pharisaical errors, and openly plead for salvation by grace through faith; so some good men in the Protestant Churches have also steadily resisted Antinomian delusions, and publicly defended the doctrine of salvation, not by the proper merit of works, but by the works of faith as a condition. But alas! As the popes of Rome crushed or excommunicated the former almost as fast as they arose; so have petty Protestant popes blackened or silenced the latter. The true Quakers, from their first appearance, have made as firm a stand against the Antinomians, as the Valdenses against the Papists; and it is well known that the Antinomians, who went from England to America with many pious Puritans, whipped the Quakers, men and women, cut off their ears, made against them a law of banishment upon pain of death, and upon that tyrannical law hanged four of their preachers, three men and one woman,* in the last century, for preaching up the Christian perfection of faith and obedience, and so disturbing the peace of the elect, who were "at ease in Sion," or rather in Babel.

I need not mention the title of heretic, with which that learned and good man, Arminius, is to this day dignified, for having made a firm and noble stand against wanton free grace. The banishment or depri-

* Their names were William Leddra, Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, and Mary Dyer. (See *The History of the Quakers*, by Sewell; and *New England Judged*, by George Bishop.)

vation of Grotius, Episcopius, and other Dutch divines, is no secret. And it is well known that in England Mr. Baxter, Mr. Wesley, and Mr. Sellon, are to this day "an abhorrence to all *Antinomian* flesh."

I am sorry to say that, all things considered, these good men have been treated with as much severity by Protestant Antinomians, as ever Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin were by Popish Pharisees. The Antinomian and Pharisaic spirit run as much into one, as the two arms of a river that embrace an island. If they divide for a time, it is only to meet again, and increase their mutual rapidity. I beg leave to speak my whole mind. It is equally clear from Scripture and reason that we must believe in order to be saved consistently with God's mercy; and that we must obey in order to be saved consistently with his holiness. These propositions are the immovable basis of the two Gospel axioms. Now if I reject either of them, it little matters which. If I blow my brains out, what signifies it whether I do it by clapping the mouth of a pistol to my right or to my left temple?

Error moves in a circle: extremes meet in one. A warm Popish Pharisee and a zealous Protestant Antinomian are nearer each other than they imagine. The one will tell you that by going to mass and confession he can get a fresh absolution from the priest for any sin that he shall commit. The other, whose mistake is still more pleasing to flesh and blood, assures you that he has already got an eternal absolution, so that "under every state and circumstance he can possibly be in, he is justified from all things, his sins are for ever and for ever cancelled."

But, if they differ a little in the idea of their imaginary privileges, they have the honor of agreeing in the main point. For although the one makes a great noise about faith and free grace, and the other about works and true charity, they exactly meet in narrow grace and despairing uncharitableness. The Pharisee in Jerusalem asserts that "out of the Jewish Church there can be no salvation," and his companions in self election heartily say, Amen! The Pharisee in Rome declares that "there is no salvation out of the apostolic, Romish Church," and all the Catholic elect set their seal to the antichristian decree. And the Antinomian in London insinuates (for he is ashamed to speak quite out in a Protestant country) that there is no salvation out of the Calvinistic Predestinarian Church. Hence, if you oppose his principles in ever so rational and Scriptural a manner, he supposes that you are "quite dark," that all your holiness is "self made," and all your "righteousness a cobweb spun by a poor spider out of its own bowels." And if he allows you a chance for your salvation, it is only upon a supposition that you may yet repent of your opposition to his errors, and turn Calvinist before you die. But might not an inquisitor be as charitable? Might he not hope that the poor heretic, whom he has condemned to the flames, may yet be saved, if he cordially kiss a crucifix, and say, "*Ave Maria!*" at the stake?

And now, candid reader, look around, and see what these seemingly opposite errors have done for Christ's Church. Before the reformation Christendom was overspread with superstition and fanaticism, and since with lukewarmness and infidelity. But let us descend to particulars.

What has Pharisaism done for the Church of Rome? It has publicly rent from her all the Protestant kingdoms, and secretly turned against her an innumerable multitude of Deists: for while bigots continue ridiculous bigots still, men of wit, headed by ingenious infidels, continually pour undeserved contempt upon Christianity, through the deserved wounds which they give to Popery. They represent Christ's rational and humane religion as one of the worst in the world, unjustly charging it with the persecuting spirit, and horrible massacres of those Catholics, so called, who, mangling the truth, and running away with one half of the body of Christian divinity, disgrace the whole by childish fooleries, and worse than barbarian uncharitableness.

And what does Pharisaism for the Protestant Churches? So far as it prevails, spreads it not around its fatal leaven, a general indifference about heartfelt religion? Turns it not the lively oracles of God into a dead letter, the sacraments into empty ceremonies, the means of grace into rattles to quiet a guilty conscience with, the precious blood of Christ into a common thing, His hallowed cross into an inglorious tree, external devotion into a cloak for secret hypocrisy, and some acts of apparent benevolence into the rounds of a ladder, the bottom of which reaches hell, and behold spiritual fiends (all manner of diabolical tempers) are seen continually "ascending and descending on it?"

Does it not incline us to despise those who are eminently pious, as if they were out of their senses; to despair of those who are notoriously wicked, as if they were absolute reprobates: and to prefer a popular imitator of Barabbas to a meek follower of Jesus? Does it not prompt us to lay an undue stress upon trifles, and make an endless ado about some frivolous circumstance of external worship, while we "pass over judgment, mercy, and the love of God?" And by that means does it not confirm modern Herodians in their Antinomianism, and modern Sadducees in their infidelity? In a word, does it not render the stiff neck stiffer, the blind understanding blinder, the hard heart stouter, the proud spirit more rebellious, more indifferent about mercy, more averse to Gospel grace, more Satanical, readier for all the curses of the law, and riper for all the woes of the Gospel?

But let us consider the other extreme. What has Calvinism done for Geneva? Alas! it has in a great degree shocked and driven it into Arianism, Socinianism, and infidelity. See the account lately given of it in the *French Encyclopedia*, article *Geneva*. "Many of the clergy of Geneva (says judicious Mr. D'Alembert) no longer believe the divinity of Jesus Christ, of which Calvin, their leader, was a zealous defender, and for which he had Servetus burned, &c. They believe that there are punishments in another world, but only for a limited time.—Thus purgatory, which was one of the chief causes of the reformation, is now the only punishment which many Protestants admit after death. A new proof this that man is a being full of contradictions. To sum up all in one word, the religion of many pastors at Geneva is *perfect Socinianism.*"

What good has Calvinism done in England? Alas! very little. When a bow is bent beyond its proper degree of tension, does it not fly to pieces? When you violently pull a tree toward the west, if it recovers itself, does it not violently fly to the east? Has not this gene-

rally been the case with respect to all the truths of God, which have been forced out of their Scriptural place one way or another? Calvinism, in the days of Oliver Cromwell, was at the very same height of splendor at which Popery had attained in the days of King Henry the Eighth, and they share the same downfall. *Mole ruunt sua.* At the reformation, the first grand doctrine of Christianity, (*salvation by grace through faith,*) which had been forced out of its place, and almost broken by the Papists, flew back upon them with such violence that it shook the holy see, frightened the pope, and made some of the richest jewels fall from his triple crown. In like manner the second grand doctrine of Christianity, (*salvation, not by the proper merit of works, but by the works of faith as a condition,*) which had been served by the Antinomians just as the first Gospel axiom by the Papists, recovering itself out of their hands, flew back upon them with uncommon violence at King Charles's restoration; by an indirect blow shook two thousand Calvinistic ministers out of their pulpits; and getting far beyond its Scriptural place, began to bear hard upon, and even thrust out the grand doctrine of salvation by grace. Thus the absurdity and mischief of Antinomianism began to drive again the generality of English Protestants into Pharisaism, Arianism, Socinianism, or open infidelity; that is, into the state in which most of the learned are at Rome and Geneva.

I grant that near forty years ago some clergymen from the university of Oxford returned to the principles of the reformation, and zealously contended again for salvation by grace, and for universal obedience. By the Divine blessing upon their indefatigable endeavors, faith and works met again, and for some time walked undisturbed together. A little revolution then took place: practical Christianity revived, and leaning upon her fair daughters, truth and love, took a solemn walk through the kingdom, and gave a foretaste of heaven to all that cordially entertained her.

She might, by this time, have turned this favorite isle into a land flowing with spiritual milk and honey, if Apollyon, disguised in his angelic robes, had not played, and did not continue to play his old game. Nor does he do it in vain. By his insinuations men of a contrary turn rise against practical Christianity. Many of the devout call her *heresy*, and many of the gay name her *rank enthusiasm*. In the mean time she drops a tear of tender pity, prays for her mistaken persecutors, and quietly retires into the wilderness. Lean obedience is soon driven after her, to make more room for speculative faith, who is so highly fed with luscious food and wild honey, that she is quite bloated and full of humors. Nay, in some she is degenerated into an impatient, quarrelsome something, which calls itself *orthodoxy*, or *the truth*, and must be treated with the greatest respect; while charity, cold, sickly, and almost starved for want of work, is hardly used with common good manners.

In a word, Antinomian Christianity is come, and makes her public entry in the professing Church. A foolish virgin, who assumes the name of free grace, walks before her, and cries, "Bend the knee, bow the heart, and entertain the old, the pure, the only Gospel." An ugly black boy, called free wrath, bears her enormous train, and with won-

derful art hides himself behind it. While thousands are taken with the smiles and cheerfulness of *wanton free grace*, (for that is the virgin's right name,) and for her sake welcome her painted mother, a gray-headed seer passes by, fixes his keen eyes upon the admired family, sees through their disguise, and warns his friends. This is highly resented, not only by all the lovers of the sprightly, alluring maid, but by some excellent people, who, in the simplicity of their hearts, mistake her for the celestial Virgin Astrea. Mr. H. and Mr. T., two of her champions, fall upon the aged monitor; and to the great entertainment of the Pharisaic and Antinomian world, do the best to tread down his honor in the dust.

While they are thus employed, a rough countryman, who had taken the seer's warning, throws himself full in the way of Antinomian Christianity, and tries to stop her in her triumphal march. Wanton free grace is a little disconcerted at his rudeness, she reddens, and soon shows herself the true sister of free wrath. To be revenged of the clown, she charges him with—guess what—a rape? No: but with being great with "the scarlet whore," and concerned with the Romish "man of sin." If he is acquitted of these enormities, they say that she is determined to indict him for murder or "forgery;" and if that will not do, for highway robbery, or "execrable Swiss slander." The mountaineer, who "counts not his life dear," stands his ground, and in the scuffle discovers the black boy, lays fast hold of him, and notwithstanding the good words that he gives one moment, and the floods of invectives which he pours out the next, he drags him out to public view, and appeals to the Christian world. *Et adhuc sub judice lis est.*

But leaving England, the scene of the present controversy, I ask, What does Calvinism at this day for Scotland, where national honors are paid to it, and where for some ages it has passed for the pure Gospel? Alas! not much, if we may depend upon the observations of a gentleman of piety and fortune, who went last year with an eminent minister of Christ to inspect the state of spiritual Christianity in the north, and brought back this melancholy account:—"The decay of vital religion is yet more visible in Scotland than in England."

Should, by this time, some of my readers be ready to ask what Arminianism has done for Holland and England, I reply: If by *Arminianism* you mean the pure doctrine of Christ, especially the doctrine of our free justification through Christ, by the instrumentality of faith in the day of a sinner's conversion, and by the evidence of the works of faith afterward: if you mean, as I do, a system of evangelical truth, in which the two Gospel precepts, *believe* and *obey*, are duly balanced, and faith and works kept in their Scriptural place; I answer: That under Christ it has done all the good that has been done, not only in Holland and England, but in all Christendom.

Be not then mistaken: when ministers, leaning toward speculative Antinomianism, have done good, it has not been by preaching wanton free grace, and by shackling the free Gospel, but by powerfully enforcing "the truth as it is in Jesus;" by crying aloud, "Believe, thou lost sinner, and be saved by grace: obey, thou happy believer, and evidence thy salvation by works: and whosoever will, let him come and take of the water of life freely, for all things are now ready." So

far as they have started aside from this guarded, and yet encouraging Gospel, they have pulled down with one hand what they built with the other; they have tried to make up the Pharisaic, by widening the Antinomian gap; they have departed from what we call *Christianity*, and what you are at full liberty to call *Arminianism*, *Baxterianism*, or *Wesleyanism*.

To return: I observed, just now, that Antinomianism drives us into Pharisaism, Socinianism, and infidelity; but might I not have added fatalism, the highest degree of fashionable infidelity? And after all, what is fatalism, in which the greatest infidels unanimously shelter themselves in our day? Is it not the beginning or the end of high Calvinism, whose emblematical representation may be a serpent forming a circle while it bites its tail, with this motto, *In sese volvitur error*, "After a large circuit error ends where it began?" If high Calvinism is the *head*, is not fatalism the *tail?*

For my part I shall not wonder if some of our high Predestinarians find themselves, before they are aware, even at Hobbes's or Voltaire's feet, humbly learning there the horrible lessons of fatalism. Nay, if I am not mistaken, they perfectly agree with the French philosopher in the capital point. One might think that they have converted him to their orthodoxy, or that he has perverted them to his infidelity. Candid reader, judge of it by the following extract of his lecture on destiny:—

"Homer (says he) is the first writer in whose works we find the notion of fate. It was then in vogue in his time. Nor was it adopted by the Pharisees till many years after: for these Pharisees themselves, who were the first men of letters among the Jews, were not very ancient, &c. But philosophers needed neither the help of Homer, nor that of the Pharisees, to persuade themselves that all things happen by immutable decrees, that *all is fixed, that all is necessary.*" Now for the proof: "Bodies (adds he) tend to the centre; pear trees can never bear pine apples; a man cannot have above a certain number of teeth." And directly flying from teeth to ideas, he would have us infer that we can no more arrange, combine, alter, or dismiss our ideas, than our grinders; and that an adulterer defiles his neighbor's bed as necessarily as a pear tree produces pears. He even adds, "If thou couldst alter the destiny of a fly, thou shouldst be more powerful than God Himself." (See *Dictionaire Philosophique Portatif*, Londres, 1764, pp. 163, 164.)

This ingenious infidel is quite as *orthodox* (in the Calvinistic sense of the word) in his article on *liberty*: "What does then your free will consist in, (says he,) if it is not in a power to do willingly what absolute necessity makes you choose?" Nay, he is so stanch a Predestinarian, so complete a fatalist, that he maintains no one can choose *even or odds* without an irresistible order of all-directing fate. And he concludes by affirming that all "liberty of indifference," that is, all power to do a thing, or to leave it undone at our option, without the necessitating agency of fate, "is arrant nonsense." (See the same book, page 243, &c.)

Thus the most subtle, self-righteous infidel in France, by going full east, and the most rigid, thorough-paced Antinomian in England, by going full west in the ways of error, meet at last face to face in the

antipodes of truth. O may the shock caused by their unexpected encounter wake them both out of their fatal dreams, to call upon Him who "takes the wise in their own craftiness," imparts true wisdom to the simple, and crowns the humble with grace and glory.

As high Calvinism on the left hand falls in with fatalism, so on the right hand it runs into the wildest notions of some deluded mystics, and ranting Perfectionists. Judicious reader, you will be convinced of it by the following propositions, advanced by Molinos,* the father of the mystics and Perfectionists, who are known abroad under the name of Quietists. These positions, among many others, were condemned by the pope as "rash, offensive to pious ears, erroneous, scandalous," &c. I extract them from the bull of his holiness, given at Rome, 1687, and published by the archbishop of Cambray at the end of his book called *Instruction Pastorale*, printed at Amsterdam, 1698. (See page 192, &c.)

"*Velle operari active est Deum offendere, qui vult esse solus agens*, &c. To be willing to be active and work, is to offend God, who will be the sole agent, &c. Our natural activity stands in the way of grace, and hinders the Divine operation and true perfection, *quia Deus vult operari in nobis sine nobis*, because God will work in us without us. The soul ought not to think upon rewards and punishments. We must leave to God the caring of all that concerns us, that he may do in us, without us, his Divine will. He that will be resigned to God's will, must not ask Him any thing, because petitions savor of our own will, and therefore are imperfect," or, to speak in the Calvinistic way, sinful.

Again: "God, to humble and transform us, permits and wills that the devil should do violence to the bodies of some perfect souls, [i. e. established believers,] and should make them commit carnal actions against their will. God now sanctifies his saints by the ministry of devils, who, by causing in their flesh the above-mentioned violent impulses, makes them despise themselves the more, &c. St. Paul felt such violent impulses in his body: hence he wrote, 'The good that I would, I do not: and the evil which I would not, I do.' These violent impulses are the best means to humble the soul to nothing, and to bring it to true holiness and the Divine union: there is no other way, *et hæc est via facilior et tutior*, and this is the easier and the safer way. David &c, suffered such violent impulses to external impure actions," &c.

Who does not see here some of the most absurd tenets or dangerous consequences of Calvinism? Man is a mere machine in the work of salvation. The body of holy Paul is sold under sin. David in Uriah's bed is complete and perfect in Christ. Actual adultery humbles believers, and is an excellent mean of sanctification, &c.

When we see Antinomianism thus defiling the sounder part of the Romish and Protestant Churches: when the god of this world avails himself of these "Antinomian dotages" to confirm myriads of stiff Pharisees in their self-righteous delusions; and when the bulk of men, shocked at the glaring errors of both, run for shelter to Deism and gross infidelity; who would not desire to see the doctrines of faith and

* He was a pious, but injudicious clergyman of the Church of Rome, who, in some of his works, spoiled the doctrine of grace by Calvinistic refinements; and that of Christian perfection by Antinomian rant.

works, grace and obedience, so stated and reconciled, that men of reason might no longer be offended at Christianity; nor men of religion one at another?

This is again attempted in the following discourse, the substance of which was committed to paper many years ago, to convince the Pharisees and Papists of my parish that there is no salvation by the faithless works of the law, but by a living faith in Jesus Christ. With shame I confess that I did not then see the need of guarding the doctrine of faith against the despisers of works. I was chiefly bent upon pulling up the tares of Pharisaism: those of Antinomianism were not yet sprung up in the field which I began to cultivate; or my want of experience hindered me from discerning them. But since, what a crop of them have I perceived and bewailed!

Alas! they have in a great degree ruined the success of my ministry. I have seen numbers of lazy seekers enjoying the dull pleasures of sloth on the couch of wilful unbelief, under pretence that God was to do all in them without them. I have seen some lie flat in the mire of sin, absurdly boasting that they could not fall; and others make the means of grace, means of idle gossiping or sly courtship. I have seen some turn their religious profession into a way of gratifying covetousness or indolence; and others their skill in Church music, their knowledge and their zeal into various nets to catch esteem, admiration, and praise. Some have I seen making yesterday's faith a reason to laugh at the cross to-day; and others drawing from their misapprehensions of the atonement arguments to be less importunate in secret prayer, and more conformable to this evil world, than once they were. Nay, I have seen some professing believers backward to do those works of mercy, which I have sometimes found persons, who made no professions of godliness, quite ready to perform. And O! tell it in Sion, that watchfulness may not be neglected by believers, that fearfulness may seize upon backsliders, and that trembling may break the bones of hypocrites and apostates; I have seen those who had equally shined by their gifts and graces strike the moral world with horror by the grossest Antinomianism; and disgrace the doctrine of salvation through faith by the deepest plunges into scandalous sin.

Candid reader, I need say no more to make thee sensible of the necessity of the additions and notes by which I have strengthened and guarded my old discourse, that it might be an EQUAL *Check to Pharisaism and Antinomianism*, an equal prop to faith and works. If it afford thee any edification, give God the glory, and pray for the despised author. Ask, in the words of the good Bishop Hopkins, that I may so "BELIEVE, so rest on the merits of Christ, as if I had never wrought any thing; and withal so WORK, as if I were only to be saved by my own merits." And O! ask it again and again, for I find it *a difficult thing to give to each of these its due in my practice.* It is the very depth and height of Christian perfection.'

These remarks and extracts will give the reader a full view of the origin and reasons of the controversy, and we doubt not make him thank God for raising up such a man as John Fletcher to check the impetuous

torrent of error, and to pour forth upon the Christian world the pure stream of Gospel truth.

Having given this general view of the great contest in which our author embarked, without following him through in consecutive order, we will furnish our readers with some detached parts from his writings on the various points of doctrine to which he held, and to which he adhered through life. And,

I. God. 1. *His existence demonstrated from His works.*—'That there is a supreme, infinite, and eternal mind, by which the world was made, is evident from the works of creation and providence. Those works every where confirm David's observation, "The heavens declare the glory [the glorious existence] of God." The firmament magnificently displays his wisdom, power, and love. Every leaf of the trees, which cover a thousand hills; every spire of the grass, which clothes a thousand vales, echoes back the same ravishing truth, "There is a God!" But the peculiar mode of his existence is far above our reach. Of this we only know what he plainly reveals to us, and what we may infer from what he hath plainly revealed. For sooner shall the vilest insect find out the nature of man, than the brightest man shall, of himself, discover the nature of God.

But if this adorable Being hath been pleased to declare something concerning himself, it is arrogancy in the most exalted creatures to quarrel with such a declaration, under a pretence that, in their conception, he must have a different mode of existence. For common sense tells us, that God hath a clearer knowledge of himself, than the deepest philosophers, and the highest angels can possibly have.

2. *His unity.* It is agreed on all hands that the Supreme Being, compared with all other beings, is *one*. One Creator over numberless creatures: one infinite Being over myriads of finite beings: one eternal Intelligence over millions of temporary intelligences. The distance between the things made, and him that made them, being boundless, the living God must stand for ever, far higher above all that live, than the sun stands superior to all the beams it emits, and to all the tapers lighted at its fire. In *this* sense, true Christians are all *Unitarians*. God having plainly revealed his *unity* by the prophets, by the apostles, and by our Lord himself, there is no doubt about this point. And may the hand which writes these sheets wither a thousand times over, rather than it should designedly write one word against this glorious and ever adorable unity.

3. *To whom made known.* 'This knowledge does not consist in having abstracted and speculative ideas of the nature and attributes of God and the distinctions in the Divine essence; but is the *beholding*, (as St. Paul says, 2 Cor. iii, 18,) with *open*, ανακεκαλυμμενω, with *unveiled* face, (the veil of unbelief being rent from our minds,) in the *glass* of his word and works, and especially in the person of his Son, "his glory," so as to be "changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." Surely he only knows the "God and Father of our Lord Jesus," who being made his child by adoption and grace, and having the "Spirit of adoption sent into his

heart, crying, Abba Father," so "beholds what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon him," as to "love God who hath first loved him." For "he that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love;" whereas "he that loveth," and *only* he, is "born of God," and "knoweth God." He *only* knows the Lord Jesus who knows him as "the way, the truth, and the life;" as the *way*, through whom he "*comes to the Father*;" as the *truth*, whose testimony he fully receives, and on whose veracity he absolutely depends; and the *life*, who has quickened his soul, dead in sin, and by his grace made him a "living branch" in himself the "living vine," a living member in his mystical body, vitally united to the living head. And he only knows the Holy Spirit, who being born of him and possessed of his witness and his fruits, even "love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance," is become a "temple of the Holy Ghost, a habitation of God through the Spirit."

On the other hand, if this be wanting, whatever speculative knowledge we may have of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and of their natures and relations to each other, we are properly unacquainted with the Christian doctrine of the trinity, and have not received that real benefit from it which the revelation of it was designed to produce. Nay, and for any spiritual or saving advantage we derive from it, it might as well not have been revealed to us. Thus Dr. Jer. Taylor, "He that goes about to speak of the mystery of the trinity, and does it by words and names of man's invention, talking of essences and existences, hypostases, and personalities, priorities in co-equalities, &c, and unity in pluralities; may amuse himself and build a tabernacle in his head, and talk something he knows not what; but the good man that feels the power of the Father, and to whom the Son is become 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption,' and in whose heart the love of the Spirit of God is shed abroad,—this man, though he understands nothing of what is unintelligible, yet he alone truly understands the Christian doctrine of the trinity.'"

II. Creation.—*The work of Creation ascribed to the Son of God.* After a variety of arguments derived from the sacred Scriptures and from the primitive fathers, Mr. Fletcher continues,—

'Now have we considered these many and mighty works, of which he is declared to be the Creator, Preserver, and Lord? At least those of them that come under our observation? Has that glorious luminary, the sun, engaged our attention, so immense that the mind of man can scarce comprehend it; and so bright that no eye can steadily behold it; and the source of light to a whole system of worlds? Have we viewed the moon, walking in brightness, and marked the wonderful phenomenon of her waxing and waning glory? Have the stars of light attracted our notice, those glittering diamonds, wherewith the firmament is studded and enriched, and rendered the most grand and striking, as well as the most beautiful object that the human eye can behold? And have we considered their astonishing distances from the earth, and from each other: distances so immense, that the whole circuit of the solar system is but a point when compared thereto? Have we reflected how proba-

ble it is, that each star is a sun, and each sun a fountain of light to revolving worlds?

Have we marked the planets, whether primary or secondary, that surround our own sun, and observed their different magnitudes, distances, and revolutions? And if we have not been able to determine, as to the probability of their being inhabited, and stored with sundry kinds of creatures like our earth; yet have we considered their wonderful influence upon the surrounding atmosphere of our own globe, and their use as "a horologe,—machinery Divine?" appointed for signs and for seasons, for days and for years? Dividing time into sundry periods, longer or shorter, by their different revolutions, and thus measuring it out to those, whose grand business it is, and whose chief concern it ought to be, to improve it to the glory of their great Maker?

Have we surveyed our own globe, that large and valuable estate, given by the Father of all, as a rich and ample inheritance, to Adam and his posterity? Have we traversed, not with a measuring line, indeed, but with the eye of the mind, the boundless tracts of land and water of which it is composed? Have we taken the height of the perpetual hills, (as Moses calls them,) the everlasting mountains, covered with eternal snows; and from bubbling fountains, pure brooks, and descending torrents, dispersing streams and rivers of clear and refreshing water, in many and meandering courses, through the largest continents? Have we fathomed the depths of the ocean, admired the flux and reflux of its waters, or ascertained the number of its scaly inhabitants, and marked their different species?

Have we ascended into the regions of the air, and learned the nature and properties of the particles which compose that subtile and invisible fluid? Have we observed how it surrounds the earth as a swaddling band binds old ocean in its bed, and, by its pressure, is the spring of life to the animal and vegetable creation? Have we marked the rise of vapors, observed the balancing of the clouds, listened to the grumbling of thunder, and gazed when the forked lightning played? Have we considered the treasures of hail and snow, and viewed attentively the hoarfrost of heaven? Have we admired the provision made for the ascent of waters into the air, and for their conveyance to the remotest distance over sea and land, that they may descend in dews and showers, as well to refresh the high places of the wilderness, as to water the cultivated and fertile country?

Have we descended below the surface of the earth, examined the different strata through which we passed, and taken a full and comprehensive view of the mineral kingdom? Have we beheld the quarries of stone, the mines of copper and lead, and the immense magazines of fuel, wonderfully formed, and commodiously hid, below the surface of the earth? Has the glittering ore of silver, the admired metal of gold, and the brilliant and sparkling lustre of diamonds and other precious stones, catched our eyes, and engaged our attention?

From the mineral, have we passed to the vegetable kingdom? Have we noticed the innumerable kinds of grass that clothe the meadows, the different species of corn that enrich the fields, the variety of flowers, of different hues and forms, that beautify the parterre, and the sundry kinds and ranks of stately trees that wave in the forest? Have we

considered the different seeds from which they spring, the provision made for dispersing and planting them in a proper soil, and the astonishing progress of their vegetation? Have we admired the contrivance, and adored the power that causes the same spot of earth, with the same kind of culture, to produce fruits of such different tastes and qualities, and flowers so endlessly diversified in form and color? And have we praised and glorified the wisdom and goodness which, in the warmest climes, and most sultry seasons, furnishes us with fruits of the most cooling nature, and such as are most replete with juices calculated to refresh and allay our thirst?

From vegetables, have we ascended to animals? And have the innumerable species and kinds with which we are acquainted, passed in review before us? Have we considered the myriads of animalcula, of different kinds, possessed of various degrees of life and activity, of all shapes and forms, too small to be discerned by the naked eye, but rendered visible by the microscope, sporting and taking their pastime in one single drop of water, like leviathan in the deep? Have we viewed the thousands of thousands of insects of a larger kind, of all forms and sizes, varied endlessly, possessed of powers and qualities most astonishingly different from each other, but all suited to the state and manner of subsistence assigned them? Have the sundry kinds of creeping things and beasts of the earth engaged our attention? The subtle serpent, the wily fox, the stately horse, the majestic lion, the half-reasoning elephant? Have we marked the amazing difference of their inward dispositions, as well as of their outward forms, and the wonderful provision made for their support, and the preservation of their different species? Have the feathered fowl, and birds of every wing, been considered by us? Their beautiful figure, their rich plumage, their swift motions, and the sweet harmony of their diversified notes and artless music? Have we admired the pride of the peacock, the innocence of the dove, the affection of the stork, the rapacity of the vulture, and the strength and swiftness of the eagle? Have we marked with what regularity, foresight, and care, they build their nests, and provide for the safety and subsistence of their young?

Has man, that masterpiece of Divine workmanship, engaged our attention? Have we considered the wonderful structure of his body? The more astonishing formation of his mind? Have we observed his erect form? His exact proportions? His comely figure? His Divine face? His majestic appearance? Have we marked the number and variety of his senses and members? How suited to each other, and to his state and place upon the earth, and his rank among the creatures? Have we reflected upon their contrivance and usefulness, and upon the profit and pleasure arising from each in particular, and from all in general? Have we observed the multiplicity of parts employed in the structure of each member or sense, and their happy union in forming one perfect whole? Have we examined the eye or ear? The hand or foot? The head or heart?

Have we considered the provision made for the nutrition and growth of the wonderful machine and all its parts, so that the very hairs of our head, and our finger nails, both useful and necessary, do not want their proper nourishment? Have we reflected upon the various means

provided for preparing, receiving, digesting, and extracting nourishment from our food, and throwing off the superfluous parts? Have we viewed the astonishing apparatus of veins and arteries, ministering to the circulation of the blood, and the life of the body?

Have we considered the nervous system, the chief mean of animal life and sensation? The wonderful structure of the brain, lodged in the golden bowl, (as Solomon seems to call the membrane that encloses it,) and the various and multiplied branchings of the silver cord, the spinal marrow, spread over all the body, and rendering every part keenly sensible? And have we observed how the animal appetites and propensities strangely ensure the preservation of life, and propagation of the species?

Have we noticed a spirit in man? A soul in body? A mind in matter?—an intelligent and free principle? A power that perceives, thinks, reasons, judges, approves, condemns, wills, desires, loves, hates, hopes, fears, rejoices, mourns?—that pervades the earth, encompasses the heavens, measures the sun, ascends above the stars, rises from the creature to the Creator, beholds his glory, admires his beauty, feels his love, tastes his pleasures, imitates his perfections, and aspires after a conformity to him, and fellowship with him, through everlasting ages?

Have we reflected that there are minds that were never joined to matter,—spirits that never dwelt in flesh? ethereal beings, flames of fire, angels of light, pure and perfect intelligences? All life, all activity, all power? All eye, all ear, all sensibility? Whose knowledge is intuitive and certain, whose love is sincere and flaming, whose praise is cordial and ardent, and whose obedience is free and constant? Whose duty is unintermitted, whose loyalty is untainted, whose services are disinterested, and whose happiness is complete, established, and eternal? Have we remembered that there are innumerable ranks and orders of these beings, of which we have no knowledge, and of whose nature and state we can form no conception? "Thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers?"

Have we taken a survey of these wonderful works, both above and below, both material and immaterial,—and have we considered that we know not one thousandth part of their number, magnitude, or minuteness, or of the contrivance manifested in the formation of the meanest of them, of a blade of grass, a grain of sand, a drop of water, or a particle of air or light? And after all, dare we pronounce that a mere creature, an angelic, or super-angelic being, was, and is, sufficient for the creation, preservation, and government of all these and other creatures? If so, the sacred Scriptures will reprove our rashness, and inform us that "he who built all things is God:" and that this God is Christ. For the apostle, in this passage, professedly speaks of him. Ver. 3, he says: "This person was counted worthy of more glory than Moses, inasmuch as he who hath builded the house, hath more honor than the house. For every house is builded by some man; but he that built all things is God." The apostle's argument is manifestly this: he that buildeth the house, hath more honor than the house he buildeth, or any part of it.

But Christ built the Jewish Church, yea, the whole creation, of which Moses was but a small, inconsiderable part:—

Therefore Christ is worthy of more honor than Moses: yea, is as much above him as the Creator of all things is above one of his creatures. Again: he that built all things is God: but Christ built all things: therefore Christ is God; yea, (in union with his Father,) "the everlasting God, Jehovah—the Creator of the ends of the earth, who fainteth not, neither is weary; and there is no searching of his understanding,"' Heb. iii 4; Isa. xl, 28.

III. Depravity.—1. *Its strength and universality.* 'If the force of a torrent may be known by the height and number of the banks which it overflows, the strength of this corruption will be rightly estimated from the high and numerous dikes raised to stem it, which nevertheless it continually breaks through.

Ignorance and debauchery, injustice and impiety, in all their shapes, still overspread the whole earth; notwithstanding innumerable means used, in all ages, to suppress and prevent them.

The almost total extirpation of mankind by the deluge, the fiery showers that consumed Sodom, the ten Egyptian plagues, the entire excision of whole nations who were once famous for their wickedness, the captivities of the Jews, the destruction of thousands of cities and kingdoms, and millions of more private judgments, never fully stopped immorality in any one country.

The striking miracles wrought by prophets, the alarming sermons preached by divines, the infinite number of good books published in almost all languages, and the founding of myriads of churches, religious houses, schools, colleges, and universities, have not yet caused impiety to hide its brazen face any where. The making of all sorts of excellent laws, the appointing of magistrates and judges to put them in force, the forming of associations for the reformation of manners, the filling of thousands of prisons, and erecting of millions of racks and gallows, have not yet suppressed one vice.

And what is most amazing of all, the life, miracles, sufferings, death, and heavenly doctrine of the Son of God; the labors, writings, and martyrdom of his disciples; the example and entreaties of millions that have lived and died in the faith; the inexpressible horrors and frightful warnings of thousands of wicked men, who have testified in their last moments that they had worked out their damnation, and were just going to their own place; the blood of myriads of martyrs, the strivings of the Holy Spirit, the dreadful curses of the law, and the glorious promises of the Gospel. All these means together have not extirpated immorality and profaneness out of one single town or village in all the world; no, nor out of one single family for any length of time. And this will probably continue to be the desperate case of mankind till the Lord lays to His powerful hand; seconds these means by the *continued* strokes of the sword of His Spirit; "pleads by fire and sword with all flesh;" and, according to His promise, causes "righteousness to cover the earth as the water covers the sea."'

2. *Its strength in the people of God.* 'But a still stronger may be drawn from the amazing struggles of God's children with their depravity, even after they have, through grace, powerfully subdued and gloriously triumphed over it. Their Redeemer Himself "is the Captain of their salvation:" they are embarked with Him, and bound for hea-

ven; they look at the compass of God's word; they hold the rudder of sincerity; they crowd all the sails of their good resolutions and pious affections to catch the gales of Divine assistance; they "exhort one another daily" to ply the oars of faith and prayer with watchful industry; tears of deep repentance and fervent desire often bedew their faces in the pious toil: they would rather die than draw back to perdition; but alas! the stream of corruption is so impetuous that it often prevents their making any sensible progress in their spiritual voyage; and if in an unguarded hour they drop the oar, and faint in "the work of faith, the patience of hope," or "the labor of love," they are presently carried down into the dead sea of religious formality, or the whirlpools of scandalous wickedness. Witness the lukewarmness of the Laodiceans, the adultery of David, the perjury of Peter, the final apostasy of Judas, and the shameful flight of all the disciples.'

IV. Repentance.—*The nature of true repentance.* The minister's 'first care is to press upon his hearers the necessity of an unfeigned repentance; that, by breaking the reed of their confidence, he may constrain them with the "poor," the "miserable," the "blind," and the "naked," to fall before the throne of Divine justice. Whence, after seeing themselves condemned by the law of God, without any ability to deliver their own souls, he is conscious that they will have recourse to the throne of grace, entreating, like the penitent publican, to be "justified freely by the grace of God, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," Rom. iii, 25. It is in this state of humiliation and compunction of heart that sinners are enabled to experience the happy effects of that evangelical repentance, which is well defined in the fourteenth chapter of the Helvetic confession. "By repentance," say our pious reformers, "we mean that sorrow, or that displeasure of soul, which is excited in a sinner by the word and Spirit of God, &c. By this new sensibility he is first made to discover his natural corruption and his actual transgressions. His heart is pierced with sincere distress. He deplores them before God. He confesses them with confusion, but without reserve; he abhors them with a holy indignation; he seriously resolves, from the present moment, to reform his conduct, and religiously apply himself to the practice of every virtue during the remainder of his life. Such is true repentance: it consists, at once, in resolutely renouncing the devil, with every thing that is sinful; and in sincerely cleaving to God, with every thing that is truly good. But we expressly say this repentance is the mere gift of God, and can never be effected by our own power," 2 Tim. ii, 25.'

V. Faith or believing.—*In what sense it is the gift of God.* 'Having thus exposed the erroneous sense in which some people suppose that "faith is the gift of God," I beg leave to mention in what sense it appears to me to be so. Believing is the gift of God's grace, as cultivating the root of a rare flower given you, or raising a crop of corn in your field, is the gift of God's providence. Believing is the gift of the God of grace, as breathing, moving, and eating are the gifts of the God of nature. He gives me lungs and air that I may breathe: he gives me life and muscles that I may move: he bestows upon me food and a mouth that I may eat: and when I have no stomach, he gives me common sense to see I must die, or force myself to take some

nourishment or some medicine. But he neither breathes, moves, nor eats for me; nay, when I think proper, I can accelerate my breathing, motion, and eating; and if I please I may even fast, lie down, or hang myself, and by that mean put an end to my eating, moving, and breathing. Once more: faith is the gift of God to believers, as sight is to you. The Parent of good freely gives you the light of the sun, and organs proper to receive it: He places you in a world where that light visits you daily: He apprizes you that sight is conducive to your safety, pleasure, and profit; and every thing around you bids you use your eyes and see: nevertheless, you may not only drop your curtains, and extinguish your candle, but close your eyes also. This is exactly the case with regard to faith. Free grace removes (in part) the total blindness which Adam's fall brought upon us: free grace gently sends us some beams of truth, which is the light of the "Sun of righteousness;" it disposes the eyes of our understanding to see those beams; it excites us various ways to welcome them; it blesses us with many, perhaps with all the means of faith, such as opportunities to hear, read, inquire; and power to consider, assent, consent, resolve, and re-resolve to believe the truth. But, after all, believing is as much our own act as seeing. We may, nay, in general do suspend or omit the act of faith; especially when that act is not yet become habitual, and when the glaring light that sometimes accompanies the revelation of the truth is abated. Nay, we may imitate Pharaoh, Judas, and all reprobates; we may do by the eye of our faith what some report that Democritus did by his bodily eyes. Being tired of seeing the follies of mankind, to rid himself of that disagreeable sight he put his eyes out. We may be so averse from "the light which enlightens every man that comes into the world;" we may so dread it because our works are evil, as to exemplify, like the Pharisees, such awful declarations as these:— "Their eyes have they closed, lest they should see, &c: wherefore God gave them up to a reprobate mind," and "they were blinded."'

2. *It is essential to good works.* 'As in the vegetable kingdom fruits are nourished and matured by that vegetative energy which draws the sap from the root, refining and distributing it among the several branches; so in the moral world charity and good works can only be produced by that living faith which first receives the doctrines of truth, and then becomes a kind of vehicle to their invigorating virtue. This faith was rightly characterized by Christ and His apostles when they represented it as the grace by which we are principally saved; since this grace alone is capable of producing in us that lively hope, that ardent charity, and that universal obedience, which will ever distinguish the believer from the infidel. He, therefore, who declaims against this Scriptural faith, whether he be a novice or a philosopher, indirectly pleads the cause of vice, and gives sufficient proof of his spiritual ignorance.'

3. *It pays all due homage to Christ.* 'Does it reflect any dishonor upon Christ to say, with St. Paul, that "FAITH is imputed to us for righteousness;" when believing includes its object, (Christ the way, the truth, and the life,) as necessarily as eating supposes food, and drinking, liquor? Is it not as impossible to "believe in the light," without Christ the light; or to believe in the truth, without Christ the

truth, as it is to breathe without air, and hear without sounds? Again: if you affirm "that we warm ourselves by going to the fire," do you sap the foundation of natural philosophy because you do not say ten times over that the warming power comes from the fire, and not from our motion toward it? And do we destroy the foundation of Christianity when we assert that "faith working by love" instrumentally saves us, because we do not spend so much time as you in saying over and over that the saving merit and the saving power flow from the Savior, and not from our own act of believing? Is not this as clear as it is that the light flows in upon us from the sun, and not from (though it is through) the opening of our eyes?'

4. *Its influence on the conduct.* 'The life of a Christian, so called, must necessarily become pure when he is actually possessed of Christian faith, i. e. when he is strongly persuaded that he walks in the presence of the Almighty, who, being his father by creation, becomes so in a still more affectionate and effectual manner by the mysterious exertions of his redeeming and sanctifying grace. These three astonishing operations of the Supreme Being are undoubtedly three grand evidences of his love to man, and must be considered as so many abundant sources of Christian charity among the members of His Church. Hence the man who acknowledges but one of these proofs, cannot possibly be united either to his brethren, or to his God, with so ardent an affection as he who admits and experiences all the three: The Divine charity here spoken of is produced in the heart by means of faith, and from it proceeds every social virtue, with every praiseworthy action.'

VI. Justification.—1. *In what it consists.* 'I have said that through faith Abraham was *fully justified as a sinner*, because our *full justification* as sinners implies two things: (1.) God's freely justifying us; and, (2.) Our freely receiving His justifying grace. Just as being *fully knighted* implies two things: (1.) The king's condescending to confer the honor of knighthood upon a gentleman; and, (2.) That gentleman's submitting to accept of this honor.'

2. *Different degrees of justification.* '1. That which passes upon all infants universally, and is thus described by St. Paul: "As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men, unto *present* justification *from original sin, and future* justification of life;" upon their repenting and "believing in the light, *during* the day of their visitation." In consequence of this degree of justification, we may, without impeaching the veracity of God, say to every creature, "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son to reconcile them unto Himself, not imputing to them" original sin unto eternal death, and blotting out their personal transgressions in the moment "they believe with the heart unto righteousness."

2. The justification consequent upon such believing, is thus described by St. Paul:—This blessing of "faith imputed for righteousness" shall be ours, "if we believe on Him that was raised from the dead for our justification. We have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law. Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

3. The justification consequent upon bringing forth the fruit of a lively faith in the truths that belong to our dispensation. This justification is thus mentioned by St. James:—"Rahab the harlot was justified by works. Abraham our father was justified by works. Ye see, then, how by works a man is justified, and not by faith only."

And, 4. Final justification, thus asserted by our Lord and St. Paul: In the day of judgment "by thy words shalt thou be justified, and by thy words shalt thou be condemned. Circumcision and uncircumcision avail nothing, but the keeping of the commandments; for the doers of the law shall be justified."

All these degrees of justification are equally merited by Christ. We do nothing in order to the *first*, because it finds us in a state of total death. Toward the *second* we believe by the power freely given us in the first, and by the additional help of Christ's word and the Spirit's agency. We work by faith in order to the *third*. And we continue believing in Christ and working together with God, as we have opportunity, in order to the *fourth*.

The preaching distinctly these four degrees of a glorified saint's justification is attended with peculiar advantages. The *first* justification engages the sinner's attention, encourages his hope, and draws his heart by love. The *second* wounds the self-righteous Pharisee, who works without believing; while it binds up the heart of the returning publican, who has no plea but "God be merciful to me a sinner!" The *third* detects the hypocrisy and blasts the vain hopes of all Antinomians, who, instead of "showing their faith by their works, deny *in works* the Lord that bought them, and put Him to an open shame." And while the *fourth* makes even a "Felix tremble," it causes believers to "pass the time of their sojourning here in *humble* fear" and cheerful watchfulness.

Though all these degrees of justification meet in glorified saints, we offer violence to Scripture if we think, with Dr. Crisp, that they are inseparable. For all the wicked who "quench the *convincing* Spirit," and are finally given up to a reprobate mind, fall from the FIRST, as well as Pharaoh. All who "receive the seed among thorns," all who "do not forgive their fellow servants," all who "begin in the Spirit and end in the flesh," and all "who draw back," and become sons or daughters of "perdition" by falling from the THIRD, lose the SECOND, as Hymeneus, Philetus, and Demas. And none partake of the FOURTH but those who "bear fruit unto perfection," according to one or another of the Divine dispensations; "some producing thirty-fold," like heathens, "some sixty-fold," like Jews, "and some a hundred-fold," like Christians.

From the whole it appears that although we can absolutely do nothing toward our first justification, yet to say that neither faith nor works are required in order to the other three, is one of the boldest, most unscriptural, and most dangerous assertions in the world; which sets aside the best half of the Scriptures, and lets gross Antinomianism come in full tide upon the Church.'

VII. SANCTIFICATION OR CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.—1. *In what it consists.* 'What is, after all, the perfection that Mr. Wesley contends for? Nothing but two good works, productive of ten thousand more;

if you please, two large filthy rags, in which ten thousand other filthy rags are wrapped; that is, "loving God with all our hearts, and our neighbor as ourselves." It is nothing but "perfect love shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost given unto us," making us "steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord," always "zealous of good works," always the reverse of the easy elect, who, by means of Calvin's contrivance, are "all fair and undefiled," while they wallow in the adulterer's mire, and the murderer's gore. Or, in other terms, it is nothing but Christ, through the Holy Spirit, "dwelling in our hearts by faith," and making us always "zealous of good works." Now, if good works are dross, dung, and filthy rags, it is evident that perfection is a rich mine of dross, a heap of dung as immense as that which Hercules got out of Augeas' stables; and a vast store house of filthy rags, spun by "proud justiciars," as cobwebs are by venomous spiders.

But if Christian perfection is (next to angelic perfection) the brightest and richest jewel which Christ purchased for us by His blood; if it is the internal kingdom of God ruling over all; if it is Christ *fully* formed in our hearts, the *full* hope of glory; if it is the fulfilment of the promise of the Father, that is, "the Holy Ghost given unto us," to make us abound in righteousness, peace, and joy, through believing; and in a word, if it is the Shekinah, filling the Lord's human temples with glory; is it right, sir, to despise it as some do, or to expose it as you have so frequently done?'

2. *The Scriptural import of the word.* 'We give the name of "Christian perfection"* to that maturity of grace and holiness which established adult believers attain to under the Christian dispensation: and thus we distinguish that maturity of grace, both from the ripeness of *grace*, which belongs to the dispensation of *the Jews below us;* and from the ripeness of *glory*, which belongs to *departed saints above us.* Hence it appears that by "Christian perfection" we mean nothing but the cluster and maturity of the graces which compose the Christian character in the Church militant.

In other words, Christian perfection is a spiritual constellation made up of these gracious stars, perfect repentance, perfect faith, perfect humility, perfect meekness, perfect self denial, perfect resignation, perfect hope, perfect charity for our *visible* enemies, as well as for our *earthly* relations; and, above all, perfect love for our *invisible* God, through the explicit knowledge of our Mediator, Jesus Christ. And

'* The word *perfection* comes from the Latin *perficio*, to *perfect*, to *finish*, to *accomplish;* it exactly answers to the words תמם and τελειοω, generally used in the Old and New Testament. Nor can their derivatives be more literally and exactly rendered, than by *perfect* and *perfection.* If our translators render sometimes the word תם by *upright* and *sincere*, or by *sincerity* and *integrity*, it is because they know that these expressions, like the original word, admit of a great latitude. Thus Columel calls wood that has no rotten part, and is perfectly sound, *lignum sincerum;* and Horace says that a sweet cask, which has no bad smell of any sort, is *vas sincerum.* Thus also Cicero calls purity of diction, which is perfectly free from faults against grammar, *integritas sermonis:* Plautus says that a pure, undefiled virgin is *filia integra.* And our translators call the perfectly pure milk of God's word, *the sincere milk of the word*, 1 Peter ii, 2. If, therefore, the words *sincerity* and *integrity* are taken in their full latitude, they convey the fullest meaning of תמה and τελειοτης, that is, perfection.'

as this last star is always accompanied by all the others, as Jupiter is by his satellites, we frequently use, as St. John, the phrase "perfect love," instead of the word *perfection;* understanding by it the pure love of God shed abroad in the hearts of established believers by the Holy Ghost, which is abundantly given them under the fulness of the Christian dispensation.'

3. *Advantages of pressing after it.* 'If ye earnestly aimed at Christian perfection, ye would have a bright testimony in your own souls that you are sincere, and that ye walk agreeably to your baptismal engagements. I have already observed that some of the most pious Calvinists doubt if those who do not pursue Christian perfection are Christians at all. Hence it follows that the more earnestly you pursue it, the stronger will be your confidence that you are upright Christians: and when ye shall be perfected in love, ye shall have that evidence of your sincerity which will perfectly "cast out *servile* fear, which hath torment," and nourish the filial fear which has safety and delight. It is hard to conceive how we can constantly enjoy the full assurance of faith, out of the state of Christian perfection. For so long as a Christian inwardly breaks Christ's evangelical law, he is justly condemned in his own conscience. If his heart do not condemn him for it, it is merely because he is asleep in the lap of Antinomianism. On the other hand, says St. John, "If our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things" that make for our condemnation. But if we "love in deed and in truth," which none but the perfect do at all times, "hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him," 1 John iii, 19, 20.'

4. *How it is to be obtained.* 'Ye see the absolute necessity of personally fulfilling the law of Christ; your bosom glows with desire to "perfect holiness in the fear of God;" and, far from blushing to be called perfectionists, ye openly assert that *a perfect faith*, productive of *perfect love* to God and man, is the pearl of great price, for which you are determined to sell all, and which (next to Christ) you will seek early and late, as the one thing needful for your spiritual and eternal welfare. Some directions, therefore, about the manner of seeking this pearl cannot but be acceptable to you, if they are Scriptural and rational; and such, I humbly trust, are those which follow:—

First, if ye would attain an evangelically sinless perfection, let your full assent to the truth of that deep doctrine firmly stand upon the evangelical foundation of a precept and a promise. A precept without a promise would not sufficiently animate you; nor would a promise without a precept properly bind you; but a Divine precept and a Divine promise form an unshaken foundation. Let then your faith deliberately rest her right foot upon these precepts:—

"Hear, O Israel—thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, Deut. vi, 5. Thou shalt not hate thy neighbor in thy heart. Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him. Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people: but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. I am the Lord. Ye shall keep my statutes, Lev. xix, 17, 18. And now, Israel, what does the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways,

and to love Him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, to keep the commandments of the Lord God, and His statutes, which I command thee this day for thy good, &c? Circumcise therefore the foreskin of your heart, and be no more stiff-necked, Deut. x, 12, &c. Serve God with a perfect heart, and a willing mind: for the Lord searcheth all hearts, and understandeth the imaginations of the thoughts," 1 Chron. xxviii, 9.

Should unbelief suggest that these are only Old Testament injunctions, trample upon the false suggestion, and rest the same foot of your faith upon the following New Testament precepts:—"Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets. I say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you, &c, that ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven, &c. For if ye love them which love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect, Matt. v, 17, 44, &c. If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments, Matt. xix, 17. Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ, Gal. vi, 2. This is my commandment, that ye love one another as I have loved you, John xv, 12. He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law: for this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, &c. Thou shalt not covet, and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.* Love worketh no ill, &c, therefore love is the fulfilling of the law, Rom. xiii, 8, 10. This commandment we have from Him, that he who loves God love his brother also, 1 John iv, 21. If ye fulfil the royal law, *Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself*, ye do well. But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors, James ii, 8, 9. Circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing [comparatively speaking;] but [under Christ] the keeping of the commandments of God [is the one thing needful,] 1 Cor. vii, 19. For the end of the commandment is charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, 1 Tim. i, 5. Though I have all faith, &c, and have not charity, I am nothing, 1 Cor. xiii, 2. Whosoever shall keep the whole law [of liberty] and yet offend in one point [in uncharitable respect of persons] he is guilty of all, &c. So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty," [which requires perfect love, and therefore makes no allowance for the least degree of uncharitableness,] James ii, 10, 12.

When the right foot of your faith stands on these evangelical precepts and proclamations, lest she should stagger for want of a promise every way adequate to such weighty commandments, let her place her left foot upon the following promises, which are extracted from the Old Testament: "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, Deut. xxx, 6. I will give them a heart to know me, that I am the Lord, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God, [in a new and peculiar manner,] for they shall return unto me with their whole heart. This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel. After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall

be my people, Jer. xxiv, 7; xxxi, 33. Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you: a new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the heart of stone out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them," Ezek. xxxvi, 25–27.'

IX. The atonement of Christ.—'Our Calvinist brethren excel in setting forth a part of Christ's priestly office; I mean the immaculate purity of His most holy life, and the all-atoning, all-meritorious sacrifice of His bloody death. Here imitate, and if possible surpass them. Shout a finished atonement louder than they. Behold with raptures of joy, and bid all around you behold, with transports of gratitude, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." If they call this complete atonement *finished salvation*, or *the finished work of Christ*, indulge them still; for peace' sake, let those expressions pass. Nevertheless, at proper times give them to understand that it is absolutely contrary to reason, Scripture, and Christian experience, to think that *all* Christ's mediatorial work is finished. Insinuate you should be very miserable if He had nothing more to do *for* you, and *in* you. Tell them, as they can bear it, that He works daily as a Prophet to enlighten you, as a Priest to make intercession for you, as a King to subdue your enemies, as a Redeemer to deliver you out of all your troubles, and as a Savior to help you to work out your own salvation; and hint that, in all these respects, Christ's work is no more finished, than the working of our own salvation is completed.'

X. Redemption.—1. *It is agreeable to reason.* 'If the loadstone can communicate its virtue without suffering any decrease; and if this virtue can completely incorporate itself with iron, why might not the eternal Word, who dwells essentially in the Father, communicate Himself to an individual of the human species, and reside particularly in the soul of the Savior Jesus Christ, or God-man? by which other men may be made partakers of the holiness and felicity of God, without becoming real gods: as the needle, having its extremes powerfully touched with the loadstone, partakes of the attraction and polarity of the loadstone, without being of the nature of the loadstone. God is an infinite being, and all His perfections are infinite as Himself: His holiness, His justice, His bounty, and His wisdom, are such a vast profound, that the human mind cannot fathom them. Can we then affirm, without temerity, that in the depths of justice, of holiness, and of love for order, there ought not to be such extreme severity as to preclude the pardon of sin, even after a just indignation had been manifested against the same? If the majesty of God is infinite, is it reasonable to say that the sins committed against Him by an innumerable multitude of beings; crimes committed with the greatest insolence and the most daring pride; crimes perpetrated by creatures loaded with His benefits; crimes repeated with a thousand aggravating circumstances, during thousands of years, in all parts of the world: is it reasonable, I say, to maintain that these crimes ought to be pardoned by a legislature of infinite justice, without punishing this criminal race in a most exemplary manner? And if such a punishment would have bruised all

the guilty; and if the bounty of God is as vast as His justice, is it reasonable to suppose that an infinite bounty cannot present to an infinite justice a victim of boundless merit, fully to expiate, under conditions worthy of God, sins whose numbers were become infinite and boundless, by their duration, by violating the holiness of the laws, by the grandeur of the offended Benefactor, by the majesty of the outraged Legislator, and by the insolence of the violators of these laws? Hath not boundless Wisdom power to reconcile the rights of infinite justice and bounty? What absurdity is there in the plan of redemption, according to which a being of innocence, of love for obedience, of an incomprehensible fortitude, generously unites himself with human nature, to pay the immense debt of this nature, to soften the hearts of the rebels, and to give to all reasonable beings the most perfect demonstration of a wisdom, of a bounty, of a holiness, and of a justice, which are infinite; and accommodates himself to the maintenance of their rights, and completely to develope them in time and in eternity? Is it not strange that such a plan, formed by the love, the justice, the wisdom, and the bounty of the Supreme Being, executed by the incarnate Word, confirming a great number of prophecies; a plan which has the admiration of angels, and of millions of pious persons for so many ages; which hath comforted such multitudes of penitents, in the most frightful circumstances; and hath made so many martyrs to triumph under the greatest torture, and even sing in the cold arms of death: is it not strange, I say, that such a plan should be the constant topic of ridicule to Socinians and Deists? Can the finite always judge of the infinite? Are the pretended advocates for reason constantly so unreasonable as absolutely to fix what the justice of the Supreme Being ought to demand, what the moral order of the universe ought to require, and how infinite bounty ought to accommodate itself to its creatures? How absurd must that religion be which lays for its foundation this dogma of the sages of our age! "A being bounded as I am, who neither knows his grandson nor grandfather; who is ignorant of the nature of his own soul, and of those vile atoms which constitute his body, can yet be so perfectly acquainted with the profound depths of Divine justice, mercy, and wisdom, as clearly to decide that the redemption of mankind by the propitiatory sacrifice of the Son of God, is contrary to His perfections." Is not the base incredulity of our modern philosophers owing to their contracted views of the bounty of God, of the excellency of an immortal soul, and of the odious nature of sin? "It is impossible," say they, "that the 'eternal Word, the Prince of life,' should become incarnate, and be sacrificed for human nature." But, if the soul of man was formed in the image of God; if it is infinite in its duration and desires; if its progress toward perfection is boundless; if God loves it with that tenderness with which a father nourishes his child; if the love which is in God as much surpasses the generosity of all fathers, and the tenderness of all mothers, as the infinite surpasses the finite,—is it reasonable to say that our heavenly Father, for the ransom of millions of souls, would not offer such a sacrifice as His incarnate Word? If King Codrus loved his subjects so far as to disguise and offer himself to death, in order to procure them certain temporal advantages; if the Deciuses and the Curtiuses felt so strong an interest

in the welfare of their country, as to sacrifice their lives in order to deliver their fellow citizens from a transient calamity; if a Swiss so generously devoted himself to death, by running to Sampach covered with the lances of conflicting hosts, to clear the way for his victorious companions; if mothers have sacrificed their own lives to preserve those of their children; and if love, or the generous desire of saving one's neighbor, hath produced many sacrifices,—is it absurd to say that infinite bounty never could, and never would, perform an act of compassion equally glorious and efficacious, to deliver millions of souls from more dreadful miseries, and to procure to them the blessing of an infinite duration, and of an inestimable value?'

2. *It is general.*—'As a true son of the Church of England, he believes that "Christ redeemed him and all mankind;" that "for us men," and not merely for the *elect*, "he came down from heaven, and made upon the cross a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the *whole* world." Like an honest man, and yet a man of sense, he so subscribed the seventeenth article as not to reject the thirty-first, which he thinks of equal force, and much more explicit; and, therefore, as the seventeenth article authorizes him, he "receives God's promises in such wise as they are generally set forth in holy Scripture;" rejecting, after the example of our governors in Church and state, the Lambeth articles, in which the doctrine of *absolute unconditional* election and reprobation was maintained, and which some Calvinistic divines, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, vainly attempted to impose upon these kingdoms, by adding them to the thirty-nine articles. Far, therefore, from thinking he does not act a fair part in rejecting the doctrine of particular redemption, he cannot conceive by what salvo the consciences of those ministers, who embrace it, can permit them to say to each of their communicants, "The blood of Christ was shed for *thee*;" and to baptize promiscuously *all* children within their respective parishes, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," when all that are unredeemed have no more right to the *blood*, *name*, and *Spirit* of Christ, than Lucifer himself.'

3. *Its universality proved by the death of Christ.*—'Let us rejoice with reverence while we read such scriptures as these:—"The Son of man is come to save that which is lost, and to call sinners to repentance. This is a true saying, and worthy of all acceptation,—worthy of all men to be received,—that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. To this end he both died and rose again, that he might be the Lord of the dead and living. He came not to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved, and that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that He is Lord.

"Bound every heart, and every bosom burn," while we meditate on these ravishing declarations: "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. He was made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law," that is, all mankind; unless it can be proved that some men never came under the curse of the law. He is the Friend of *sinners*, the Physician of the sick, and the Savior

of the *world:* "He died, the just for the unjust; he is the propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. One died for all, because all were dead. As in Adam all die, even so in Christ," [during the day of their visitation,] all are blessed [with quickening grace, and therefore in the last day] "all shall be made alive," to give an account of their blessing or talent. "He is the Savior of all men, especially of them that believe:" and the news of his birth are "tidings of great joy to all people. As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men; for Christ by the grace of God tasted death for every man; he is the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world: therefore God commandeth all men every where to repent,—to look unto him and be saved."

Do we not take choice jewels from Christ's crown, when we explain away these bright testimonies given by His free grace? "It pleased the Father by Him to reconcile all things to Himself. The kindness and pity of God our Savior toward man has appeared. I will draw all men unto me. God was in Him reconciling the world unto himself." Hence He says to the most obstinate of His opposers, "These things have I spoken unto you that ye might be saved. If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin, [in rejecting me,] but now they have no cloak for their sin," no excuse for their unbelief.

Once, indeed, when the apostles were on the brink of the most dreadful trial, their compassionate Master said, "I pray for them, I pray not for the world." As if He had said, Their immediate danger makes me pray as if there were but these eleven men in the world, "Holy Father, keep them." But having given them this seasonable testimony of a just preference, He adds, "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them who shall believe, that they all may be one," may be united in brotherly love. And he adds, "that the world may believe, and may know thou hast sent me."'

4. *Redemption by power.*—'There is a redemption by power distinct from, though connected with our redemption by price. *That* redemption is in many things particular; consisting chiefly in the actual bestowing of the temporal, spiritual, or eternal deliverances and blessings which the atoning blood has peculiarly merited for *believers;* "Christ being the Savior of all men, but especially of them that believe." Various degrees of *that* redemption are pointed out in the following scriptures, as well as in the passages which you quote out of the book of Revelation. "The angel who redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads. The Lord hath redeemed you from the hand of Pharaoh. When these things begin to come to pass, then look up, for your redemption draweth nigh. Ye are sealed, &c, until the redemption of the purchased possession. We ourselves groan, waiting for the redemption of the body." When, therefore, some eminent saints sing, "Thou hast redeemed us to God by thy blood [sprinkled upon our consciences through faith] out of every kindred," &c, it is not because Christ shed more blood upon the cross for them than for other people; but because, through the faithful improvement of the *five talents*, which sovereign, distinguishing grace had intrusted them with, they excelled in virtue, and "overcame the accuser of the

brethren by the blood of the Lamb," more gloriously than the generality of their fellow believers did.'

XI. Assurance of Faith.—'I hope that I do not dissent, in my observations upon faith, either from our Church, or approved Gospel ministers. In their highest definition of that grace they consider it only according to the fulness of the Christian dispensation: but my subject has obliged me to consider it also according to the dispensations of John the Baptist, Moses, and Noah. Believers, under these inferior dispensations, have not always assurance; nor is the assurance they sometimes have so bright as that of adult Christians, Matt. xi, 11. But undoubtedly assurance is inseparably connected with the faith of the Christian dispensation, which was not fully opened till Christ opened his glorious baptism on the day of pentecost, and till his spiritual kingdom was set up with power in the hearts of his people. Nobody therefore can truly believe, according to this dispensation, without being immediately conscious both of the forgiveness of sins, and of peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. This is a most important truth, derided indeed by fallen Churchmen, and denied by Laodicean Dissenters; but of late years gloriously revived by Mr. Wesley and the ministers connected with him. A truth this which cannot be too strongly, and yet too warily insisted upon in our lukewarm and speculative age: and as I would not obscure it for the world, I particularly entreat the reader to mind the last *erratum;* without omitting the last but one, which guards the doctrine of initial salvation by absolute free grace.'

XII. Death.—*The awful consequences accompanying it a proof of our depravity.* 'Would to God the multiplied calamities of life were a sufficient punishment for our desperate wickedness! But alas! they only make way for the pangs of death. Like traitors, or rather like *wolves* and *vipers*, to which the Son of God compares natural men, we are all devoted to destruction. Yes, as we kill those mischievous creatures, so God destroys the sinful sons of men.

If the reader is offended, and denies the mortifying assertion, let him visit with me the mournful spot where thousands are daily executed, and where hundreds make this moment their dying speech. I do not mean what some call "the bed of honor," a field of battle, but a common death bed.

Observing, as we go along, those black trophies of the king of terrors, those escutcheons which preposterous vanity fixes up in honor of the deceased, when kind charity should hang them out as a warning to the living; let us repair to those mournful apartments where weeping attendants support the dying, where swooning friends embrace the dead, or whence distracted relatives carry out the pale remains of all their joy.

Guided by their groans and funeral lights, let us proceed to the dreary charnel houses and calvaries, which we decently call *vaults* and *church yards;* and without stopping to look at the monuments of some whom my objector remembers as vigorous as himself; and of others who were perhaps his partners in nightly revel; let us hasten to see the dust of his mouldered ancestors, and to read upon yonder coffins the dear name of a parent, a child, perhaps a wife, turned off from his bosom into the gulf of eternity.

If this sight does not convince him, I shall open one of the noisome repositories, and show him the deep hollow of those eyes that darted tender sensation into his soul; and odious reptiles fastening upon the once charming, now ghastly face, he doted upon. But methinks he turns pale at the very proposal, and rather than be confronted with such witnesses, acknowledges that he is condemned to die, with all his dear relatives, and the whole human race.

And is this the case? Are we then under sentence of death? How awful is the consideration! Of all the things that nature dreads, is not *death* the most terrible? And is it not (as being the greatest of temporal evils) appointed by human and Divine laws for the punishment of capital offenders; whether they are named *felons* and *traitors*, or more genteelly called *men* and *sinners?* Let matter of fact decide.

While earthly judges condemn murderers and traitors to be hanged or beheaded, does not "the Judge of all" sentence sinful mankind either to pine away with old age, or be wasted with consumptions, burned with fevers, scalded with hot humors, eaten up with cancers, putrefied by mortifications, suffocated by asthmas, strangled by quinsies, poisoned by the cup of excess, stabbed with the knife of luxury, or racked to death by disorders as loathsome and accidents as various as their sins?

If you consider the circumstances of their execution, where is the material difference between the malefactor and the sinner? The jailer and the turnkey confine the one to his cell: the disorder and the physician confine the other to his bed. The one lives upon bread and water: the other upon draughts and boluses. The one can walk with his fetters: the other, loaded with blisters, can scarcely turn himself. The one enjoys freedom from pain, and has the perfect use of his senses: the other complains he is racked all over, and is frequently delirious. The executioner does his office upon the one in a few minutes: but the physician and his medicines make the other linger for days before he can die out of his misery. An honest sheriff and constables, armed with staves, wait upon one; while a greedy undertaker and his party, with like emblems of authority, accompany the other: and if it is any advantage to have a numerous attendance, without comparison the felon has the greater train.

When the pangs of death are over, does not the difference made between the corpses consist more in appearance than reality? The murderer is dissected in the surgeon's hall *gratis*, and the rich sinner is embowelled in his own apartment at great expense. The robber, exposed to open air, wastes away in hoops of iron; and the gentleman, confined to a damp vault, moulders away in sheets of lead: and while the fowls of the air greedily prey upon the one, the vermin of the earth eagerly devour the other.

And if you consider them as launching into the world of spirits, is not the advantage, in one respect, on the malefactor's side? He is solemnly assured he must die; and when the death warrant comes down, all about him bid him prepare and make the best of his short time: but the physician and chaplain, friends and attendants, generally flatter the honorable sinner to the last: and what is the consequence? He either sleeps on in carnal security till death puts an end to all his

delusive dreams; or if he has some notion that he must repent, for fear of discomposing his spirits, he still puts it off till *to-morrow:* and in the midst of his delays God says, "Thou fool, *this night* thy soul shall be required of thee." What wonder is it, then, if, when the converted thief goes from the ignominious tree to paradise, the impenitent rich man passes from his "purple bed" into an awful eternity, and there "lifts up his eyes" in unexpected "torments?"'

XIII. JUDGMENT DAY.—In an argument with Mr. Toplady, one of the most virulent opposers of Mr. Wesley, Mr. Fletcher maintains that Toplady's doctrine of absolute predestination is incompatible with a day of righteous judgment. Among other reasons for this, he offers the following:—

'Mr. T. has told us, p. 45, that "fallen men are involuntary beings;" and in this page he tells us that they sin voluntarily. Now we, who never learned Mr. T.'s logic, cannot understand how "*involuntary* beings" can sin *voluntarily*. But, letting this contradiction pass, and granting that sinners offend voluntarily, I ask, Is their *will* at liberty to choose otherwise than it does, or is it not? If you say it is at liberty to choose otherwise than it does, you renounce necessitating predestination, and you will allow the doctrine of free will, which is the bulwark of the second Gospel axiom, and the Scripture engine which batters down Calvinian reprobation; and, upon this Scriptural plan, it is most certain that God *can* "judge the world in righteousness," that is, in a manner which reflects praise upon his essential justice and wisdom. But if you insinuate that the will of sinners is absolutely bound by "the efficacious purposes of Heaven," and by the "effective decrees" of Him who "worketh all things in all men, and even wickedness in the wicked;" if you say that God's decree concerning every man is *irreversible*, whether it be a decree of absolute election to life, or of absolute reprobation to death, "because God's own decree secures the means as well as the end, and accomplishes the end by the means;" (p. 17;) or, which comes to the same thing, if you assert that the reprobate always sin *necessarily*, having no power, no liberty to *will* righteousness, you answer like a consistent Calvinist, and pour your shame, folly, and unrighteousness upon the tribunal where Christ will judge the world in righteousness.

A just illustration will convince the unprejudiced reader, that this is really the case. By the king's "efficacious permission," a certain strong man, called Adam, binds the hands of a thousand children behind their backs with a chain of brass, and a strong lock, of which the king himself keeps the key. When the children are thus chained, the king commands them all, *upon pain of death*, to put their hands upon their breasts, and promises ample rewards to those who will do it.—Now, as the king is absolute, he *passes by* seven hundred of the bound children, and as he passes them by he hangs about their necks *a black stone*, with this inscription, "Unconditional reprobation to death:" but being merciful too, he graciously fixes his love upon the rest of the children, just three hundred in number, and he ordains them to finished salvation by hanging about their necks a *white stone*, with this inscription, "Unconditional election to life." And, that they may not miss

their reward by nonperformance of the above-mentioned condition, he gives the key of the locks to another strong man, named Christ, who, in a day of irresistible power, looses the hands of the three hundred elect children, and chains them upon their breasts, as strongly as they were before chained behind their backs. When all the elect are properly bound, agreeably to orders, the king proceeds to judge the children according to their works, that is, according to their having put their hands behind their backs, or upon their breasts. In the meantime a question arises in the court: Can the king judge the children concerning the position of their hands, without rendering himself ridiculous? Can he *wisely reward* the elect favorites with life according to their works, when he has absolutely done the rewardable work for them by the stronger man? And can he *justly punish* the reprobate with eternal death, for not putting their hands upon their breasts when the strong man has, according to a royal decree, absolutely bound them behind their backs? "Yes, he can," says a counsellor, who has learned logic in mystic Geneva; "for the children have *hands*, notwithstanding the inevitable accomplishment of the king's effective and permissive decrees: now children who have hands, and do not place them as they are bid, are *accountable*, and accountable children are *judicable*; and if judicable, they are *punishable*." This argument would be excellent if the counsellor did not speak of *hands which are absolutely tied*. But it is not barely the having hands, but the having *hands free*, which makes us accountable for not placing them properly.'

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ART OF PRINTING.

Printing is an art to which mankind are so much indebted that it cannot be viewed with indifference. A few remarks, therefore, on the origin and progress of this art, we think will be acceptable to our readers.

Though unknown in Europe until about the middle of the fifteenth century, it was in use in China, but in a very imperfect state, at an extremely remote period. Their mode of printing, however, was quite different from the mode afterward invented, and now in so general use in Europe and other parts of the world. The Chinese method of printing resembled more our mode of engraving maps and woodcuts, than it does our improved typography. They prepare blocks of wood, firm, close, and smooth, of the size and form of the page they intend to print; on one side they glue paper, on which some able penman delineates the necessary letters and characters; the wood in this state is put into the hands of a sculptor, who, following with the proper instruments the outlines of the characters inscribed on the paper, cuts them out in relievo; the paper is then gently rubbed off, and the en-

graved tablet, thus prepared, is that by which their printing is executed. The great disadvantages of this plan are very manifest. There must be as many of these wooden blocks as there are pages in a book: their blocks are of no use in printing any other works, and the process is extremely tedious and expensive. There are, however, these advantages: the Chinese require no corrector of the press, and their books are uncommonly accurate and beautiful; and they are not required to throw off a whole edition at once, but may, as those do who now use stereotype plates, print only so fast as they are required. Though the exact time when printing commenced in China cannot be ascertained, it is allowed on all hands to have been about five hundred years before any knowledge of the art was possessed by Europeans.

But though this is the fact, the Europeans are not indebted to the Chinese for a knowledge of this curious invention; for the former had the honor of inventing it themselves before a passage to the east by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered by the Portuguese, and therefore before they had any knowledge of the existence of that distant country. Though this fact is incontrovertible, yet to what individual the honor belongs of having invented the art of printing, has been a subject of much dispute. Three cities, namely, Harlaem in the Netherlands, Mentz and Strasburg in Germany, have each claimed the honor of giving birth to the man who is entitled to this distinction. Without, however, entering into the arguments, pro and con., in reference to this subject, we will remark that the weight of testimony seems to be in favor of Harlaem; and that the honor of the invention belongs to Laurentius Coster. The manner in which he was led to this invention confirms the truth of the remark so frequently made in reference to important discoveries, that they are often more the result of what are called accidental circumstances than of previous design.

'Laurentius,' says the relater of this event, 'walking in a wood near the city, began at first to cut some letters upon the rind of a birch tree, which, for fancy's sake, being impressed on paper, he printed one or two lines as a specimen for his grandchildren to follow. This having happily succeeded, he meditated greater things, (as he was a man of ingenuity and judgment,) and first of all with his son-in-law, Thomas Peter, invented a more glutinous writing ink, because he found the common ink sunk and spread; and then formed whole pages of wood, with letters cut upon them; of which sort I have,' says the narrator, 'seen some essays in an anonymous work printed only on one side, entitled, "*Speculum Nostræ Salutis*," [A Mirror of our Health,] in which it is remarkable that in the infancy of printing, (as nothing is complete in its first invention,) the back sides of the pages were pasted together, that they might not by their nakedness betray their deformity.'

The exact period when this rude method of printing was thus invented has not been ascertained; but it must have been in the first half of the fifteenth century, as Laurentius died in 1440. He published the *Speculum Nostræ Salutis*, and two editions of Donatus; and the *specimen* mentioned above has been discovered to be a *Horarium*, [an instrument to ascertain the hour of the day by the help of water,] the letters of the alphabet, the Lord's prayer, the apostles' creed, and three short prayers, in all only eight pages. These small works were all printed with separate wooden types fastened together with a thread; and therefore they must have cost him great labor, and have consumed considerable time in their execution; on this account it is conjectured that they must have been done as early as 1430. As might be expected under these circumstances, this printing was very imperfectly executed, and hence it is said to have been only remarkable for its rudeness and inelegance; the pages are not numbered: in the Horarium, his most clumsy performance, there is no punctuation, the lines are uneven, and the pages are not always of the same size and shape. This has been ascertained from engravings of this first and rude specimen of typography.

The art was next introduced into the city of Mentz, where many improvements were afterward made, in the following manner:—One of the servants of Laurentius, becoming emulous of the honor which his master had acquired by this useful invention, and the wealth which it promised to yield him, on Christmas eve, when Laurentius and his family were engaged in the exercises of religion, degraded himself by stealing the types and all the necessary apparatus, and, with an accomplice in his work of knavery, after visiting Amsterdam and Cologne, settled in Mentz in the capacity of a printer; and in 1442, within two years after he thus surreptitiously obtained his apparatus for printing and absconded from his master, he published two little works, the Doctrinale of Alexander Gallus, and the Tracts of Peter of Spain; and as both were used as school books, they doubtless met with a rapid sale and yielded him considerable profit.

Being patronized by some gentlemen of wealth, and also assisted by his brother from Strasburg, Geinsfleisch,—for this was his name,—made that improvement in the art of printing which has conferred immortality upon his name, and doubtless also contributed to the belief of some that Mentz instead of Harlaem had the honor of the first invention. Feeling the inconvenience of printing with wooden types, they were led to the invention of *cut metal* types, with which was printed, in the year 1450, the first type edition of the Bible; the second edition of which is said to have been extremely beautiful, some of which were sold in Paris for manuscripts by John Faust, who had become a partner in the concern, for from five hundred to six hundred crowns. Not being

acquainted with the art by which these Bibles were brought forth so beautifully executed, some of the Parisians thought that a magical influence was used in their execution. In 1462 Geinsfleisch died, and the business fell into other hands, but continued to be prosecuted with increasing vigor and success, as well as with additional improvements.

A desideratum, however, was yet to be supplied to make the art complete; and this was done by Peter Schoeffer, who entered into the business after the death of Geinsfleisch. Being naturally of an ingenious and inquisitive mind, and feeling the inconvenience of the slow and tedious process of *cutting* the types, after repeated experiments, he ascertained that the letters, by means of a matrix, might be *cast*. Before he revealed his discovery to any one, he privately made matrices for the whole alphabet; but when he revealed this important discovery to Faust, who was his patron, the latter was so delighted with the ingenious invention, that he promised him his only daughter in marriage, which promise was soon after fulfilled. This valuable discovery, which was made about 1458, forms one of the most important epochs in the history of printing, and surrounded the head of Schoeffer, the inventor, with a wreath of imperishable glory. Before his death, which took place in 1492, such were the facilities introduced into the art by this means, that he had printed upward of fifty works, among which were two editions of Cicero *De officiis*, some copies of which are still preserved in some of the public libraries of Europe. It seems that the cast letters were at first all of one size, as all the large letters in the body of their books, and at the top of their pages, were made from cut types. Their works were also printed on vellum, instead of paper, a practice which was soon thereafter laid aside.

To prevent the knowledge of casting types by means of a matrix from spreading, that they might monopolize the benefits resulting from it, Faust and Schoeffer administered an oath of secrecy to all their workmen. This precaution, however, was useless. The city of Mentz, where they carried on their lucrative business, being taken and sacked by the Archbishop Adolphus in 1462, their servants were scattered into different countries, and carried with them the knowledge they had acquired in the employment of their masters. From this time, and by these means, printing made a rapid progress in most of the principal towns in Europe. The first printing was done in large Gothic or German characters, and they were not changed for the Roman characters until about thirty years after the invention.

It is not to be supposed that the knowledge of an art which promised so much substantial benefit to mankind, as well as delight arising from the accumulation and diffusion of knowledge, could be long confined to narrow limits, whatever pains might be taken by those who were in

possession of the secret, prompted as they naturally were from interested motives to keep it to themselves; accordingly we find that at least a part of the Bible was published in Bamberg in May, 1462. In 1465 it had reached Naples; in 1467 two printers established themselves in Rome; and in 1472 Theodore Martens set up the business at Alost in Holland. About the same time the art had become known in Venice, Milan, Bern, Antwerp, and all the important cities of the continent. In 1490 it had reached Constantinople; and by the middle of the next century it had extended to Africa and America. In 1560 it was introduced into Russia; but from the most illiberal and barbarous policy, the government interposed its authority for its suppression; nor did it receive any favor in that country until the time of Catharine II. In 1612 it had found its way to Iceland.

The first printed books were either in Latin or in the language of the respective countries where they were published. After several small attempts at printing in Greek, Lasiaris succeeded in producing a grammar of that language in Milan, in 1476,—and in 1488 a splendid edition of Homer made its appearance from the press of Demetrius of Florence, by a native of Crete. In 1518 the first Greek edition of the Bible was published in Venice, and soon after another at Complutium. From this time copies were multiplied in the Greek as well as the Latin language. The first Polyglot Bible was printed in Genoa 1516, by Persus, containing versions in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, and Latin.

It may be remarked that in the early history of printing, both the printers themselves and the correctors of the press, but more especially the latter, were among the most learned men, who considered it an honor to be thus employed.

In 1471 printing was introduced into England, by order of Henry VI, who sent Robert Tourner, who took with him William Caxton, to Holland to obtain a knowledge of the art. Though it seems probable that one Corsellis first began printing with wooden types in England, yet the honor of using cast metallic types is due to Caxton, who brought the art to great perfection in that country. The first work which he printed was a translation of the Æneid, written by himself. He is said to have been both an eminent scholar and printer, as well as of great moral integrity. He accordingly acquired deserved celebrity as a printer of a number of useful works, was highly honored by his king, and esteemed by all who knew him. After laboring long in this work, he uttered the following touching complaint:—

'Myn hande is wery, and myn eyes dimmed with overmoche lokyng on the whit paper, and age crepeth on me dayly.'

He lived, however, after this about twenty years, and died in a good old age in 1491.

In 1507 the first printing press was established in Edinburgh, in Scotland. Such is a brief history of the art of printing in the various countries of Europe. The first gazette* is stated to have been published in Paris in 1631. The first English gazette made its appearance at Oxford, in a folio half-sheet. It was afterward removed to London, and called the London Gazette.

The American colonies availed themselves, though in a very limited measure, of this invention at an early period of their settlements. In 1639 a printing press was set up by Mr. Stephen Day in Cambridge, Mass.; and the first thing that was printed on it was the Freeman's Oath; and the next an Almanac made for New-England by Mr. William Peirce. It seems, however, that any one who chose was not at liberty to print; for in 1662, we find the General Court of Massachusetts appointing two licensers of the press; and in 1664, to prevent irregularities and abuse of the authorities of the country, the same court ordered that there should be no printing press allowed in any town within the jurisdiction of the state except at Cambridge. And in 1683 it appears that the governor of Virginia was ordered to allow no person to use a printing press on any occasion whatever. In 1686, Randolph, governor of Massachusetts, forbade any one to print without his consent. Thus early did tyranny exert itself in suppressing information in these infant colonies.

In 1687 a printing press was established in Philadelphia, by Mr. William Bradford. In 1709 Mr. Thomas Short set up a printing press in New-London, in the colony of Connecticut. In 1726 Mr. William Parks commenced printing in Virginia, and also in Annapolis in Maryland. In 1732 the Rhode Island Gazette was published in Newport.

In 1741 *The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* was published in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, who had before served as an apprentice to the printing business with his brother in Boston, and afterward had improved his knowledge of the art by about eighteen months' service in London. In 1756 a press was established at Portsmouth, by Mr. Daniel Fowle, and a paper called the New-Hampshire Gazette was published. In 1763 the Georgia Gazette was first published at Savannah, by James Johnston. In 1793 a printing press was set up in Knoxville, Tennessee; and in 1795 one was established in Cincinnati, Ohio.

But notwithstanding the great improvements hitherto made in the art of printing, by which such facilities were furnished for the general diffusion of knowledge and information, there remained still higher attainments in this admirable art, both in the construction of the presses,

* *Gazette* is said to be derived from the Italian word *Gazeta*, which was a Venetian coin, the value of an ordinary newspaper, first printed in Venice.

with appropriate apparatus, and in the typographical department. This was furnished by *stereotype* printing, which is said to have been the invention of William Ged, of Edinburgh, who was first a goldsmith, and afterward a printer in that city. The word itself is derived from two Greek terms, στερεος, *solid*, and τυπος, a *type*, indicative of this method of printing from *solid types* cast into the form of plates, instead of moveable types. The following are the circumstances which led to the discovery of this valuable improvement in the art of printing.

Mr. Ged, above mentioned, being naturally of an ingenious and inquisitive mind, while a goldsmith had made various improvements in his profession, and was finally led to turn his attention to printing. In 1725 conversing with a printer on the disadvantages experienced in Scotland from the want of a letter foundry, and thence adverting to the inconveniencies of single types, and the tediousness and expensiveness of putting them together in pages, the printer, aware of the mechanical eminence of Ged, asked him if it were not practicable to remedy so great and palpable a defect. 'I replied,' says Ged, 'that I judged it more practicable for me to make plates from the composed pages than single types.' To this the printer replied, that if such a thing could be done, an estate might be made by it. 'I then desired that he would give me a page for an experiment, which, after some days' trial I found practicable, and so continued for nearly two years, improving on my invention, and making a great many experiments, several of which were expensive; but the more I practised, and the less chargeable materials I used, I was the more successful, till at last I brought it to bear so that no distinction could be made between the impression from my plates and that from the types.'

Such was the invention of Ged. And though he was encouraged by a gentleman of fortune to proceed in the execution of his design, the other printers, thinking that if he succeeded their business would be ruined, dissuaded the person who had offered his assistance from furnishing the requisite funds, assuring him that his whole fortune would be insufficient for such an undertaking. Being disappointed in Edinburgh, Ged removed to London; but even here the same narrow jealousy prevented his success; the artisans in the printing department, fearing that their craft was in danger, particularly the king's printers. In 1739 he returned to Edinburgh, and, aided by the liberality of his friends, he succeeded in printing a stereotype edition of Sallust, in one hundred and fifty pages, 12mo. But even in this small work, he met with the most pointed opposition. No compositor could be persuaded to set up the types from which the plate was to be cast; and his own son, only twelve years of age, then an apprentice to a printer, did this part of the process at night, or during his intervals of labor. He afterward

printed another small work, Scougal's *Life of God in the Souls of Men.* Mr. Ged died in 1749, and the two sons whom he left behind him settled in Jamaica, where they both died. In consequence of these events, no more was done in the art of stereotyping until about the year 1781, when Dr. Tilloch, a Scotch gentleman, and editor of the Philosophical Magazine, brought the merits of Mr. Ged before the public in the columns of his Journal. Dr. Tilloch, indeed, may be considered the second inventor of this art, as he proved the practicability and vast utility of using plates instead of moveable types for all works of permanent use. Since that period they have been gradually gaining admission into the printing offices, until at length they are now generally used for almost all standard works; and it has done much to lower the price of books, as a set of stereotype plates cost only double the amount of one single type edition. Bibles, Testaments, in various languages, dictionaries, school books, and all standard works, are now thrown into the market on the cheapest terms by means of stereotype plates.

It may be an item of interesting information to some of our readers to know the mode of casting the solid plates for stereotype printing. The work to be stereotyped is first set up by the compositor with moveable types in distinct pages. From these pages, after being carefully corrected, a mould in plaster, the basis of which is gypsum, is taken; and from this mould an impression is cast, forming an exact fac-simile of the moveable types originally set up by the compositor in the ordinary way. Like most other useful inventions, when a knowledge of them is once obtained, and their value duly appreciated, we wonder that it should not have been sooner discovered. See *New Edinburgh Encyclopedia; Dr. A. Clarke's Bibliographical Miscellany, and Holmes's Annals of America.*

This ingenious discovery, together with the improvements which have been, and are continually introduced into the art of printing, by power presses, which may be moved either by hand, by a horse, or by steam, not only lightens the expense of printing, but also affords facilities for the despatch of this branch of mechanical labor, which contributes wonderfully to the diffusion of science and general information. Some of these presses will throw off from 1,000 to 1,500 sheets in one hour.

On reviewing this subject, one can hardly avoid noticing the coincidences of Divine Providence in furnishing means to God's servants that they might more effectually promote His cause. About the same time that Luther commenced the Reformation in Germany, the art of printing was discovered. And how powerfully and efficiently this mechanical engine was used to diffuse abroad those grand and reforming

principles which Luther was instrumental in reviving, we need not undertake to tell, as it is known to all who have the slightest acquaintance with the history of this great and beneficial process. It is true, that the enemies of the cause availed themselves of the same weapon in defence of error; but the evil is much more than counterbalanced by the immense advantages resulting from a proper application of this powerful instrument. Begin at the grand epoch of the Reformation, trace it along down to the present time, in company with the art of printing, and see how the principles of civil and religious liberty have been developed, and what an influence has been exerted on the understandings, as well as on the civil and moral conduct of mankind. Tyrants and errorists have trembled for their fate ever since this engine of truth has been in successful operation; and they will continue to tremble until they are both driven from all their lurking places, and from all their strong holds,—so we most ardently pray.

But what an era is this in which we live! Look again at the history of this art. What expedients have been resorted to, more especially in the old world, to silence the voice of this mighty orator. Even to the present time, with the exception of England and its dependencies, there is no part of Europe where the press is entirely free; nor will it be, so long as tyranny is permitted to sport itself with the miseries of mankind. An effort to silence it, or so control it as to make it subserve the cause of tyranny, procured the recent revolution in France. And it is only so far as this tyranny is exercised over the press that the rational liberty of the people is restrained and abridged. This is well understood by the despots of the old world; and hence the rigorous measures they have adopted to restrain the liberty of the press, and to circumscribe the circulation of the principles of civil and religious freedom. The same blind principle has ever led the despotic Church of Rome to prevent the circulation of the Holy Scriptures and Protestant books among its members. Adopting the absurd maxim, that 'ignorance is the mother of devotion,' this Church has uniformly refused to avail itself of the means offered by the art of printing to enlighten its members in the great principles of religion, any farther than they are taught and explained by men of its own communion. Hence the tenacity with which they hold fast the unmeaning and unscriptural tenets and ceremonies by which that fallen and corrupt Church is distinguished; and hence also this Church has been ever closely wedded with civil despotisms, emulating them in their zealous efforts to destroy the liberties of the people.

It is, indeed, a remarkable fact in the history of our race, that ignorance and tyranny, science and liberty, have ever been companions. And this fact should inspire the friends of freedom, of just rights

and privileges, to be zealous in the propagation of sound knowledge, and of all those principles of civil and religious liberty which are essential to the well-being of community. We need not wonder, therefore, that the friends of the Redeemer, all those who are alive to His important interests, are upon the alert in availing themselves of the press to spread abroad the truths of His religion. Let them ply themselves to this work with prudence, zeal, and perseverance, and they shall witness the reward of their labors.

We read and hear much of the wisdom and knowledge of the ancients. And it is a truth which cannot be controverted that many of them are justly celebrated on account of their high attainments in literature, and in many of the important arts and sciences. But how exceedingly circumscribed must have been the circle of knowledge and general information in those times, when all the books in existence were confined to manuscripts, in comparison to what it is now! Learning was monopolized entirely by a very few. These formed a complete aristocracy in the department of knowledge. Hence the veneration in which they were held by the many;—and hence, also, the facility with which the learned few, or those of them who were so disposed, could impose upon the ignorant credulity of the uninstructed multitude. This fact accounts for the existence of the tribes of witches, wizzards, jugglers, and necromancers, which infested society, and imposed upon the ignorant populace by their artful tricks. Understanding how to control the laws of nature by chemical operations, they deluded the senses and understandings of the people, by making them believe that invisible spirits were their obedient agents, and that by their power over them, they could command them to their assistance to produce those wonderful events. This, also, explains the reason why God commanded all witches to be slain among the people of Israel. They wickedly used their arts to delude the people by imposing upon their credulity, and hence to induce them to conclude that these necromancers were some 'great ones,' who might be adored as gods. Were ignorance of the laws of nature, and of chemical combinations and processes as universally prevalent now as it was then, the same impositions might be practised with equal facility and success, and the world would still be infested with similar impostures. How strange is it, that amid all the lights of science, the prevalence of the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and the superior advantages of literature and the arts, the belief in witchcraft, according to the modern acceptation of the word, should still have such a strong hold in the minds of many people! So difficult is it to eradicate old superstitions and prejudices.

But we were about to say that the knowledge of the ancients, though pre-eminent among a few who devoted themselves exclusively

to the study of the arts and literature, was by no means general. It could not be in the nature of things. Their books, which contained the results of their discoveries, were confined principally to the public libraries, and to the shelves of the studious; for they had no means at their command by which they could be so multiplied as to be in general circulation. See, then, what a revolution the art of printing has effected! The rolling of this mighty machine has communicated life and motion to every limb and muscle of the great moral and intellectual body, and impressed it with a velocity wholly unknown to our remote ancestors; and in its rapid evolutions throws out scintillations of light and heat in every direction, by which 'the whole body may be full of light.'

It only remains, therefore, to use the advantages thus put into our hands to obtain a complete triumph over error and vice. It is true, like every good thing with which mankind have been favored, this is susceptible of great abuse; and the enemies of truth and righteousness have not failed to avail themselves of it to subserve their cause in the propagation of error and falsehood. But how shall we counteract this abuse? Not by supineness. Not by folding our hands together in slothful inactivity, as if the good work were already accomplished. This would be a criminal betraying of our trust, a neglect to improve our advantages for which we should deserve to be punished. We must be upon the alert. The friends of truth and goodness must seize upon the weapon thus put into their hand, and cease not to wield it manfully until the enemy is driven from the field. Neither sloth, nor avarice, nor an improper deference to the opinions of others, should induce us to compromise the great and invaluable interests of the Redeemer, nor to form a truce with the abettors of error and of vice.

REVIEW OF THE MEMOIRS OF REV. JOHN SMITH.

Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Labors of the Rev. John Smith, late of Sheffield, (England.) By Richard Treffry, Jun. First American Edition. New-York, published by B. Waugh & T. Mason. 18mo. *pp.* 328.

One of the beauties of creation consists in its endless variety. In surveying it, the eye is relieved from that satiety which results from a perpetual sameness. We glance from the heavens to the earth—from the sun to the moon and stars, which fill and beautify the vast expanse over our heads—and then from the 'dry land' to the seas, rivers, and lakes—and finally from one individual object to another,—with ever

varying pleasure and profit. We see, indeed, no one object which the Creator has made, if we consider it with a philosophic eye, which we could wish to have struck out of existence. Respecting them all we can say—

> 'Ever beauteous, ever young,
> Angelic forms their voices raise,
> And through the arch resound thy praise,'

for having formed them in such exact order, beauty, and perfection, as unitedly to make one complete whole, in which nothing is wanting, nothing is superfluous. How different would the earth appear were it one extended plain, to what it does now with its lofty mountains, its meandering vales, its gently rolling hills, its fertile plains, its flowing rivers, and extended seas. The blue sky itself would lose all its charms, were it not bespangled with its numerous stars, and overcast occasionally with its flying clouds. It is the harmonious opposition, the beautiful variety, the endless succession of objects, which give such exquisite delight to the mind in the contemplation of nature.

But what connection, it may be asked, have these commonplace observations with the memoirs of an individual man? They were suggested from the inquiry, What is it that renders biography interesting and useful? We take up a memoir, and we eagerly run over its pages, and can scarcely consent to lay it aside until we see the end of it. We can hardly tell why we devour its contents with such avidity. On reflection, however, the secret charm is revealed. The subject of the memoir was of an elevated character. He attracted great public attention while he lived. He instructed them by his writing, his conversation, his great and benevolent actions. And now that he is dead, he has fallen into the hands of a skilful biographer, who understands his character, and who introduces into the thread of the narrative all that variety of incident, relating to his private and public life, his conversations, and the manner in which he employed his time; these things give life and animation, and impart an interest to the memoir which entertains, edifies, and delights the reader. Instead of a dull repetition of the same every day occurrences, which relate chiefly to personal and individual experience and mental exercises, the biographer seizes upon the prominent features of the character he is delineating, draws the lines exact to nature, tells you the thoughts which occupied his heart, follows out in bold relief the expanding powers of his intellect, shows his resemblances and contrasts with his cotemporaries, displays before you the rich stores of his mind, and shows you how he exemplified in practical life those precepts of justice and mercy which adorn and dignify the human character. Hence you are carried from scene to scene, from object to object, from one place to another, and you follow him with a delight increasing with every successive page—even

from the buddings of infancy up to the blossoms of youth, and from thence to the ripe fruits of age and experience; and when you see his body descend to the tomb, you witness with rapture the flight of his soul to the paradise of God. Now you know why you felt such a thrilling interest in perusing the narrative. Your author, borne along by the weight of his subject, carried you with him, almost whether you would or not, by the lively and impressive manner in which he describes the varied scenes through which the hero of the story passed. In a word, he states facts as they occurred. He describes realities; and hence his picture is true to nature and to fact. He neither flatters the subject of his remarks by hiding those infirmities which were apparent, nor by emblazoning virtues which had no existence.

While on this subject we will venture to express one thought which has frequently occupied our mind. We hear much of *novel writing*. Many condemn it indiscriminately and without mercy. Without attempting to decide dogmatically on the expediency or inexpediency of reading works of this character, we may remark that we have often thought we are more likely to get a true description of the human character from some novel writers, than from the one who professes to give you the real biography. The former describe human nature as it is, without disguise. The characters are drawn from nature and fact, without flattery or unmerited censure. The latter, actuated perhaps by the partialities of a warm friendship, or enthusiastic admiration, or by feelings of malignity, distorts the subject of his narrative, either by excessive eulogy, or a minute and disgusting detraction. Either of these is a slander upon human nature. Neither being conformable to fact, both are calculated to mislead the reader.

We do not indeed say that *all* biographies have these defects. We doubt not but many writers of this class have written under the honest convictions of truth, and a high sense of their responsibility. These have added greatly to the stock of useful and interesting intelligence; for we consider a faithful delineation of the human character, as exemplified in the tempers, words, and general conduct of men, among the most instructive and profitable of writings. The philosopher and the divine may indeed give us lessons of wisdom in theory—may trace out the lines of duty from our relation to God and to each other, and thus present us with a beautiful system of ethics; but it is the biographer, if the subject of his narrative will allow it, who embodies these rules and lessons in a living character, and shows us the practicability of illustrating them in real life.

In *Christian* biography especially does Christianity live and shine—and while it thus *lives and shines* in the experience and practice of its friends, it furnishes an irrefutable argument in favor of its truth, its

reality, and excellency. The life of Paul the Apostle will strike a thousand infidels dumb at a stroke. Equally irresistible are the lives of a De Renty, a Howard, a Wesley, a Fletcher, and others of a similar character, which adorn and dignify, while they render illustrious the pages of Christian biography.

These remarks, it may be suggested by some, partake of the same general character against which we are objecting. We allow it. But then it ought to be remembered that *we* are not now writing the history of an individual person. We are merely calling the attention of our readers to the memoirs of one of those eminent servants of God, on whom He bestowed the honor of being the happy instrument of *turning many to righteousness.* And although the style of the biographer is not free from faults, yet the reader will find himself richly paid for his labor of perusing the work.

Mr. Smith, it seems, was a descendant of religious parents, and was born at Cudworth, near Barnsley, in the west riding of Yorkshire, Jan. 12, 1794. Though educated under the restraints of religious precept and example, yet the naturally perverse and ardent disposition of his heart led him in his younger days to plunge into the mire of iniquity. In this headlong course he continued, regardless alike of the authority of God and of parental discipline, until in his nineteenth year he was powerfully awakened to a sense of his sin and danger, and soon after was made a partaker of the pardoning mercy of God in Christ Jesus. The same ardor of mind which impelled him forward in the destructive paths of sin while unregenerate, being sanctified by grace, and directed to religious pursuits, now exhibited itself in a zealous activity in the cause of his Divine Master. He soon became distinguished for his habitual devotion to God, and his strong attachment to His people.—His zeal, his devotion, and his activity in the cause of God, soon caused him to be selected in the minds of those who witnessed the genuine fervor of his spirit, and his growing attachment to the Redeemer's interests, as a chosen instrument to carry the name of Christ to a lost world. Nor were they disappointed, as the sequel will show, in their expectations. Having, however, neglected the improvement of his mind in the days of his youthful vanity and precocious prodigality, he now felt the need of mental culture. He accordingly became an inmate in the academy of Mr. Sigston, where he was blessed with the society of some eminently pious youth, and among others, of Mr. Stoner, whose memoirs were noticed in our last volume. Here, applying himself with assiduity and conscientious care to both intellectual and spiritual improvement, his profiting appeared to all. His proficiency was such that in 1814 he became a regular assistant in the school, and in the mean time had commenced preaching the Gospel. Under various

vicissitudes of depression and elevation of spirit, but generally with acceptance among his brethren, Mr. Smith ventured to exercise his gifts as a local preacher, until the year 1816, when he entered upon the work of an itinerant preacher in the Wesleyan connection. The following is the account which Mr. Smith's biographer gives of some of his first efforts in this arduous work :—

'We have already referred to the great epoch of Mr. Smith's life as a man,—his conversion to God. His appointment to the York circuit was the most important event in the course of his ministry,—an event in which it would be skepticism not to recognise the finger of God. Hitherto we have contemplated him only as comparatively an ordinary character and an ordinary Christian : we have now to observe him assuming a higher ground, and coming under the influence of those principles which were so remarkable and conspicuous in the succeeding periods of his life. When he came to York he was esteemed in no respect a distinguished man. His talents were generally considered below mediocrity : in fact, he was not thought qualified for the ministerial duties of a circuit possessing so considerable a share of intelligence. Nor was he remarkably zealous, and his preaching possessed nothing of that forcible and stimulating character which afterward rendered it singular. In addition to this, he labored under extraordinary diffidence ; and Mr. Stones states that when it was his turn to preach in the city on a week evening, he could never summon sufficient resolution to mount the pulpit, if one of his colleagues was likely to be present, and in such cases the preacher who was disengaged usually had to occupy his place.

Still he had an active mind, and was diligent in promoting prayer meetings, visiting the sick, &c. What was of still greater moment, he was artless and sincere,—a man of one motive and one desire, and he had capabilities for great energy which only waited to be called into action, and directed aright. Had the most diligent and acute investigation been employed in reference to his situation at the commencement of the itinerant life, he could not have been placed where, according to human judgment, he would have enjoyed the advantages which surrounded him at York. This circuit has been for many years, in some respects, peculiarly interesting. There is a simplicity, a fervor, a forbearance, and a tenderness in the character of the people, which render its recollections very dear to many who have labored among them. At the time to which our narration refers there was an unusual degree of religious feeling, expectation, and desire in the neighborhood ; and these circumstances were highly conducive to a valuable impression on the character of Mr. Smith, at this critical period of his ministerial history. York is also inseparably associated with the memory of several eminent saints, of whom the Lord will record when he "writeth up the people" that they were "born there." Under the influence of one of these Mr. S. came in a peculiar degree,—I mean the late Mr. R. Burdsall,—a man whose name in that part of Yorkshire is as ointment poured forth.

But that which particularly tended to form the character, both personal and ministerial, of the subject of these memoirs, was his association with

the late Rev. John Nelson. This distinguished Christian and successful minister discerned in Mr. S. the elements of an energetic and useful agent for Christ; and though they were then without order, or method, or direction, he gave them an impulse and arrangement which in the course of a short time issued in the formation of one of the most powerful and beneficent characters that in recent times has arisen among us.

There are many zealous preachers with whom Mr. S. might have been associated, who would have failed to produce any thing like a revolution of his views and habits; and had not Mr. Nelson's character possessed a peculiar adaptation, perhaps I might say affinity to the native elements of his own, the probability is, that even he would not have succeeded in his attempt to mould a mind so constitutionally daring and independent. It is worthy of remark, also, that Mr. Smith's first impressions were rather unfavorable than otherwise to the influence which his revered friend afterward exerted. Nor was it till Mr. S. had heard him preach several times, and till, especially, he had seen the working of Mr. Nelson's principles,—for he was even now in a degree a practical man,—that his prejudice entirely gave way. And then, to render more deep the admiration of Mr. Nelson, which originated in observations on his public ministrations, his youthful colleague was struck with the nobleness, generosity, and tenderness of his nature, his exalted views of the fulness and glory of the atonement, the energy of his faith, the originality of his conceptions, and his extensive and practical acquaintance with human nature. In short, Mr. Nelson became his FRIEND, and then there was no difficulty in the case. The noblest natures are the most fully capable of yielding to the power of Christian affection. Love lays his hand on the lion's mane, and compels him to submit to the yoke.

The influence of Mr. Nelson, and the other Christian friends, who at this time contributed to model Mr. Smith's personal Christianity and public exertions, appears to have operated in two ways. He became a man of increased fervor and assiduity in prayer. His diligence in closet duties, in the first place, arose, partly at least, from a sense of constant and imminent danger. Devotion had now become more fully his element. He engaged more frequently and more at length in intercourse with God, and usually had delightful access to the throne of grace. Under the benign and quickening influence of these exercises, his piety rapidly matured, his hunger and thirst after righteousness increased, and he labored diligently, giving up his desires and energies to the pursuit of entire holiness. According to the testimony of his early and endeared friend,—the Rev. W. H. Clarkson, with whom he at this time became acquainted,—it was in the course of the nine months he spent at York that he entered into the enjoyment of perfect love.'

It is not our intention to give any thing more than a brief outline of the work before us, for the purpose of furnishing our readers with some of those particulars in which Mr. Smith seemed to excel. He was, what has been called, by way of distinction, among our British brethren, a *revivalist*. The fervor of his zeal would not allow him to rest contented without seeing the work of God, in the awakening and con-

version of sinners, going forward and prevailing. Hence, to effect this ulterior object of all his labors, he seized upon every opportunity of calling the attention of all with whom he came in contact to the solemn realities of eternity. The following is related as an instance of his manner of improving private opportunities of doing good in this way:—

'Mr. Smith excelled in pastoral qualifications and duties, and was often distinguishedly useful in private society. "Kindness," says Mr. Calder, "was peculiarly prominent in his moral constitution, and gave to his piety the most interesting forms of sweetness and benignity.—And this induced an individual, who was no mean judge of religious character, to observe of him that he had the piety of a certain distinguished saint and minister, [who has already been alluded to in these pages,] with more of the milk of human kindness. Hence the absence of all austerity from his manners. Of this children seemed to be conscious, and soon attached themselves to him with peculiar fondness, which he amply returned. In this respect he resembled the founder of Methodism, and I may add, the Founder of our holy religion also.—Not satisfied with merely doing the work of the pulpit, he deemed it right to acquaint himself with, and frequently to visit every family connected with the society. An unconverted individual in such a family became the subject of his peculiar solicitude, and he was placed upon his list to be specifically remembered before God, with many tears and persevering intercessions. This ceaseless concern for the children and servants of our people was attended with glorious results. My house was frequently the scene of holy triumph; for if a visit was paid to me by any of the children of our friends, residing in other parts of the kingdom, they became the objects of his peculiar regard. By his kind and affectionate behavior he first ingratiated himself into their favor, and then, watching the effect of his admonitions, he was restless till they obtained the mercy of God. Never shall I forget the case of one of the sons of the late Mr. B. of London, upon whom, while paying a visit to my house at Brighton, Mr. S. commenced a serious attack on the subject of his salvation. This was followed up from day to day, till the young man became duly impressed with the importance of religion; and not long after, our departed friend called me into his study to join with them in praising God for having bestowed upon this person a sense of pardon. He shortly after returned to his family a truly converted character," and subsequently became a zealous local preacher. "The daughter of one of our London friends," Mr. C. adds, "was brought to God in a similar manner."

Another incident which occurred about this time will serve to exemplify the same subject. Having to go to a distant part of the Brighton circuit, Mr. S. stayed to dine at an intermediate village. After dinner an interesting and intelligent servant girl, of about fourteen years of age, who was engaged in the room in which he sat, arrested his attention. "Come hither, my dear," said he, in his usually serious and impressive manner, "I wish to speak to you." She immediately came, and looking very earnestly in his face, awaited, with an appearance of great interest, what he had to say. "Do you know that you are a sinner?" he asked. Heaving a deep sigh, she replied, "Yes, sir."

"Do you know that you will be lost unless your sins are pardoned?" "Yes, sir." "Are you unhappy?" "Yes, sir." "Do you ever pray?" "Yes." "Do you *say* your prayers, or do you ask God for what you feel you want?" "I say my prayers." "But you could ask me for any thing you wanted, could you not?" "Yes, sir." "Suppose you were a very poor girl, and went to Mrs. S. to beg, you could tell her of your distress, and ask her to give you something?" In a voice full of emotion, she replied, "Yes, sir." "Well, you are a poor distressed sinner: God pities you: you can ask him to forgive you. Shall I pray for you? what shall I pray for?"

The poor child could not reply for weeping. They then kneeled down, and in a very few minutes she began to cry aloud for mercy, and to confess and bewail her sins in a remarkably fluent and affecting manner. She continued to cry till God revealed his Son in her heart. The change in her countenance and accents was astonishing. She praised God in a loud and joyful voice; and with a faith that greatly surprised Mr. S., who stood at her side, interceded for her relations, for all sinners, and for the world at large. Her gratitude taught her new and eloquent language: with extraordinary emphasis she said over and over again, "Jesus has died for me! Jesus has died for me! Blessed Jesus! Blessed Jesus! my God! my Father! God pities me; God loves me, and I love my God! O, when shall I be with thee in glory, to praise thy name for ever and ever! &c." She continued on her knees for more than an hour, and her state of rapture was so extreme that, as Mr. S. afterward said, it seemed as if it had been impossible for her to have survived so overpowering a revelation of the Divine love.'

His manner of preaching was remarkably *energetic*, and yet *simple*, in the best sense of this word. Nor was he content with merely preaching the word, but generally, whenever an opportunity offered, he followed up his pulpit labors with exhortations and prayers; and although some of the lukewarm, and those who were more solicitous for the honor of man than the honor of God, were sometimes offended at the zealous manner in which he conducted these meetings, his efforts were generally crowned with that success which silenced opposition from the truly religious. We select the following account of his first visit to London as an instance of his method of conducting the exercises of devotion:—

'Mr. Smith was at this time a stranger in London, and the day after the occurrence of this remarkable scene he became the subject of pretty general conversation among those who had been present. His character was of course freely canvassed, and the opinions respecting him were very various. Even among his brethren assembled at the district meeting, there was this diversity of sentiment. This was what Mr. Smith every where expected; and though it never deterred him from what he considered his duty, it was often a sore trial to him, that his labours were not appreciated by some of those, whom of all men he most honoured and loved. In this feeling there was nothing selfish,

except, indeed, so far as he identified himself with the work of God. He was personally independent of the opinions of men, of how great influence soever they might be; but where hearty co-operation was withheld by any who had the ability to assist his plans, he felt that injustice was done to the cause of Christ, and hence his regrets. It is proper, however, to remark, that it was a very rare case for him to be known, without being in the highest degree esteemed, both personally and ministerially. It is only therefore to cases of casual intercourse, such as the foregoing, that these remarks apply.

In the course of the district meeting, some conversation took place on the decrease in the number of our members during the preceding year, and several measures were suggested to prevent the recurrence of so melancholy a circumstance. Among those who spoke on the subject was a preacher of the highest character and influence, who had known Mr. Smith before he entered on the itinerant work, and who highly estimated his devotedness and ardor. After having alluded to several other particulars, he added with much emphasis, "If we all possessed the burning zeal of the brother who addressed us last night, we should not have to lament any diminution of our societies." This remark, from such a quarter, had a happy effect upon the minds of those who had previously been unacquainted with the worth of the person to whom it referred. To Mr. Smith himself it was highly gratifying; it was so full a recognition of the value of the spirit which he took such pains to cherish, that he subsequently recollected it with much thankfulness, and "I have reason to believe," says Mr. Calder, "that he often afterward remembered Mr. B. where it is of most importance that we should not forget our friends." Many other instances might be cited, in which Mr. Smith's singular excellence was acknowledged by men to whose opinions the highest deference is due. The venerable Walter Griffith, for example, under whose auspices Mr. Smith commenced his labours as a local preacher, met with him some years afterward, and with profound delight wept over him, as he said, "You, my dear brother, have from the beginning preserved your simplicity,"—adding much more in the way of approbation and encouragement. But his character demands not the applause of men, as it cannot be affected by their censure. Some may have been induced, by the testimony of those whom they respected, to offer him a measure of their approbation; but his dearest lovers are such as knew him most familiarly; many of whom are men too fully of his own stamp to be materially influenced, except by the distinct personal perception of worth and virtue.

In the month of July, Mr. Smith visited Chichester, to assist in the opening of a new chapel, and remained there for several days. His labors in that city were honored by God. He preached one evening from 1 Peter iii, 13, "Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?" and had great liberty of speech. During the concluding prayer, the influence of God descended on the congregation in a remarkable manner, and several groaned audibly under the burden of their sins. Mr. S. cried out, "Now let your hearts yield!" and began to pray again. He then came down from the pulpit, and Mr. Hiley, the resident preacher, continued to plead with God on behalf of the distressed. Mr. Smith, in his usual way, immediately ad-

dressed those individuals who were seeking salvation, and exhorted them to trust in Christ for present deliverance. Arrangements had been made for letting the seats in the chapel, but all other business was forgotten in the urgency of the cries of penitent sinners, and the meeting was protracted to a late hour. Nine persons were ascertained that evening to have been brought into the enjoyment of the pardoning love of God, and many others still remained under a deep and painful concern for their souls.'

Meetings of this character are by no means uncommon among us in this country; and the many revivals of pure religion which have resulted from them are sufficient attestations to their beneficial tendency It is true that some irregularities may have accompanied these solemn exercises; and human passions may have mixed themselves with these sincere efforts to promote the salvation of men; but who would not prefer such devout and fervent exercises to the heartless worship of the cold professor, whose religion is more in form and shadow than in power and substance? 'Our Gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance!' The metaphysician may entertain his hearers with the cold calculations of human prudence, and curious reasonings upon abstract doctrines and sciences, and yet leave them as void of feeling on Divine subjects, and as regardless of their eternal interests, as before they went to the house of God; while the evangelical minister of Jesus Christ, whose soul is fired and filled with the tremendous nature and importance of his subject, will pour forth a torrent of holy eloquence—an eloquence inspired by the Spirit of God—and succeed in awakening the attention of his auditory to the deep and solemn truths which he so powerfully utters; and while the former depart from the house of God with merely laudatory expressions respecting the speaker, the latter will retire displeased with themselves, but in love with the truth which makes them wise unto salvation. We, therefore, like that sort of preaching which tells on the sinner's conscience, which penetrates his heart, which portrays in just and lively colors the Savior's merits and glories, and which brings salvation 'nigh, even at the door;' and which, moreover, is accompanied with the energies of the Holy Ghost, in demonstration and power. Let this sort of preaching be followed up with private and personal admonition and instruction, and with earnest prayers, and it will rarely fail to produce the most beneficial effects.

While reading over these memoirs, we were forcibly reminded of an impression we received in the days of our youth while reading the life of Col. Gardiner. The amiable Dr. Doddridge, whose greatest fault, perhaps, was a desire to please every body, in giving an account of that eminently pious man's life, while he manifested a desire to exhibit

the colonel in all the simplicity, fervor, and energy of his character as a Christian, seemed equally solicitous to conciliate the good will of those of his readers whose dull formality disqualified them to relish the beauties, and to taste the excellencies of the power of godliness. This he did by apologizing for those unrestrained effusions of heartfelt religion which appeared in the writings of Col. Gardiner himself, and which gave such incontestable evidences of the genuineness of his religion and the fervor of his devotion. We do not, indeed, say, that the biographer of Mr. Smith has been guilty of the same fault; but it seems to us that he has marred the beauty of his narrative, in some measure, by the studied floridity of his style, and the highly figurative language with which he has sometimes recorded the most simple facts relating to the experience and exercises of Mr. Smith. These we judge to be faults in biographical writing, which, however, may be considered in a great measure atoned for, in the present instance, by the lively and energetic manner in which the major part of the memoir is composed. In reading biography we wish, as far as possible, to lose sight of the biographer, that we may look the more steadily and simply at the person whom he describes. We want to look into his very heart and soul, that we may perceive, as far as practicable, the secret springs of his actions, so as to be able to judge of the latter from the motives which gave them their existence. The above, however, are small defects when compared with the many excellencies which these memoirs possess. In the mean time we may remark, for the benefit of those junior preachers into whose hands these memoirs may fall, that there are some things in Mr. Smith's conduct which it would be unsafe for them to think of imitating. We allude to his interference 'in street brawls whenever such presented themselves to his notice,' mentioned in p. 155, and some other places in the volume. Whatever may be plead in justification of such a fearless and athletic man as Mr. S. for such personal interferences, it certainly seems to us that, in general, the ministers of the Gospel should have little to do in such disgraceful squabbles. Let them indeed reprove sin with boldness, yet, at the same time, with *meekness of wisdom*; but their commission hardly authorizes them, unless it may be on some extraordinary occasions, to lay violent hands upon personal combatants in the streets, lest they themselves should become victims, by their own imprudence, to the virulence of 'wicked and deceitful men.'

We think also that Mr. Smith rushed with too much impetuosity upon the arrows of death. On this part of the subject, we would, however, touch but lightly. We know not how far a person should venture in self-sacrifice for the souls of men. But as the Lord does not require self-murder for sacrifice, it appears to be the duty of minis-

ters to use all prudent measures for the preservation of their lives and health, as the more holy and useful a man is, the more good he can do—and that too in proportion to the length of his days. And as the saving effect of our labors does not depend so much upon 'bodily exercise' as it does upon the energies of the Holy Ghost, may not those overstrained exertions of body, such as excessively hard and long speaking, which tend to prostrate the strength prematurely, be avoided? Such errors, therefore, it seems a duty to shun.

With these cautions to such as may need them, we most heartily recommend the book before us to our readers, hoping and believing that they cannot peruse it without catching some sparks of that fire which burned so steadily in the heart of Mr. Smith, and participating in that spirit of devotion by which he was so eminently characterized. And that they may witness the termination of a life thus sacrificed to the most sacred of all causes, we give here an extract containing an account of his last moments:—

'It was not till the last week of his life, that the truth broke on Mr. Smith's mind; and he felt that he was now to die. But it was no shock to him: his spirit did not for a moment quail in the solemn certainty. He rested confidently on Christ, and calmly awaited the end. To a kind friend who attended him, he said, "It appears I shall die." "Yes, sir," was the reply, "there is no other prospect." "Well," rejoined Mr. S., "God can carry on his work without me." He continued, "I want more prayer," and begged his friend to pray with him. "What shall I pray for?" returned the other; "for I cannot pray for your life." "Pray," said Mr. Smith, "as the Spirit shall direct you. 'Prayer,' as Mr. Bramwell once remarked, 'always brings one out on the right side.'" They then prayed together, and the Lord blessed the soul of his afflicted servant. At another time, he said to one of his medical attendants, with his accustomed promptness of expression, "Shall I die, doctor?" Observing that Dr. Y. hesitated, he added, "You need not fear to tell me; I am not afraid." Mr. W., his other medical friend, observed, "You must keep your mind constantly fixed on eternal things;" to which Mr. Smith answered, "My mind *is* constantly fixed there."

The friend, to whose communications this work has already been so much indebted, remarks:—"The prospect of meeting in heaven with Wesley, and Whitefield, and Fletcher, and Bramwell, and Nelson, and others whom he loved for their distinguished excellence, was peculiarly dear to his thoughts, and often furnished matter for enlargement and glad anticipation, in his acts of devotion. The thought of not recognising the saints in the eternal state, never appeared to have any place in his mind; as it is, in fact, one of those refinements, which busy speculation has built upon the *silence* of Scripture respecting subjects which are only not distinctly enunciated, because nothing but the credulity of unbelief could have ever called them in question. 'By faith,' when he was dying, he gave commandment concerning his bones,

that they should lay them beside those of his friend Nelson:—thus attesting, not only his assured hope of a joyful resurrection, but of a glad recognition also of him whom he had known and loved on earth."

To a person who visited him he said, "Mind your business, and take care of your family; but above all, see that you keep the love of God in your soul. Be firm; and let nothing for a moment lead you to think of giving up your class, or declining any exertion in behalf of the cause of God." To a young man, whom he believed to be called to the ministry, he said, "Do, my brother, be diligent; play the man; play the man." Of his own experience and feelings, he remarked, "I rest in the atonement; I am hanging on the cross of Christ; this is my only hope." To one of his colleagues he said, "All is clear. I have had some success in my labors, but my happiness does not result from *that*,—but from this: I have now hold of God. I am a very great sinner, and am saved by the wonderful love of God in Christ Jesus. I throw my person and my labors at his feet."

When, on one occasion, Mrs. S. was speaking of his being about to be removed from her, he replied with solemn and tender emphasis, "The widows and the fatherless in Israel are God's peculiar charge." At another time, observing her extreme emotion, he would not rest satisfied without a promise from her, that she would claim the special consolations promised to those in her circumstances. One evening, when it was thought that he was about to enter into rest, she came to his bedside, and inquired, "My dear, do you think the Lord is about to take you home?" "Not just yet, perhaps," he replied. Then clasping his hands, and lifting up his eyes toward heaven, he exclaimed in the most impressive tone, "I commend to the care and protection of the Triune God, my dear wife. May she be supported and consoled. I commend to the same God my Ellen Hamer Smith," and then proceeded to name all his dear little ones separately, and to place them thus solemnly under the charge of a faithful and merciful God. He continued, "This body I give to be committed to the dust, in sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection to eternal life, through our Lord Jesus Christ. This immortal spirit I commend into the hands of him who gave it." He then appeared exhausted, but in a short time revived again.

The salvation of souls was almost constantly the subject of his meditation and intercession. One day, when he supposed himself alone, he was obviously engaged in fervent mental prayer; and at length he broke out, "Glory be unto our God! Glory be unto our God! What god can deliver like unto our God?" Then extending his arms, while his countenance was lighted up with joyful confidence, he exclaimed, "Glory be to God! Sheffield circuit shall rise! Sheffield circuit shall rise! Sheffield circuit shall rise!"—a prediction which, during the last year, has been most happily fulfilled.

On Thursday, November 3, the Rev. Messrs. M'Lean and Holgate visited him, and while they engaged in prayer, a heavenly influence filled the room. The former, upon rising from his knees, exclaimed, "Glory be to God!" To this aspiration of praise Mr. S. whispered an "*Amen*," which was the last articulate sound that he was heard to utter. It was the sealing of the volume: the closing testimony of an

unwavering spirit, the echo of which he was to catch, from myriads of immortal and redeemed intelligencies, in a world where the song shall never languish, nor the festival ever terminate. In the course of the morning, the medical gentlemen called. Mrs. D., an affectionate friend, who was present, followed them out of the room. Dr. Y. then told her that it was probable Mr. S. would not live an hour longer. Upon her return, he beckoned to her to tell him what they had said. For a moment she was silent. She then replied, "In less than an hour, sir, it is likely that you will be in eternity." A heavenly and triumphant smile played on his emaciated face: he turned his head on his pillow; and about a quarter before twelve o'clock, while several of his friends, in the attitude and spirit of prayer, commended his soul to God, he entered the realms of eternal praise.

MESSIAH'S KINGDOM;

A Poem; in Twelve Books. By AGNES BULMER. *New-York: published by B. Waugh & T. Mason.*

MUSIC and poetry sprung up together. In the ruder ages of society important events and transactions were recorded in verse, without, indeed, those artificial measures and symphonies by which modern poetry is distinguished, and sung to melodies which corresponded to the coarser harmony which characterized their ballads. Poetry seems to have had its origin in the nature of man, and hence it has existed in every age and every country, whether barbarous or civilized. Its beginnings were in the deserts and wilds, among hunters and shepherds, and waited not for the arts of refinement to fledge its wings before it ventured its flight, and ere it was restricted by those rules which science would impose upon its pinions, it burst forth with an impassioned boldness, with energy and enthusiasm high into the region of fiction and romance.

But what is poetry? Without entering into a disquisition on the various definitions which have been given to this word, we will adopt that which Mr. Blair gives in the following words:—'It is,' says he, 'the language of passion, or of enlivened imagination, formed, most commonly, into regular numbers.' 'The historian, the orator, the philosopher,' he adds, 'address themselves, for the most part, primarily to our understanding: their direct aim is to inform, to persuade, or to instruct. But the primary aim of a poet is to please and to move; and, therefore, it is to the imagination, and the passions, that he speaks. He may, and he ought to have, in his view, to instruct, and to reform; but it is indirectly, and by pleasing and moving, that he accomplishes his end. His mind is supposed to be animated by some interesting object which fires his imagination, or engages his passions; and which, of course, communicates to his style a peculiar elevation suited to his ideas, very different from that mode of expression which is natural to the mind in its calm, ordinary state.'

This definition is clearly expressed and admirably illustrated; and hence those who have supposed that poets have a license to revel at large in the fields of fiction and romance, without any regard to truth and facts, have excited unwarrantable prejudices against this sort of composition. Though poets claim the right to move the passions and to fire the imagination merely by the power of language, we cannot subscribe to the opinion that they are at liberty to propagate falsehood, and thus

to corrupt the morals of mankind by blinding their understandings. Nor do we adopt the sentiment of Johnson, that the attributes of the Deity, the day of judgment, &c, are themes altogether unsuited to the pen of a poet. Are not these attributes displayed in all His works and ways? In making, therefore, these works, and the events of His providence, subjects of song, do we not descant upon the attributes of Jehovah? And why may not all the attributes of the Deity, as they are exhibited in the book of revelation, or exemplified in the scheme of redemption and salvation, be presented to us in the charms of poetry? If Homer among the Greeks, and Virgil among the Latins, might be permitted to sing the glory of their false deities, why may not David and Isaiah be allowed, without degrading the dignity of their subjects, to celebrate the praises of the true God in the sublime strains of sacred poetry? Will it be said that the awful majesty of the latter so overpowers the mind that silence alone can express His praise? Let but the powers of him who is born a poet be consecrated to the service of his God, and he shall catch the inspiration which is needful to enable him to portray His perfections in the sublime strains of poetry, without deteriorating from the glory of His character, or of degrading the purity of that religion which He has revealed to man.

The word *poetry*, from the Greek word ποιεω, *I make*, we grant, seems to indicate that the poet was supposed to create a world for himself, as though he must move exclusively in a region of fancy and fiction. It is on this account that Plato is represented as having banished the poets from his Utopian republic, as pests to society; and from the same erroneous perceptions of the province of poetry some still entertain prejudices against it. But we can see no good reason why the poet should be excluded from the fields of truth and reality any more than the prose writer. The latter may write fiction and follow the dictates of an unbridled imagination, if he choose to abandon himself to the aberrations of his fancy, and thus delude the understandings of his readers with the same facility as the former. Have we not abundant evidence of this in the multitude of novel writers with which the world has abounded? Why, then, should poets only be held responsible for filling the world with shadows? Is it because they strive to elevate the thoughts of their readers to grand and sublime subjects by the lofty strains in which they sing, and to move the passions by a bold and figurative style? But may not these ornaments be enlisted, by the conscientious poet, in the cause of truth and virtue? Have not a Milton, a Young, a Cowper, and a Pollok, redeemed poetry from the curse of licentiousness, by laying it under contribution to the advancement of truth and righteousness? In the hands of such men this heavenly art need not be doomed to become the prompter to vice, nor the luxuriant field for feeding the corrupted imagination of the sensualist; but it may be made the handmaid of religion, and a medium for the propagation of pure and sublime sentiment.

But where shall we draw the line between poetical and prose compositions? Is verse essential to poetry? We think not. Many passages of sacred Scripture, which are truly poetical in their character, as well as such compositions as the Telemachus of Fenelon, and the Poems of Ossian, are proofs that neither the exact measure of lines, nor the symphonies of sound, produced by rhyme, is essential to poetry. Both of these species of composition depend chiefly upon the same principles, namely, a deep sensibility of feeling, a boldness and originality of invention, and an impassioned and highly figurative style. Specimens of this character of composition, unshackled by the modern rules of versification, containing all the ingredients of genuine poetry, might easily be produced to verify the truth of our remarks.

This is more especially the character of poetry as it existed in the ruder ages of society. Poetry, indeed, seems to lose its original character of boldness, originality,

and enthusiasm, and to become timid, unnatural, and artificial, in proportion as the people by whom it is cultivated are removed from the state of rude and savage existence. Hence it is that we find among the aborigines of our own country, in their treaties and public transactions, bolder metaphors, more splendid gorgeousness of style, than the civilized nations of Europe in their most elevated poetical productions. Having concluded a treaty of peace with the British, the Five Nations expressed themselves, by their chiefs, in the following language:—

'We are happy in having buried under ground the red axe, that has often been died with the blood of our brethren. Now, in this sort, we inter the axe, and plant the tree of peace. We plant a tree whose top shall reach the sun, and its branches spread abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off. May its growth never be stifled and choked; but may it shade both your country and ours with its leaves. Let us make fast its roots, and extend them to the utmost bounds of your colonies. If the French should come to shake the tree, we should know by the motions of its roots reaching into our country. May the great Spirit allow us to rest in tranquillity upon our mats, and never dig up the axe to cut down the tree of peace! Let the earth be trod hard over it where it lies buried. Let a strong stream run under the pit to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance. The fire that had long burned in Albany is extinguished. The bloody bed is washed clean, and the tears are wiped from our eyes. We now renew the covenant chain of friendship. Let it be kept bright and clear as silver, and not suffered to contract any rust.—Let not any one pull away his arm from it.'

Nor is this a solitary instance. Among all savage tribes poetical effusions, though rude in their structure, have obtained an ascendency. Their religious rites are celebrated in song. By song they lament their public or private calamities, the death of their friends, or the loss of their warriors. Their victories over their enemies, the virtues of their heroes, and all important events and transactions are celebrated by music and poetry. How many instances of this character are recorded in sacred Scripture. Moses and Miriam sung the triumphs of Jehovah over the impious Egyptians who were drowned in the Red Sea. 'Then sang Moses and the children of Israel this song unto the Lord:—I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power: thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy!'

Without, however, pursuing this subject any farther, we may remark that the Church of Christ has ever availed itself of poetry and music as the most natural handmaid of piety. And the almost universal practice of the various denominations of Christians in incorporating music among their devotional exercises has the sanction of the highest antiquity. The members of the primitive Church were exhorted to speak to themselves in hymns and spiritual songs, making melody in their hearts unto the Lord. And who that has ever felt the inspiring notes of sacred music, accompanied by words that burn, can be indifferent to this branch of Divine worship! Hence from the time of Moses, and more especially from the days of David, to this hour, has the Church of God cultivated the art of poetry and the science of music; and we have no account of any extraordinary revival of true godliness but what has been accompanied, less or more, with the spirit of poetry and the cultivation of sacred music.

Methodism had its poet. While John Wesley was more especially devoted to laying the foundation of that mighty superstructure which he was principally instrumental in rearing, his brother Charles furnished the interior of the temple with those sacred songs, in which are combined all those evangelical truths, doctrinal, experimental, and practical, by which his hymns are so eminently characterized.

And so long as those hymns shall continue to be sung with understanding and believing hearts, so long the Church will be preserved from the deteriorating influence of heretical doctrine. That there are hymns in this collection of unrivalled excellence, both as regards sentiment and poetry, will not be disputed by any who combine a knowledge of evangelical purity with a taste for poetical excellence.—And this is another proof that religious subjects, taking them in their widest range, are not only suited to the genius of a poet, but that they form themes on which he may expatiate to the greatest advantage.

But it is time that we more particularly notice the poem before us. Its title, *The Messiah's Kingdom*, sufficiently indicates the prominent character of the work. And though the authoress cannot adopt the language of Milton, her illustrious predecessor in this field of religious poesy, that she is treading in a path 'untrod before,' she may lay claim to much originality of thought, and to a competent share of that poetic fire which is essential to give a high character to her composition, and to interest as well as to instruct the reader.

The poem is divided into twelve books, beginning with the original perfection and beauty of the universe, and of man in particular—his defection from his God, with its consequences, and the original promise of his restoration through a Redeemer. It then proceeds to trace the propagation of the human species, under the influence of sinful propensities, noticing in the mean time those exceptions to the general prevalence of vice which the sacred Scriptures record. Having thus laid the foundation of the grand drama which mankind had destined themselves to act, the poem proceeds with a historical account of the gradual developements of Divine Providence until *He* came who was ordained to expiate sin by His own death upon the cross, and reconcile the world unto God. After dwelling with fulness of gratitude upon the various transactions of Jesus Christ and his apostles, together with the blessed effects of the Gospel upon the world, the grand apostasy is portrayed in glowing colors, and then the different phases of the Church from time to time, until the glorious era of the Reformation, when came

'Luther the name rever'd,
——— Chosen by Heaven to stand
The valorous leader of truth's champion band;
Whose wondrous prayer of faith, whose voice of ire,
Restrain'd the heavens, or drew forth shafts of fire.

After briefly noticing the different changes of the spiritual kingdom of Christ from the establishment of the Protestant reformation down to the present time, the authoress then takes a rapid glance at the present state of the world, and concludes by a triumphant anticipation of the universal diffusion of Christianity over the face of the globe.

If there be any defect in the poem, we think it consists in not making those evangelical men, Wesley, Whitefield, and others, who arose early in the eighteenth century, sufficiently prominent as instruments in bringing forward the latter day glory. Surely if such men as Wilberforce may be immortalized in verse, on account of their achievements in the cause of philanthropy—and we think they very properly may—such men as Wesley, and his compeers in the glorious work of evangelizing the world, are worthy of a distinguished place in the pages of a poem which aims to celebrate the praises of the Redeemer for the honor which he puts on His most favored servants.

On the whole, however, we most cordially recommend the poem to our readers, under a conviction that they will find themselves amply compensated in its diligent perusal. We had intended to have given some extracts, which we had prepared, as specimens of the general character of the work, but are reluctantly compelled to omit them for want of room. We, therefore, conclude what we have to say on

this subject by the following notice of the *Messiah's Kingdom*, from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine:—

'The Lord's Anointed One, and his spiritual kingdom, though frequently chosen as subjects of song, by pious minds of true poetic mould, can never become trivial or devoid of interest. Such an overpowering mass of ennobling reflections, varying with the ever-altering circumstances of our world, connect themselves with this sublime theme, as will, to the end of time, render the concomitants of Messiah's reign, in reference both to its early trophies and to its final triumph, highly attractive to the virtuous and benevolent. To the performance of her most "delightful task" Mrs. Bulmer has brought powers of no common order; a cultivated understanding, a strong but reined imagination, fine taste, poetic feeling, a gifted mind deeply imbued with the heavenly maxims of an extensive and correct theology, and the whole crowned with a vigorous judgment, capable of arriving at true and satisfactory conclusions on the most difficult points of ecclesiastical history and important matters in philosophy. In the hands of a lady possessing such rare qualifications as these, "Messiah's kingdom" may be expected to suffer no detriment; and the well-educated reader will be delighted to find his just expectations in every respect abundantly realized. Good poetry, harmonious versification, sound reflections, animated descriptions, and lofty thinkings diversify and characterize the contents of the volume. The poem is not constructed on the epic model, but, most judiciously, is chiefly didactic and lyrical. Considerable tact was displayed by the early Christian poets of modern Europe in their extremely diverse employment of supernatural agency. They perceived that this was the only probable method of conveying noble and pious sentiments to the masculine, yet semi-barbarous spirits that flourished at the chivalrous close of "the middle ages," and at the equally stirring period of the revival of learning. As the western nations advanced in refinement, and as the poetic art became understood and appreciated, the improvements effected in the celestial and infernal machinery of "the tuneful race" are very apparent. Tasso, in accordance with the progressive civilization of his age, was less daring, but more true to human proprieties, than Dante; and Milton evinced consummate art in engaging the existing sympathies of his warlike contemporaries, by the still more chaste and scientific mode in which he led his embattled angelic hosts to deadly fight.' Antiquity, investing with its sacred and enchanting mantle even the most recent of these eminent bards, has consecrated his peculiar use of superhuman auxiliaries; but on the ensign of immortality, thus conferred, is inscribed the significant warning, "Let no one measure swords with Milton's airy hosts!" The salutary caution has been observed with tolerable strictness, by our countrymen, from the days of the Commonwealth to the present time. We look upon those ancient paraphernalia with nearly the same kind of veneration as that with which we regard our old and richly wrought tapestry: both were suited to the age in which they were fashionable. But now, such is the commendable "march of intellect," we require to be instructed on sacred subjects as reflecting and contemplative beings, more in love with the "joyous quiet of the skies," than with the turmoils of mundane strife. As such we are gracefully addressed by Mrs. Bulmer, whose charming strains commence with the happy condition of the first human family anterior to the fall, and, in five books, rivet our attention to the consecutive and gradual developements of the merciful purposes of Heaven respecting lapsed man, till we are greeted, in the sixth book, with the glorious epiphany of "God manifest in the flesh, and dwelling among us." Then follow, in the seventh and subsequent books, the splendid victories of the cross from the infancy of the Christian Church to our own era. As it is our intention, at the earliest opportunity, to present to our readers, in a distinct and more copious review, the sense which we entertain of the various excellencies of this beautiful poem, we cannot do more than bestow upon it, thus promptly, our strong and most hearty recommendation.'

IS THE LAW OF GOD ETERNAL?

That we may understand this question, and be able to give it a satisfactory answer, it will be necessary to define what is meant by the terms *law* and *eternal*. As to the latter term, *eternal*, we understand by it that which has *neither beginning*

nor ending, but something which exists necessarily, either from its own nature, or from its inseparable connection and coexistence with an *eternal Being*. In this sense that law of God by which He governs His own actions, and which, emanating from his own nature, is the invariable and immutable rule of right, is unquestionably *eternal*. If, however, the word *eternal* be restricted in its application simply to being, or personality, then nothing can properly be said to be *eternal* except God himself. But surely the word is not thus restricted in its meaning. Thus we read of the *eternal life* of believers, of *eternal glory*, and *eternal truth*.

Those properties of any being which may be said to be *inherent* in that being, as they are *coexistent* with him, have the same duration of existence with the being himself. Allowing the sun to be the source and centre of light,—the rays which are emitted from him are coexistent with the sun himself, and shall continue to exist as long as he shall exist.

Thus it is with the law of God. We mean that law which emanates from the nature of God Himself, and of course is coexistent with Him.

Let us now attend to the definition of the term *law*. Perhaps there is no term used with greater latitude of meaning than this word, *law*. Every being, thing, and element in the universe, has its law. Thus we speak of the *law of God* and of angels; the *laws of man*, and of human nature; the 'law of sin and death;' the 'law of our members;' the law of matter and of spirit; the law of fire, of water, and of the air; the law of the state; and we distinguish between human and Divine laws. In the sacred Scriptures we read of the moral, ceremonial, and the 'law of liberty,' and 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus.' Perhaps as good a general definition of law as can be given is, that it is *that principle by which any being or thing is governed*. Thus the law of God's nature is the principle or rule by which He governs his own actions, and which, when expressed as His will, forms the rule for the government of all His intelligent creatures; this includes the moral law, which is the eternal rule of right. The law of matter and of spirit is the principle by which matter and spirit are respectively governed; and so of all the rest.

Now some laws are only temporary in their existence. Such were all those laws or regulations which related to the mere ceremonial usages of the Israelites. As they originated from the circumstances in which these people were at that time placed, and were only 'shadows of good things to come,' when these circumstances ceased to exist, and the 'good things to come,' namely, the Gospel with all its provisions, blessings, and privileges, had arrived, those laws, some of which God Himself pronounced by the Prophet Ezekiel, xx, 25, to be 'not good,' ceased to be binding. So, also, all those laws which inhere in, and govern beings which have but a transitory existence, cease with the existence of those beings whom they govern. This is also the case with many human laws. Whenever the circumstances which gave them birth are no more, or whenever the operation of any of those laws shall be found inconvenient, inexpedient, or not to answer their end, they may, and ought to be abrogated. Respecting all such laws, therefore, it must be said that they are but *temporary* in their existence.

But in regard to that law which is the immutable rule of right, being founded in the nature and fitness of things, inhering in, and emanating from the nature of God Himself, it may be said with the strictest propriety, that IT is *eternal*. As it had no beginning, so it can have no end. As it depended upon no evanescent circumstances for its existence, but is coeval with God Himself, it can no more cease to exist, or to be binding upon God's rational, intelligent beings, than its sacred Author Himself can cease to be.

Let us but suppose that that law which presupposes the infinite purity and loveliness of God, and which requires mankind to love Him with all the heart, should

either cease to exist or to be binding on man, look at the consequences which would follow. God may cease to be a pure being; men may refuse to love God, and yet be blameless. The devils, and all wicked men, provided that there be no law prescribing their obedience, are released from their allegiance to God, and may indulge in their rebellion without any fear of punishment; for if the law be repealed, by what rule can they be punished?

This view of the law is supported by Mr. Wesley. In his Sermon on the Law of God, he says, 'Now this law is an incorruptible picture of the High and Holy One who inhabiteth eternity. It is He, whom in His essence no man hath, or can see, made visible to men and angels. It is the face of God unveiled.' 'The law of God, (speaking after the manner of men) is a copy of the Eternal Mind, a transcript of the Divine nature: yea, it is the fairest offspring of the everlasting Father, the brightest efflux of His essential wisdom, the visible beauty of the Most High.'

How different is this moral law, in respect to its origin, nature, and properties, from the ceremonial law of Moses! The former, being founded in the immutable nature of things, and according with the principles of eternal justice, can never be either repealed or cease to be binding upon His rational and accountable creatures; while the latter, established only for the time being, finally gave place to a more perfect dispensation, which was established by Jesus Christ, 'the Mediator of a better covenant.' Under the Mosaic dispensation, the sacrifices which were established by Divine appointment, derived all their efficacy from that appointment, because they prefigured and pointed to the perfect sacrifice of the Lord Jesus Christ, who was constituted *a Priest for ever over the house of God.*

We have made this remark here for the purpose of obviating an objection which we learn has been made against what we stated in our preceding number, that 'The victim that was offered in sacrifice was a *vicarious* offering, accepted instead of the sinner himself.' The objector seems to suppose that we intended to say, that those sacrifices, which were comparatively 'insignificant in themselves,' were so accepted as to do away the necessity of justification by faith in Jesus Christ. How such an inference could be drawn, especially when compared with the whole article on the atonement, we are at a loss to conceive; as such a sentiment was as foreign from our thoughts, and as contradictory to the whole tenor of the article, as is the thought that Socinianism is identical with Christianity. In that part of the article in question, we were endeavoring simply to *define* the meaning of the word *atonement*, as used when the Old Testament sacrifices were spoken of, and not to explain the evangelical doctrine of the justification of a sinner before God. This was afterward explained. And after reviewing and solemnly considering what is there said on the atonement, as made by these sacrifices, we can see no cause to alter our opinion. It might, perhaps, have been more clearly and explicitly declared, that those sacrifices, 'not possessing any intrinsic value,' or merit 'in themselves,' pointed to the Lord Jesus Christ, whose vicarious death, was the only available sacrifice, of infinite value or merit, to atone for the 'sins of the world,' and through whose blood alone the penitent sinner was and is pardoned; but we thought, and do still think, that this cardinal truth of Christianity was sufficiently stated, in a subsequent part of the article, to have guarded it from any such exceptions as we are informed have been taken by some individuals. That all who ever were saved from their sins, whether before or after the coming of Jesus Christ, were saved by the merits of Him who 'once in the end of the world appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself,' is a truth which has our most hearty assent. Nor can we perceive how this truth militates against the sentiment expressed in the piece on the atonement, namely, that the sacrifices under the Old Testament dis-

pensation 'derived their efficacy, in *atoning* for the transgressors, from their Divine appointment for this very purpose,' seeing they were established by God for the time being, or as the temporary means of expiating the sins of the people until He should come, who by 'one offering hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified.'

We do not indeed suppose that the Jewish sacrifices purified the *consciences* of the people from *moral* defilement, any farther than they served as a *means of* directing the minds of the worshippers to the perfect sacrifice thereafter to be made by Him who was 'once offered to bear the sins of many.' The Jewish sacrifices were chiefly of a *legal* character, designed to atone for those sins which would otherwise have cut off the transgressors from the privileges of their sanctuary; and hence they were offered *annually*, both in behalf of the priests themselves, and the people; but the offering of Jesus Christ, being infinitely meritorious, is available in a *moral* point of view, and cleanses our 'consciences from dead works to serve the living God.' In a word, we consider all the ordinances of God, whether under the old or new covenant, as deriving their efficacy, as means, for the salvation of sinners, from the Lord Jesus Christ, who 'through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God;' and that a hearty belief in His atoning merits is essential, as a condition of our justification before God; and moreover that this faith, working by love, producing all good works, must be persevered in in order to attain everlasting life. Thus the sacrifices of the Israelites were typical of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and, therefore, of themselves, could never make the comers thereunto perfect; but, when used in obedience to the Divine requirement, and by faith in that great High Priest whom they prefigured, they were the means of atoning for their sins as often as they were offered.

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

Seventeenth Annual Report of the American Bible Society, presented May 10, 1833, with an Appendix, containing extracts of correspondence, together with a list of Auxiliary Societies, life directors, and members.

By those who take an interest in the great Bible cause, this report will be read with deep attention and pious gratitude. Following the example of its noble and philanthropic predecessor, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the American Bible Society is contributing to replenish the world with the pure word of God, and is thus aiding to make the triumphs of the cross of Christ the more complete.

Since its commencement in 1816, it has issued '*one million five hundred and thirty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight*' copies of Bibles and Testaments, in seven different languages, namely, the English, French, Spanish, German, Welsh, Irish, and Indian. During the seventeenth year of its operations, it has issued '*ninety-one thousand one hundred and sixty-eight*' copies of Bibles and Testaments.

It has expended, during the past year	$86,362 25
Received, during the same period, including a balance of $1,261 77 from last year	86,197 25
Leaving a balance against the society of	165 00

Allowing the amount expended to have been applied for the manufacturing and distributing the Holy Scriptures, together with salaries of travelling and local agents, all of whom are employed in advancing the objects of the society, it will be perceived that each copy of these Scriptures, including Bibles and Testaments, has cost the community nearly *one dollar*. This result is proved thus:—

Number of Bibles and Testaments issued during the last year	91,168
Amount expended	$86,362 25

According to this calculation, this certainly is an expensive concern to the community.

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